

SALLIE BROOKE CAPPS: EDUCATION TRAILBLAZER IN NORTH TEXAS

by

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Master of Arts in History at

The University of Texas at Arlington

May 2018

Arlington, Texas

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved sister, Liberty, who though has been plagued by illnesses and painful discomfort for the past two years, has never lost her strength in giving me a big hug whenever I am in her presence. As a big history buff herself, I hope she enjoys reading this study on Mrs. Sallie Brooke Capps. God bless you Liberty and continue to dream big-- I am very proud of you!

love Joshua x

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the staff of the Special Collections at the University of Texas at Arlington Central Library. I was extremely grateful for the steadfast cooperation, especially when they constantly held the three boxes of the Sallie B. Capps papers in reserve for me during the latter-half of the 2017 fall semester and winter break (in addition, many thanks for educating me on how to properly use the archives).

Furthermore, I am much obliged for the swift and kind assistance I received from the staff members at Touch of Class Antique Mall in downtown Sherman, Houston Digital Library (online assistance), Texas Woman's University, Dent Law Firm, Greenleaf Cemetery, West Hill Cemetery, and Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum.

I would also like to thank my thesis committee-- Dr. Cole, Dr. Saxon, and Dr. Salinas-- for their unwavering support and guidance during the writing process. Their edits and frequent suggestions were very useful in the operation of finalizing this monstrous research project.

The idea of turning my initial focus from early American military history to the history of women was inspired by the primary research interests of Dr. Light T. Cummins. After my undergraduate history professor generously gave me a copy of his 2015 award-winning book, *Allie Tennant and the Visual Arts in Dallas*, I became fascinated in the forgotten but detailed stories of women who impacted this state in positive ways. I owe much to the former Texas State Historian, and wholeheartedly thank him for his unfaltering assistance to my studies and his resolute service to Austin College.

This thesis benefited from the insightful discussions I had with many other staff members and faculty at schools on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Special thanks go to my mentors and professors at Austin College and the University of Texas at Arlington.

I found much encouragement and good spirits from my girlfriend, Carly, who persistently offered me her shoulder to cry or lay my head upon during times of stress or exhaustion.

Finally, I extend my personal appreciation to my family, who offered me consistent love and support in my academic journey-- being a history graduate student is no easy feat.



Sallie Brooke Capps, 1910

Photograph found in Sallie B. Capps Papers, Box GA 198, Folder 5, Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington Library. This photograph is one of the few of Sallie- presumably, she did not like the camera.

ABSTRACT

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The University of Texas at Arlington, 2018

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This thesis closely examines the life of Sallie Brooke Capps (1864-1946), a liberal-feminist progressive reformer who passionately advocated for better academic opportunities for young white women and children in North Texas during the first-half of the twentieth century. At a time when women seldom held leadership positions and instead trained to lead lives as domestic household managers, Capps found a way to combine both. Moreover, her support for the education profession opened the door for many young women who came after her to attend college and become successful teachers and administrators. As the vice-president of the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association in Dallas, Capps forged close professional connections with female reformers who shared the same progressive ideas as her and used her networking to constantly champion for additional programs that promoted the welfare of children at home, in church, and in school. Capps was also an instrumental part in the development of the popular Fort Worth Kindergarten Association's teaching college and the College of Industrial Arts in Denton, where she consistently put the best interests of the female students first and proudly served as the secretary on the latter institution's Board of Regents for eighteen years. Furthermore, Capps's involvement in and devotion to church and community activities were part of Fort Worth's civic growth during a critical period of expansion. This study attempts for the first time to analyze Sallie B. Capps's historical relevance in the state's broad history, utilizing her personal papers and diaries, Texas education records, a variety of organizational records from Texas Woman's University and Fort Worth newspaper clippings, and an assortment of secondary sources about the history of education in North Texas.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis closely examines the life of Sallie Brooke Capps (1864-1946), a liberal-feminist progressive reformer who passionately and tirelessly advocated for better academic opportunities for young white women and children in North Texas during the first-half of the twentieth century. Born in Sherman during the Civil War and later residing in Fort Worth, Sallie B. Capps was a well-educated and affluent white woman who maintained a stable position of independence in her marriage, enjoyed her role as a traditional home maker and mother, promoted the advancement of education for white women and children as the president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association and secretary for the College of Industrial Arts Board of Regents, and persistently sought to reform multiple North Texas institutions so that white women could contribute their talents and skills to the prosperous region like white men. While many historians are currently discovering women's histories and their impact upon Texas's institutions, I am proud that this ground-breaking study of Capps will not only add to the existing scholarship on women in Texas's history, but will showcase the evidence that there was much more to her career than simply her significance as an educator. After visiting archives and pouring over many primary and secondary documents, it became clear to me that in her eighty-one years, Sallie Capps was a woman who embraced a new wave of feminism, provoked insightful discussions on religion and environmental protection, assisted in the advance of literary organizations, fostered growth and success in academic communities, and contributed to the periods of rapid growth and expansion in Sherman, Denton, and Fort Worth. In short, Sallie B. Capps played an instrumental role in the development of North Texas during Texas's Progressive Era.

As Texas has long been a masculine state that was 'founded' by men (today, children are taught in schools that men—not women—signed the Texas Declaration of Independence in 1836, defeated Mexico in the state's war for independence, and contributed to the extensive progress of society in the modern era) and authors regularly commemorate male politicians, military heroes, artists, writers, and intellectuals, many women's stories in the state's history have unfortunately been buried. Sallie B. Capps's tale and the profound impact she had upon the development of education and other community institutions in North Texas during the state's

Progressive Era is an example of this entombment. Historians of women have long pushed to correct such mistakes. Historians Mari Jo Buhle, Ann G. Gordon, and Nancy Schrom all note that the first level at which intellects approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history." It is necessary to answer the following questions: Who are the women missing from history? Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve? Not only is Sallie B. Capps one of those missing, but her tale is significant because, like all women, she "shared the world equally with men." Moreover, she should not be forgotten because as said by Gerda Lerner, "once and for all and with all its complex consequences, women are the majority of humankind and have been essential to the making of history."¹ To answer this call, I have shed due light on Sallie B. Capps. Keeping the questions that motivate women's historians in mind, I analyze the relevance Sallie Brooke Capps had in the story of Texas Progressive Era reform.²

Sallie Brooke Capps holds historical importance for three reasons. These reasons are based on what a half-century of research on women's experiences have told us. First, Capps played a principal role in improving the status of women. Like other progressive leaders, Sallie B. Capps was affiliated with a couple of emerging regional women's associations, where "the outstanding feature of club work was its grassroots promotion of civic improvement, racial uplift, and gender empowerment." As a charter member of the Fort Worth Woman's Club, an organization that intended to change the state's status quo in education, humanities, and fine arts by preparing young women for leadership roles in education and advancing the importance of literacy in communities, Sallie B. Capps was among the first Texas women "to capitalize on the momentum toward community projects that often led to political activism."³ The organization Capps helped to create is still enlisting members today and regularly promotes cultural and civic advancements in Fort Worth.⁴ The woman also inspired a generation of young intelligent females to contribute their talents to society and enter the teaching profession—once considered a patriarchal arena—either at the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association's teaching college or the College of Industrial Arts in Denton. Throughout her lengthy public service career, Capps promoted the fine arts by attending various student theater productions and music concerts that highlighted women's talents. She constantly encouraged female scholars to actively engage in extra-curricular activities and artistic freedoms in addition to their academic studies. Sallie B. Capps's firm leadership in North Texas became a strong pillar in a feminist movement which

inspired thousands of women across the state to slowly step out from the shadows and showcase their abilities, knowledge, and talents.

Second, Sallie B. Capps was clearly important to the growth of public education in twentieth century Texas, especially advocating for better academic opportunities for young women and children. Following her high school graduation from North Texas Female College in Sherman, Capps became extremely appalled at the inadequate facilities at Fort Worth public schools, prompting her to become a revolutionary figure in education reform in the Lone Star State. Under her focused direction, the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association loudly voiced their concerns about the degradation of the academic curriculum in Texas's schools, and did not lower their public cries until they successfully persuaded politicians of the Texas Legislature to pass the Kindergarten Bill in spring 1909. This law permitted local school boards to establish "nurseries" in public schools, where children as young as five years-old could start learning in a classroom one year prior to the previous standard. Likewise, Capps helped progressively expand the state's curriculum in teaching, introducing new methods of pedagogy in her classrooms at Fort Worth's teaching college and to professors in the education department at the College of Industrial Arts. In Denton, as CIA's Board of Regent's secretary for eighteen years, Sallie B. Capps was extremely influential in the Regents' decisions to expand the college's campus, increase the number of scholastic programs and faculty members, and boost the institution's enrollment, providing female goal-driven scholars with vastly enriching opportunities that would broaden their academic horizons and personal views of the world. Furthermore, our protagonist was a productive participant in Dallas' chapter of the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association. As the organization's vice-president, Capps traveled the state, engaging with residents and school board members, and discussing pressing matters that affected Texas's future generation of scholars, including children's health and wellbeing in homes, schools, and churches.

Finally, Capps was an instrumental part of the development of Fort Worth in the first half of the twentieth century. She helped create the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association's popular teaching college. The highly-distinguished institution, which gave pedagogy instruction to many female students, would graduate qualified teachers who would sequentially receive employment in Fort Worth's public schools and other institutions in the region. Capps was also a frequent

volunteer at the district's public schools, "guest-lecturing" and offering inspirational quips to many students. Capps's public service career did not stop in the schools, as her passions led her to tirelessly volunteer at community events and serve the congregations of Fort Worth's First Baptist Church and Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church. Capps spent most of her twilight years discussing the fabled roots of the Bible during religious sessions with children and adults, praising the word of God as a Sunday school teacher, and forking out food to the homeless and the community during seasonal holidays. Though many were presumably interested in society's new technological developments—including skyscrapers, factories, and automobiles—during the later years of the Gilded Age and following into the Progressive Age, Capps saw these industrial structures as threats to God's natural projects. She vigorously advocated for the termination of pollution, conservation of natural resources, and the protection of wild places and creatures. In an effort to vocalize her message-- even as she was bedridden in the last five years of her life-- she also wrote an unpublished manuscript which would have been used as a key tool for children to appreciate the city's dwindling grass patches if it would have been distributed to readers. Capps's wide-ranging community involvement clearly shows that the woman had an expansive reform agenda that grew with age rather than a list of proposed amendments that became more conservative over time.

While discovering a lost historical figure is noteworthy, placing Capps's life within the context of Texas's progressivism and the history of the state is the ultimate goal of this thesis. To better understand the topics being covered in this study, a brief historiography of the state's gender-segregated Progressive Era is necessary. Recent historical research indicates that though white women's social class allowed them to be recognized more than black women, all progressives struggled to reform gender roles in society. Kelley M. King argues in her book that Progressive-Era activist, Anna Pennybacker "was both radical and conservative." Although she was a traditional mother of three children and known for exclaiming "homemaking was the most important avocation to which young women could aspire," Pennybacker's college education and connection to a wealthy husband allowed her to stand on a platform where she challenged the received notions of white women's proper place. While black women were excluded from the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Pennybacker became a much sought after public speaker, using her status to actively engage with the executive boards of many women organizations. However, in the days of white supremacy, Pennybacker and other whites were constantly

wrestling with male values. She once wrote “social equality is simply unthinkable to me.”⁵ Though limited in their career options, some white women found small roles in schools. However, white males continued to control administrations, and even the look of the physical structures of Texas’s academic institutions. Male colleges, such as Austin College and Southwest Texas State Normal College (now Texas State University in San Marcos), had administration buildings that were architecturally designed to look classical and detailing the Greek revival of scholarship. Though beautiful upon view, the specific designs showcased an undertone that female colleges did not possess. In his article titled “Temples of Knowledge: Historic Mains of Texas Colleges and Universities,” Willard B. Robinson notes that “while adding charm to their campuses, the early temples of knowledge serve as ever-present reminders of the [white male] values which past eras held so dear.” Though the state was evolving with the technological and industrial advancements of the modern era, white men were still continuing to hold on to their old patriarchal values and power in every societal institution.⁶

Education for women in the Reconstruction Era was bleak. Southern women in this era were given little opportunity to go to school as they were still expected to embrace the traditional antebellum marital roles—learn the domestic duties of the household, which included hosting parties and raising healthy children. In Texas, the few coeducational primary schools that were not burned down during the Civil War limped along as they lacked funding and classroom supplies. Moreover, political parties in the Texas Legislature bickered over the Reconstruction government’s efforts to centralize the state’s school system and burden the public with a heavy tax to pay for it. Republicans also intended to establish schools for the non-whites, however, these efforts were met with bloody violence and collided with long-held racial prejudices. In his article, Carl H. Moneyhon analyzes the struggle of control, noting that many Democratic editors attacked the centralized school system with propaganda that “warned [the public] that the schools would become the means for Republicans to indoctrinate the children of Texas with radical values: they charged that children were about to be sent to schools where they would be taught ‘manners, morals, and principles’ contrary to those of their parents.” Corruption in the system was also present as Republican officials pocketed most of the school funds.⁷ Although an umbrella of racial violence, political division, and white male supremacy had clouded public education in Texas during the dark days following the Civil War, educational opportunities for young white women in the state, spurred by a gradual emergence of progressive feminist

movements and the successful handling of the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act, broadened during the Gilded Age in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Coeducational institutions continued to grow and allow young women to study from an expansive curricula. One of the first coeducational institutions of higher learning in Texas was Add-Ran Christian University—founded in 1873 (known as Texas Christian University today). Located in the rural community of Thorp Springs, Randolph and Addison Clarks' school was progressive for the times as their purpose “was to make a strong academy in which [white] boys and girls would be taught how to study, would be given a purpose in life, and a foundation on which to build character.” The school would continue to accept and acknowledge many women students each year after it relocated to Waco and subsequently Fort Worth after the turn of the twentieth century.⁸ During the Progressive Era, male supremacy was challenged by the 1910s suffrage movement, and other Texas institutions of higher learning subsequently opened their doors to young women, including the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas (1911—limited number of classes for white women), Austin College (1919), and Texas Tech University (1925), among others.⁹ Many white women found positive encouragement to study at newly instituted women's colleges. Among many other single-sex schools in the South, the College of Industrial Arts in Denton opened its doors in 1903 and provided increased academic opportunities for women that naturally led to a greater potential for professional advancement than had previously existed. Due to the evolution of education in Texas during the Reconstruction Era, Gilded Age, and Progressive Era, Sallie B. Capps was able to witness the problems in the state's system and become one of the leaders who faced the challenges of reforming Texas schools in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Any woman who accomplished such a list at any point in time would be a feminist, but the label is particularly applicable for Capps doing so in early twentieth-century Texas—although there is no direct evidence to suggest that Capps called herself a ‘feminist.’ But feminism is hard to define. An early twentieth-century edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* once defined the term as “the opinions and principles of the advocates of the extended recognition of the achievements and claims of women; advocacy of women's rights.” The feminist agenda at the beginning of the twentieth century was expansive in scope, moving beyond political rights and economic advancement to embrace the values of female individuality, economic and political equity, sexual freedom, and birth control. As the movement's agenda was broad and resisted boundaries, “*feminism*,” Nancy F. Cott writes in her book *The Grounding of*

Modern Feminism, allowed “a range of possible relations between belief and action, a range of possible denotations of ideology or movement.” Since the advocacy of women’s rights was comprehensive, beliefs about feminism varied. Some women advocated for and practiced ‘pure’ feminism, a social revolution which implied that women could stand on their own two feet—politically, economically, and socially—without men by their side. Social reformer Elizabeth Cady Stanton once argued that her sex differed from men, whereas where women were moral and pacific, males were competitive, belligerent, and self-interested. Jane Frohock of the reform journal *Lily*, wrote that it was a woman’s “highest morality that society now needs to counter-act the excess of masculinity that is everywhere to be found in our unjust and unequal laws.” Susan B. Anthony was among a group of women who chose not to marry, believing that women should not be subjugated to domesticity and rest their fates upon male sexual desires and wealth, but have the right to live independently in the expanding sphere of leisure. Asked about her views on marriage, Anthony simply replied, “I never felt I could give up my life of freedom to become a man’s housekeeper. When I was young, if a girl married poor, she became a housekeeper and a drudge. If she married wealth, she became a pet and a doll. Just think, had I married at twenty, I would have been a drudge or a doll for fifty-nine years. Think of it!” Though she eventually married, Capps’s life causes reflected an expectation that some women might wish to be independent, and these pure feminist beliefs surely played a part in Capps’s early narrative.¹⁰

A different connotation of feminism comes during this era as well, that is the ‘flappers’ and other bold, fun-loving, brightly-dressed girls who frequently visited dance halls with the new phase of women’s emancipation. Catherine Cocks notes that sexual restraint and abstinence played a significant role in the steady decline in U.S. births from 1890-1940, as she identifies a shift from “family and reproduction-oriented sexual practices to ‘sexual liberation,’ the idea that sexual preferences and pleasures stand at the center of individual selfhood.” Many feminist women discarded marriage at first and engaged in casual sexual intercourse using devices such as condoms, vaginal sponges, and diaphragms. Inexpensive clustering in cities such as Chicago and New York became common as males and females would live with their own sex in mutual passion. Several women lived openly as lesbians in sexual partnerships with other women. In this new age of feminism, more women were in control of their own bodies as they rejected the Gilded Age middle-class notions of sexual restraint. Other women found happiness by supporting the feminist campaign from the comfort of the domestic sphere. Though they chose to

marry due to a number of reasons (including wealth, security, or because women's job choices and access to education were limited and economic independence uncommon), many young women in this era were proud individualists.¹¹

A third major shift in this era was less feminist in terms of equal opportunities with men, but still represented a new kind of power in society. Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil note that modern mothers in the early twentieth century, aided by new household appliances, “were expected to maintain their homes and raise their children with new efficiency and skill.” The historians emphasize that these women became key players in the consumer movement of the 1920s, where they would be publicly perceived as the “New Women in the home.” Expectations about shopping, cleaner homes, and healthier children increased. In later life, these women would engage in broad community-reform agendas that not only included politics or suffrage, but social and educational issues (including childrens' health and welfare)—a path that our own lead, Sallie B. Capps, would embark on after she raised her children. Though different from their more radicalized peers on subjects such as domesticity and marriage, these women—liberal or “leaning feminists” who lived lives mostly of their own choosing in sexual desires and independence—grew into a significant force in American life. Indeed, as the literature on Texas reform and the case study provided here suggest, such women were major actors in bolstering the state's growing feminist movement and actively campaigning for progressive reform in North Texas during the early decades of the twentieth century.¹²

Whether pure feminists or leaning-feminists, women during the state's Progressive Age launched challenging attacks from the margins at patriarchal institutions, confronted pressing social issues, publicized their findings, found support from outsiders and bystanders, and prodded officials to take immediate action. Capps came of age during this era of expanding feminism, flirting between spheres of feminism, first harboring ideals of full independence before falling in love with a man and the domestic life. From a young age, the woman enjoyed independence and advocated for community equity. Her support for the expansion of women's opportunities in society and schools were derived from her personal passion in learning and in her professional experiences as an educator, club leader, and college administrator. She was comfortable within her own sex and surrounded herself with women who shared similar goals on how to advance female education in Texas. Gradually, pure feminist values faded after Capps

married and increasingly came to interact with the other gender. In later life, she was not hesitant to create professional relationships with males. She was particularly interested in discussing education reform with male colleagues who shared similar propositions as her. Working with both sexes, Capps bent over backwards to attend to the needs of young children and women in Texas's public schools and universities, as evident by her vocally-charged fight with the Texas Legislature prior to the successful passage of the Kindergarten Bill of 1909 and her regular conversations and debates with a male-dominated Board of Regents at the College of Industrial Arts. By the time of her death in 1946, Sallie B. Capps was a liberal-feminist, a strong-willed woman who admired life in the domestic sphere while flirting with progressive equity action elsewhere. She enjoyed the role of a traditional mother and home manager. She happily built a family. She was not afraid to tread upon a fine line that split the genders in their distinct marital roles and interfere in a male-dominated world, as summed up by Mrs. A.H. McCarty, the chairman of the Civics Committee of the Texas Federation of Women clubs in 1912: "Applying it to the work of women, it need not be understood that we are invading the sacred precincts of men or appropriating to ourselves anything that is exclusively masculine, for great truths are unhampered by gender."¹³ And Capps cautiously poked the authority of male representatives in education and politics. She eventually became a fearless woman who broke societal gender barriers and actively sought to challenge the patriarchal hold on Texas's education to increasingly greater degrees than other reformers of the period.

In her history of the long feminist movement of the twentieth century, Gerda Lerner writes that at various times this vigorous and (at times) unorthodox feminist campaign utilized "guerilla theater, publicity stunts, and confrontation tactics, as well as the standard political techniques to radically change all institutions of society."¹⁴ Though Capps was clearly a feminist, she was never a radical nor a pure feminist—again, it appears that she never used the word 'feminist' to describe herself or colleagues. She intended not to overthrow the hierarchal system but found delight and strength in gradually changing its structure and magnifying female presence in leadership roles at Texas's public schools and universities. In her positions of power as an educator and administrator, where she was provided with agency in a civic arena of males, Capps helped legitimize other women in their quests to refine the standards of equality in Texas, with the long-term net effect of lessening the male hegemony.¹⁵ In short, she was a reformer, though never specifically labeled herself as 'progressive' or a 'reformer.' Sallie B. Capps's

unwavering commitment to inspire young female scholars to pursue studies in higher education against the intended will of society and tirelessly advocate for equal academic opportunities for women and children in Texas schools allows her, I believe, to stand on the same celebratory platform as other women in the state's Progressive Era, including Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Mary Evelyn Blagg Huey, and Annie Webb Blanton.¹⁶

Additionally, I express that I have personally felt connected to this woman during my thesis research. Sallie B. Capps grew up in Sherman, the same town where I lived for four years and attended Austin College for my undergraduate studies. When I was researching the small Texoma community in the late nineteenth century, I constantly felt giddy when I found out that I used to walk by the exact locations Capps would walk past as a young child on her way to the downtown plaza, which included today's downtown's abandoned storefronts, overblown antique shops, and crowded restaurants (I was amazed to find out that the white wooden cabin that once housed Iron Post Grocery is now a brick-framed building that is home to one of Sherman's most popular eateries, Old Iron Post). Moreover, my graduate career in history led me to study in Arlington, several miles from the Capps's house in Fort Worth. Once again, I was able to walk in the footsteps of my subject, paying a visit to the Pollock-Capps House on Penn Street and the nearby Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church. I treated my research as a rescue mission, discovering the documents of a woman who has been long buried, pouring over diaries which had not been touched in three decades, studying every word Capps wrote, and creating her story one building block at a time. This process was long (with many late nights hunched over my laptop keyboard and a collection of yellow notepads) but exciting, and gradually the quilt of her extensive accomplishments and experiences was patched together. In sum, I am very happy and profusely proud to be the first historian to write a study focusing exclusively on the life and successes of Sallie Brooke Capps. In this thesis I peel back the layers of a forgotten leader, discover the profound impact an ordinary yet unyielding woman once had upon thousands of young women and children in Fort Worth and across the State of Texas, and reveal to the public another influential Texas woman.

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE IN SHERMAN, 1864-1884

In the years prior and during the American Civil War, white male and female student involvement in public education virtually ceased in the South. Young white men, whether teachers or students of age prepared to fight to preserve slavery and enlisted in the Confederate Army after the Battle of Fort Sumter, while white females returned to the plantations and continued living a submissive life as a domestic housewife (or training to be one). Families often did not have enough money to send their youth to expensive boarding schools, and European-manufactured textbooks became scarce during the fighting because of the Union blockade in the Atlantic Ocean. As the bloody conflict dragged on, the Confederate government and infrastructure gradually crumbled. Additionally, schoolhouses were burned by Union soldiers and never reconstructed.¹⁷ Sallie Brooke Capps first opened her eyes during this disorderly time, where one would have viewed the destruction of southern schools, the rapid rise of the Klu Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups, and the growing consensus which implied that a woman with less education, healthy, fertile, and with no voice, was best for society. Due to her sex, challenges in public service were constantly present for Sallie following her birth in 1864. However, the chaotic state of Texas's education after the Civil War would later prompt her to become a passionate public servant in North Texas's school and universities in the first half of the twentieth century. Sallie Brooke Capps's drive for academic improvement, the importance of faith in her life, her appreciation of nature, and her exposure to the possibility of living a life as something other than a wife and mother in a small Texoma town were each directly stemmed from her early years of growth and development as a child in Sherman.

Sallie Brooke Capps's father, Dr. John Brooke, a twenty-year-old medical student from Yorkshire, England, arrived in the United States in spring 1848.¹⁸ After residing in South Carolina for a few months, the immigrant sailed to Louisiana in fall 1848 and subsequently hiked two-hundred-and-sixty grueling miles to claim a three-hundred-and-twenty-acre land grant located in the south of Sherman, courtesy of the Peter's Colony, a North Texas empresario grant made in 1841 by the Republic of Texas to twenty American and English investors led by English

musician William S. Peters.¹⁹ Sherman was a small rural Texas town, named after the famed hero of the 1836 Battle of San Jacinto, Sidney Sherman, and located approximately one-hundred miles north of Dallas. The Grayson County community, which was founded in 1846, looked very bleak in the beginning, as its downtown plaza housed only three little grocery and dry goods shops, a six-room hotel, a general merchandise store, and a population of four-hundred Texans. Many outsiders considered the one brick building in the wooden-staked community as a metaphor for the “temporary” existence of the town. Dr. Brooke did not seem to mind that the rural town was not a thriving city like the English urban center he was raised in, as the county offered opportunity for economic growth and plentiful game. This meat bounty provided settlers with a lot of food. Independent scholar Kris Rutherford notes that the young man was able to live five months without money because he thrived upon the natural habitat. Dr. Brooke settled among the natives and built his cabin five miles from the nearest Anglo-American neighbor. There he pleasantly observed the Texoma countryside, describing the landscape in an 1848 letter addressed to his parents back in England: “prairies and groves of timber, surpassing, in my idea, the beauties of the sea.”²⁰

In 1851, Dr. John Brooke was able to acquire some signatures from local patients and twenty dollars for his American medical license. He then purchased land in the downtown plaza and built Sherman’s first drug store, whose plot of land is now home to the city’s Touch of Class Antique Mall. Though the investment initially put him in debt, after a few years of good business and positive rapport in the region, when many travelers and visitors to Sherman purchased his quality medicines, Dr. Brooke became a very wealthy man. Dr. John Brooke garnered a positive and well-known reputation in Sherman, becoming the co-owner of the Brooke and Lamb Saddlery Law Firm and elected by the people as the town’s third Post Master in April 1854, a position he served in high esteem until May 1857. The young entrepreneur also fell in love during the 1850s as he became attracted to Nancy Caledonia Chaffin, the seventeen-year-old daughter of a Missouri immigrant who owned a large farm east of the town.²¹ The pair announced their intention to marry on February 13, 1851; however, there is no record on the specific date of their marriage ceremony. Subsequently, the couple moved to a large house with a four-acre show garden on the north side of Sherman. The Brooke’s marriage was a happy one, as evident by the three children that followed. Sallie’s older siblings, Charles Albert Brooke, who would later die at two-years-old by drowning in a local well, was born in 1851, and Mary Ann

Brooke, who would later reside in Sherman until her death and married local resident Samuel H. Owens, was born in 1854.²²

Sallie's world at the time of her birth was different compared to the world that her siblings had entered a decade prior. At the end of 1858, the year Sherman was officially incorporated by the state, the town was prominently placed on the national map, linked to the expansive cities of St. Louis and San Francisco on a 2,795-mile stage route with the opening of Butterfield Stagecoach Station. Thereafter, the town saw its population dramatically increase.²³ By 1862, amid a devastating Civil War, many immigrants from Europe and the American South arrived in Texas as the state was one of the few states in the Confederate States of America that was barely scathed by Union forces. Sherman became a bustling hive of activity. Civilians of all social classes mingled in the downtown plaza, engaging with traders of various markets; stagecoaches and horses galloped into town in their highly-paced quests to punctually deliver mail and goods, at times almost hitting strolling pedestrians on the makeshift wooden-planked sidewalks; and the racket of hammers and construction instruments filled the air, as hordes of men consistently hunched over wooden planks or brick and built houses, shops, churches, and other buildings to accommodate Sherman's growing population. In this year, the town's population was over 2,500 civilians.²⁴ Under this umbrella of Anglo-American expansionism in Sherman, Sarah "Sallie" Angel Brooke was born in the family's home in Sherman on December 16, 1864. The birth was swift and trouble-free, and brought much relief and delight to the intimate couple and their eldest daughter, who were still grieving over the surprise death of Charles Albert Brooke.²⁵

It is without a doubt that Sallie was sheltered as an infant. The child's diary entries record the loneliness, episodes of daydreaming, and consistently surrounded by her parents. She was rarely able to step outside beyond the backyard fences.²⁶ This shielding was in effect for two reasons. First, the Brookes were very protective parents, a trait which Sallie would inherit and display on her own children in later life. Additionally, Sherman and its vibrant downtown became a squatting ground for violent gangs and outlaws during and after the Civil War, and the Brookes decided to safely play this scenario by regularly keeping their young daughter indoors. In the fall 1864, just prior to Sallie's birth, Sherman civilians were threatened by a notorious group called "Quantrill's Raiders." Led by the infamous William Quantrill, a former

schoolteacher from Kentucky, the pro-Confederate partisan outlaws, who were best known for their savage guerilla warfare tactics and Native American field skills, rode into town jeering and firing rounds in the air—there was no police force in Sherman to stop them. They had recently finished brutally torturing and lynching Texas Sheriff James L. Read of Collin County. There is no evidence to suggest that they inflicted harm on any civilian, but their challenging presence in Sherman, once considered a safe area, presumably scared many.²⁷ Sherman fell victim to another notable group of outlaws in the latter-half of the same decade. Jesse James and his brother, Frank James, were two Confederate veterans believed to have ties with Quantrill. The siblings created the James-Younger Gang, a group whose main goals were to murder and plunder for personal profit. Evidence suggests that the guerillas robbed many banks and trains in at least ten states, as well as several lucrative stagecoaches in Denison and Sherman.²⁸ Thus, Sallie's isolation as an infant during Sherman's dark days could likely have influenced her fierce admiration for nature and the outdoors when she was finally permitted to run freely outside as a child.

Two years after Sallie was born, a state-funded coeducational public school opened in Sherman, the first of its kind in a small town that had, since 1849, seen many single-sex public schools come and go. The new school, named the Sherman Male and Female High School, was founded by the Methodist Reverend William P. Petty, and temporarily housed in the Odd Fellows Hall.²⁹ Though it was called a high school, it was one of the only places of learning available to children from the ages of five to eighteen for miles around. Thus, Petty's academic institution became a school for all white children in Grayson County, male and female, young and old. The two-story rented building on the four-acre plot of grassy land, decorated with a V-shaped shingle roof and covered with many windows for natural light and ventilation, became the home to Sallie's early education starting in 1869. For the next five years, in the company of girls and boys of her age group, she would partake in daily lessons of English, basic mathematics, and instrumental sciences in a cramped area on the second floor of the high school. The older children would study in make-shift classrooms and a small study hall below on the first floor.³⁰

Petty continued his tenure as principal of the high school until he moved to Gainesville in 1872. J.C. Parks, a mathematics teacher hailing from St. Louis, took the reins as principal for the next four years.³¹ During a nine-month experimental period between 1872-1873, Sherman Male

and Female High School was one of the few public schools in Texas which utilized the Republican state legislature's new common curriculum. The progressive components of Texas Governor Edmund J. Davis's program also included a central administration, a systematic teacher certification, state-wide conventions, and required training classes for all educators. At first, the standard curriculum impressed many, but by the late summer months of 1872, the Sherman public found the program too expensive, or at least inadequately funded, and also a reminder of a state government they did not support. Influenced by the Democratic Party of Texas, the crowds vocally protested both the school and the state administration. The Democrats, who had been shunned from the state chambers following the Civil War, criticized Texas's Republican leadership, arguing that educational centralization was bad because it placed too much power in the hands of the few. The governor, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction were the only people who had the political power to create the core curriculum and control the finances that provided the local school boards the money to pay their teachers and sustain their schools' academic programs and class supplies. Many opponents to the centralization feared that the state Republicans would use the intended schools' public funds for their own personal interests. The people's voice prevailed in political victory in the autumn 1872 elections, when voters overwhelmingly ousted the Republican-led government and sent a fresh crop of Democratic legislators to Austin. Sherman, then a blue-coated town, had voted in favor of decentralizing Texas's education and eliminating the powers of the state board.³²

As public distrust in the state's menacing role in education grew, the Sherman school's board of trustees transferred the deeds to the North Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in spring 1863. The town's school board was one of the state's first to repeal Davis's common curriculum and responsibly place the matters of education into the hands of elected local officers. The conference committee decided it was time and appropriate to convert the high school into a private college for only female students. As female enrollment in Texas's schools had increased following the Civil War, many school districts in the Lone Star State had already begun separating male and female students following a southern cultural precept that the sexes had different roles to play in society. Charnwood Institute in Tyler, later named Eastern Texas Female College, and Waco Female College in Waco serve as two examples of this common decision to construct all girls' colleges.³³ Starting in the fall of 1874, the male students of the former Sherman Male and Female High School transferred to the recently-opened Captain

L.H. LeTellier's private school for boys on the outskirts of town, a military-structured academic institution run by a Civil War hero. As the town now boasted two top-quality private schools, Sherman earned the intellectual nickname, "the Athens of Texas."³⁴ Young Sallie's academic experiences significantly changed after this year, as the singular-gendered education she would now partake in for the rest of her schooling would reinforce her opinions on the image of a strong independent woman.

Between the years 1874-1877, the former Sherman high school underwent many changes beyond the move to sex-segregated schooling. Primary, preparatory, and collegiate departments were firmly established. The existing curriculum was also gradually modified to fit the standards of the nation's pre-existing liberal arts colleges, most notably Harvard and Stanford universities. As historian Patricia Albjerg Graham once said, the institutions of higher learning in the 1870s "expanded their curricula to include many subjects, not heretofore thought acceptable, primarily engineering, agriculture, and home economics." These secular liberal arts colleges stressed teaching, not research.³⁵ New administrations at the high school came and went, as the beloved President Parks retired and was succeeded by W.I. Cowles, a renowned university professor from Virginia. Cowles would only serve as the president for one year before moving to an open position in the school as a social sciences teacher.³⁶

On May 28, 1877, at their annual conference, the Methodist Committee on Education recommended that the school be chartered. This prompt decision to charter the high school was probably linked to the relocating of Austin College, an all-male chartered institution led by Presbyterian ministers, from Huntsville to Sherman a year prior.³⁷ Though not officially recorded, there were rumors implying that the Methodist ministers and the Presbyterian clergy did not get along, thus ensuring competition among their means and creations. And so, at the end of that day, North Texas Female College was officially incorporated. James Reid Cole, a former president at McKenzie College in East Texas, was elected as the college's inaugural president and affirmed in his acceptance speech that the purpose of the institution was "for the support of a female college, a school of fine arts, and a conservatory of music."³⁸ By December 1877, the college boasted seven teachers and more than two hundred female students—one of the girls was thirteen-year-old Sallie Brooke.

The Methodist Committee on Education was originally only going to allow females aged fifteen to eighteen attend the college. However, President Cole saw future potential in the former Sherman high school students aged eight to fourteen, and successfully persuaded the committee members to extend the college's services to those who were younger than the original standard. Thus, Sallie Brooke and her younger female classmates were permitted to engage in the college's proposed liberal arts curriculum for three months of each school year at no cost. At the end of that period, the student was required to pay regular rates to remain enrolled for the rest of the academic year—\$3, \$4, and \$5 per month for primary, preparatory, and collegiate department courses, plus a \$1 incidental fee per school year.³⁹ During the three-month trial period from January to March of 1878, Sallie enrolled in and successfully aced multiple preparatory courses such as world geography, history of the United States, familiar science, and English grammar & composition. She enjoyed the engaging classes so much that her parents, who were supportive of her bookish attitude towards her studies, had the wealth and were willing to pay a substantial amount of money to the college to fund their daughter's academics for the next four years.⁴⁰

The cutting-edge liberal arts curriculum of North Texas Female College not only impressed Sallie and her parents but left a profound impact on the town of Sherman. The public were thrilled about the positive progress of the college and supported the idea of a summer graduation ceremony. And in June 1878, a large crowd gathered outside the Odd Fellows Hall to congratulate nine eighteen-year-old women, each who crossed the make-shift stage in the blazing heat to receive their diplomas and medals of excellence from President Cole. The ladies were labeled as "Graduates in English" (or "Graduates in Latin" for those who chose to partake in extra language classes).⁴¹ As Sallie had taken an interest in her early education, it could be assumed that she was among the merry audience on the day of the college's inaugural graduation ceremony, hoping that she would become a successful graduate of the college herself.

As a high school student at North Texas Female College, Sallie took collegiate-level classes in Latin composition and mental arithmetic in her first year; ancient history, mythology, and physiology in her sophomore year; geometry, chemistry, and physics during her junior year; and astronomy, moral science, and logic in her senior year. In the college's bulletin, the classes were all listed as 'challenging,' though this academic label did not deter Sallie from enrolling in these courses. She continued to strive towards her end goal in graduating and making her family

proud.⁴² While completing her coursework each year, the young girl harbored a passion for English and literature and wrote many stories in her personal journal. These tales concerned the beauties of nature and the peculiar happenings from her broad imagination. In one dream she noted that her day started well with “the sun shining upon the frigid Atlantic Ocean with her golden rays as the steamer from the coast was sailing westward,” until those pleasant thoughts of happiness vanished that afternoon when the sea levels unexpectedly rose and flooded the family beach cabin in California, causing stress and much panic.⁴³

Her interests in astronomy led the girl to develop a passion in stargazing, and with a telescope purchased by “my wonderful Daddy,” Sallie spent many hours observing the stars and their constellations in the open fields of Sherman. Sallie’s friends frequently joined her on these sky-watching nights. This surveying prompted her to fantasize about aliens and space and led her to write many stories on the wild voyages she undertook to the planets in her dreams, most notably exhibited in the journal entries titled *My Trip to Saturn* and *My Visit to the Moon*. Sallie’s imagination, fueled by her passion in reading and stargazing, was unlike ones from other children of the late nineteenth century, as it stretched far and wide, beyond the scope of this planet. Much to the delight of this thesis’ author, Sallie also found an attraction to history, often jotting down short stories on Andrew Jackson, the Native American tribes in early America, and American expansionism in the West. The young girl once perfected a three-page essay for school on the 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill, for which she received a perfect score, ‘A+.’⁴⁴

Sallie loved nature, and the journals from her youth show this admiration towards the planet and its animals. An avid collector of poetry, the young girl glued various clippings of short stories and poems from local newspapers in her journals. This prolific collection of literature included William Shakespeare’s *Winter*, William Ross Wallace’s *The Hand That Rocks the World*, and unknown authored pieces *The Spirits of Spring* and *A Petrified Forest*. Sallie would then highlight her favorite sentences. One underlined example from a newspaper’s short story, *Only a Pebble*, demonstrates the girl’s fondness towards life, and the connection she saw between the timelessness of nature and God. “That pebble was life’s first offspring on Earth. The spirit of God moved on the waters, and life breathed in the very gasses that were hid in the heart of the vapory globe.”⁴⁵ The stories she read, which all illustrated nature as a lively jungle of beauty and harmony, inspired Sallie to use her writing talents. She regularly shared the essays

she wrote on the importance of preserving the state's natural habitats with friends and colleagues at school. Her mother also took interest in these written pieces, once telling her daughter that "my stories made them proud." One of the compositions, titled *Political Language of Flowers*, was published in the college's unofficial newspaper in 1880, and detailed "the blooming bluebonnets" and the "fruits of labor God has given him [man] to enjoy." This essay was among many that served as a precursor to the unpublished book she would later write on the importance in appreciating God's natural work.⁴⁶ The girl's religious faith was instrumental in the development of her early life. Sallie's devotion to tending to the Lord's natural products had a major impact on her writing and the objectives she sought to achieve in her later life as an elderly woman who avidly advocated for environmental awareness and protection in North Texas.

In 1880, as an attempt to reinforce the popular liberal arts curriculum at North Texas Female College, President Dr. E.D. Pitts sent out a memo encouraging every student to regularly participate in music and art classes each semester. During the next two years, Sallie immersed herself into the worlds of Ludwig van Beethoven and Leonardo da Vinci. She commenced her vocal lessons that year on March 19, where under the supervision of the college's cherished music teacher, Mrs. Chinnis, she sang "a piece entitled *Twilight Shadows*," noting in her journal that the song "was very pretty indeed." Sallie's love for music expanded outside of the classroom, as the girl practiced singing each night before bed and each morning before breakfast. She noted that her favorite bedtime song was *Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star*. The young girl gave frequent vocal performances in front of her teenager friends. A journal entry on March 31 depicts that when her mother was out of town at an event in Dallas, Sallie invited her best friend, Mollie Canvas over to her house, where she was the source of entertainment that night. Furthermore, she "prepared a cake and played carols."⁴⁷ Under the direction of her elderly art instructor, Mrs. Warrick, Sallie painted on big and small canvasses with relish. She enjoyed creating her artwork so much, that illnesses did not deter this young girl in perfecting her talented skills. On May 21, though diagnosed with a minor cold by a local doctor, Sallie still made the one-mile walk from her house to the college because she was determined to finish her artwork that day for class. As a perfectionist and a dedicated student who loved to digest more material than what her colleagues were learning, Sallie frequently stayed on campus late into the night, practicing her carols and painting colorful portraits, often giving her mother "quite a fright," as she wondered where her daughter was when the sun went down.⁴⁸

As she harbored a fond admiration towards nature, Sallie was constantly enamored about the rapid growth of life in Sherman and fascinated by the town's development. The sixteen-year-old student frequently skipped into town during her school's recess periods to witness the work. She would then purchase an assortment of products and foods to share with her friends back at school. One of these numerous trips occurred on Monday, March 19, 1880, where her journal records that she went "to town to get some beautiful flowers for the girls, then to the college and stand awhile."⁴⁹ Sherman had exploded in population and industry since the arrival of Sallie's father in the 1850s. With the economic additions of many textile factories, grain mills, food manufacturing plants, and a variety of local businesses, including a railroad depot in 1872, the small town that had barely survived in its first year now housed a stable population of over six thousand civilians. Sherman was a prominent trading complex featured on the national map. On this date, Sallie likely headed down the dirty-earthed avenue known as Travis Street towards downtown, where her favorite stores were located. Passing greetings to those who passed her, Sallie passed the concrete structure known as Old City Bank, the white wooden cabin that housed Iron Post Grocery, and the cramped quarters of John Shaw's Barber Shop.⁵⁰

After buying her goods at Dungan and Randolph General Merchandise Store, a frequently-visited establishment where the girl had learned how to count her coins, Sallie cheerfully headed back to college. She crossed the downtown square and walked in front of the majestic red-brick courthouse, a recent addition to Sherman constructed by esteemed Captain L.F. Ely in 1876. Every Monday, traders from as far as California and Missouri would park their cotton bale wagons in front of the courthouse, and actively engaged with the locals in attempts to sell their merchandise to the highest bidders. As the large crowds kept visitors and customers longer than usual to leave the square, Sallie found the small opportunity to familiarize herself with auctions and bargaining. Leaving the thunderous shouts and applauses of the auctions behind her, Sallie would then walk back to the college along Crockett Street, brushing her hand through the "fluffy" soft bison hides on display at Al Wasson's Hides and Wool Store, and avoiding the drunk men who whistled at her outside the popular O.K. Saloon.⁵¹ Sallie's daily interests show us that the girl was not satisfied with learning in the confinements of four walls. Instead of solely cornering herself in the pages of books, she had a fondness in spreading her wings, and earnestly explore and digest practical knowledge from the streets.

Ever since she was a young girl, Sallie was visually shown and taught that from birth that men and women were placed on different paths in life. Each sex was purposefully taught to portray their respective roles. The male would work in business, law, politics, or medicine, and become the economic provider for his family. The female was expected to partake in the domestic life—entertaining guests during parties, cleaning the household, cooking the meals, and raising healthy children. Social reformer Mary Austin once said, “there was a human norm and it was the average man. Whatever in woman differed from this norm was a *female* weakness, of intelligence, of character, of physique.”⁵² Females were taught and shown to be the weakest of the two sexes. The division of sexes, which had secretly protected the political, economic, and social powers of white males, was publicly shown to keep balance in society. However, our main protagonist did not wish to conform to society’s policies. Sallie excitedly explored the realms of feminism and women’s rights outside of the prescribed gender roles. She constantly read materials that reinforced a strong female identity. A newspaper clipping by Rose V. Ralston, titled *Womanliness*, is glued in Sallie’s journal, and seems to have become a tool in the girl’s digestion of feminist literature. The story’s rhetoric implies that a woman should be single, noble, self-reliant, and “heroic in every sense of the word” [able to stand on their own feet independently].⁵³ The message of the feminist literature that Sallie engrossed in illustrated the growing belief that women should have equal rights as their male counterparts.

Sallie took these equity messages to heart, and gradually brought that sovereign mindset into her own world. She displayed an independent female attitude on April 20, 1880, where she recorded in her journal about a gathering at Austin College: “I went down to the college to go with the girls to the school picnic... had a very nice time and splendid dinner. Some of the college boys were there but I did not meet any of them.”⁵⁴ Her girlfriends were flustered by the handsome lads from the neighboring school and engaged in flirtatious spells with their counterparts. Women were often compelled by members of society to date young, attach, and allocate their efforts to a lover. Sallie chose to ignore this ‘love-matching’ practice and break away from the traditional norms of male power and female submission. Instead of chatting with males, the girl devoted her time and love to books and newspaper clippings about nature and the feminist ideology.

Sallie continued to read feminist literature and began to contemplate the future life choices she would make, hoping to avoid those she knew society would make for her. Rhetoric that embraced female individualism opened the girl's eyes to the reality of these times. It is evident from her journal that Sallie admired *The New York Times* contributor, Mary Kyle Dallas. Dallas, a religious author and poet from Philadelphia, wrote short stories and poems often related to music and women equality. Not only was her literature popular in America, her syndicated serials appeared in many nineteenth-century Australian newspapers and magazines. According to Dallas's obituary in August 1897, *The New York Times* reported that the author was an active member of the New York Woman's Press Club, an organization that recognized the importance of regional female journalists and regularly sponsored literary activities and civic projects for its members.⁵⁵ One of Dallas's articles, *Marriage Is Not a Matter of Fact*, suggested that a woman did not need to tie the knot with a male to be happy. Sallie highlighted the sentences: "Better that there should be no marrying at all... [the] woman that is a happy wife need not long to be courted again. There is no need. She is won..."⁵⁶ Another newspaper excerpt by Dallas, titled *Old Maids and Old Bachelors*-- which appears to have been scribbled on extensively by Sallie-- reinforced the idea that being a hard-working 'old maid' should be acceptable in society. The New England author points out that many older bachelors were drunk, lazy, and careless-- if a woman was able to find happiness and economic comfort within her own life without having to depend upon a 'money-bagging' male, then they should have the right to live the stable singular life they wish to draw breath from.⁵⁷ This radicalized literature almost certainly gave Sallie permission to question the need for a husband in her future.

She desired merriment and independence. However, the community desired women to tie the knot early, as their voices could be silenced and assure the continued survival of the white male patriarchy. And what if she chose not to marry? By defying the traditions that were set in stone, Sallie was suspect to be looked down upon as an 'old chamber maid' or a 'fallen prostitute,' and she might never move up the social and economic ladder from that low point.⁵⁸ During a time when most white women were groomed to wed a suitor at a young age, Sallie read radicalized literature which questioned the necessity of marriage, provoking the girl to ponder over her own choices and moral principles. Despite disapproval from her mother and societal norms, Sallie became engrossed with late nineteenth-century feminist propaganda, prompting her to share the equality message with the public. On Tuesday, April 3, 1880, Sallie, along with a

friend, attended a meeting of the Joining Ladies Club, a local female organization whose mission was to promote the political, economic, and social equity of both sexes in Sherman. The small group, who held regular meetings at Sallie's college, participated in women's marches around town and equal opportunity conferences in the North Texas region. Their gatherings utilized the same structure as seen in the revolutionary 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in New York, which was chaired by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Sallie's intense interest in the subject matter of these meetings was not deterred by any factor, even as simple as age. That evening, the two girls found themselves in a room with all women over thirty-years of age. The youngling noted in her journal that she stayed that night at the college, as she "chatted extensively" with her new middle-aged feminist colleagues. The next morning, Sallie continued life as usual, partaking in a church service before Wednesday classes.⁵⁹

Her feminist outreach continued to spread through public speeches. The chambers in Sherman's First United Methodist Church on Travis Street echoed the truths of female emancipation on May 6, as Sallie successfully persuaded the preacher to let her deliver the Sunday sermon. Titled *Woman*, the speech emphasized the pivotal roles women played in the Bible. Though there were not many churchgoers in the congregation on that day-- as documented in her journal, her mother did not attend the service, prompting Sallie to invite Mollie-- Sallie nevertheless expressed happiness and pride upon the deliverance of the informative and unusual lecture.⁶⁰ The public's disapproval of feminist propaganda, most notably among white men who discouraged discussion on females attaining the right to vote, was prominent in the South. Women's studies educator Barbara Miller Solomon once noted that "many [in the American South] could not accept the next, more critical demand of the women's movement, for suffrage. At this time [1870-1890] giving women the vote was associated with free love, socialism, and the 'de-sexing' of women."⁶¹ The threatening movements of power made by white males in the South, who did not wish to publicly endorse or support gender equality, did not seem to scare young Sallie. Her courage to speak out never wavered under male antagonism. However, unlike many feminists who saw Christianity as a source of oppressive gender roles, Sallie did not see a contradiction and pursued her faith beyond a poorly-attended sermon on biblical women.

In a time of increasing industrialization and urbanization in the later years of the nineteenth century, formal membership in churches and other local religious organizations

throughout the former Confederate states skyrocketed, including the congregations in moderately rural areas.⁶² Sherman's first church, Trinity United Presbyterian Church, was organized by popular demand in 1851, and saw an immediate congregational growth following the Civil War. Sallie's regular place of worship, First United Methodist Church, was founded in the late 1870s and experienced substantial expansions in 1881.⁶³ Religion became a central staple in Sallie's life. Attending a church service with her mother was a weekly occurrence, saying grace and blessings for the food on her plate was a regular incident, and openly reciting her nightly prayers before bed was a daily ritual. The Methodist affiliation at North Texas Female College brought a vague spirit of religious liberalism into the students' academics, though it would not be until after Sallie's graduation in 1888 when the first female president of the institution, Mrs. Lucy Ann Kidd-Key, enforced the rule that all students were required to attend church every Sunday.⁶⁴ Sallie's future intentions on continuing to allow God's presence to influence her family can best be illustrated in Dallas's article, titled *Woman's Faith*: "In happy homes, good women kneel down every night to utter thanksgiving, and the mother teaches her child to pray as soon as he can lisp."⁶⁵ Sallie's childhood was molded from the wise words of the Bible, and like many others who maintained a firm relationship with God during this period, the prophets' tales would heavily influence the woman's interactions, writings, and public service in her future.

During her youthful years, Sallie constantly valued hard work and praised individuals, male and female, who had the willpower to work for one's own money. A highlighted sentence from a clipping in her journal titled, *Unlucky People*, explicates her devotion to hard labor: "Money you earn yourself is much brighter and sweeter than any you get of dead man's bags."⁶⁶ As it turned out, Sallie put her philosophy into practice, though she did not need to work for wages. Her father was a professional in his life and had earned enough to support her and the family, but she nevertheless took a job at a Sherman textile factory for some months in 1880. Her mother disapproved of this labor, but Sallie noted that this was "my choice" – she enjoyed being rewarded for her own efforts rather than inheriting money. She became a needle worker, ending each shift with aching fingers from the necessary delicate stitching. Payday was her reward, as Sallie saw a week's pay as signifying her worth. On many occasions, as she purchased flowers, chocolates, toys, and foods, Sallie used the cash and coins she had earned from her factory labor rather than pin money her father had given her.⁶⁷ Sallie's willingness to use her body to work in

the factories, make money and assist the community's economy, even when she had no reason to worry about her finances, would become a principal trait in her future public service career.

Time spent working, painting, reading, and making speeches came to an end in 1882, when Sallie Brooke graduated from high school. This was an impressive milestone in Sallie Brooke's life. After the three days of oral and written exams covering four years of work concluded, Sallie was free from the stress that had bound her to the classroom desk during the previous decade. Sallie was elated that she had achieved her goal in becoming a high school graduate, a feat that was rarely attained by females in Texas in the latter-half of the nineteenth century. Education records state that in the 1880s, less than 30 percent of females in the Lone Star State received a high school diploma.⁶⁸ And in June, amidst the fanfare and pomp of the college's fourth such ceremony, Sallie Brooke donned a black academic gown and took the stage with thirteen other ladies. She presented a short original essay on the subject "Virtue and Truth," and received her college diploma and gold medal of excellence from the new President, Judge I.M. Onis.⁶⁹ In the crowd that day were the graduate's mother, moved to tears by her daughter's success (Sallie's father, Dr. John Brooke had suddenly passed away in 1879 at the age of fifty-one) and Sallie's aging neighbor, Sallie G. Houte, who was presumed to have described the girl's bright smile using a sentence coined by Mary Kyle Dallas: "How much we owe to that sweet laugh! It turns the prose to poetry, sifting millions of beams of sunshine through the darkness of the wood in which we are traveling."⁷⁰

As a graduate of North Texas Female College who was not yet ready to marry, Sallie had a limited number of options in Sherman. Looking outward to larger environs, her focus narrowed on Fort Worth, a former army outpost about ninety miles to the south, of about the same age as Sherman, though larger in size. She had heard stories of the city's bustling streets and tales of its famed cattle pens. Fort Worth's Livestock Center, later renamed as the North Texas Stockyards, which employed many. Sallie was a strong and independent woman with a thirst for adventure. And she became intensely attracted to Fort Worth. The woman was not afraid to travel into the unknown as she strongly believed now she could successfully maneuver around in the wide world without the help of a man.⁷¹

Sallie was not afraid to wander into the open world on her own with no prepared career plan or male suitor in mind, a trait of an independent feminist. She was not alone. Solomon

discusses that in this vague “postgraduate apprentice stage of adulthood, educated women faced both private questions of identity and the compelling influences of family and college. Moreover, many of the new graduates did not know what they really wanted to do even when they were permitted choices... some took paid jobs, volunteered in charities and settlements, studied or traveled.”⁷² Whatever the case, Sallie harbored broad ambitions and displayed a confidence attitude towards achieving her goals. It is evident from Sallie’s bookmarked newspaper clippings that examined school textbooks published by the Texas Educational Convention and notes on the state curriculum of male public schools in her journal, that the young woman most likely desired a profession involving education. At this time, Sallie had no intention on marrying or tending to the needs of a household.⁷³ Beyond that vague goal, she had no other specific plans.

Before departing Sherman on September 28, 1884, the young woman received a gift from Mrs. Houte, a small remembrance book. Upon opening the dark red booklet, a tearful yet sentimental note from the elderly neighbor was penned in black ink: “Dear Sallie: One day in some distance time and place, you may chance to turn the pages of an old album... may this book be then a pleasant souvenir of the other days....” Among the pages were personal notes and signatures of Sallie’s closest friends, including her colleagues from school, Mollie, T.B. Fanan, and Ella D. Tuck. One lighthearted comment, written by Angie Tennyton, best exemplifies the cheerful qualities many saw in Sallie Brooke. Addressing her companion as a “loving and affectionate friend,” Tennyton wrote that her childhood would never have been the same without the “sunshine of my life how I finally cherished.” It is logical to assume that Sallie graciously accepted the gift with her warm smile. She would have the small memory album in her possession for the rest of her life, as the pages towards the back of the booklet contain the personal messages of many other people who Sallie encountered after 1884.⁷⁴ And so, three months shy of her twentieth birthday, Sallie Brooke, hugged her mother, muttered a prayer, boarded the afternoon south-bound Missouri Pacific train to Fort Worth, and left the comfortable safety net of Sherman.⁷⁵

Sallie Brooke’s first twenty years established complex structures for the rest of her life. Her dedication to academics and attending school for fourteen years in the late nineteenth century-- a duration of classroom time that was longer than the average female student in 1880s Texas-- propelled Sallie to consider a future in helping other young women achieve their

academic goals amidst a threatening male-dominated society. Furthermore, the volumes of feminist literature she read as a young adult solidified her future interests in establishing public women organizations and vocally campaigning for progressive reforms in education for women. Additionally, the boundless quips of energy and expressive personality she displayed as a child, allowed Sallie to socially mix and converse with many others with ease in her future. Males and females would equally be impressed by the woman's attractiveness in personality and character. Sallie would have the ability to persuade her colleagues in campaigning for reforms in North Texas during an era of progressivism. Sallie's early admiration for nature and religion, two pillars of strength, which had allowed her to see the world as it was meant to be seen in God's eyes, proved to be instrumental in her active and prolonged community service career in North Texas. The stargazing she conducted as a child provoked her to encourage young students in the early twentieth century to view the natural beauties of Earth, look beyond the basic landscapes, and actively protect the planet when it needed to be protected during the rise of the automobile and expansion of Texas oil fields. Her childhood prayers would play roles in her future activities with Fort Worth churches. Sallie's future attempts to improve the academic lives of many female individuals and children in North Texas schools in the twentieth century were rooted in her heritage and the activities she had engaged in as a child in Sherman.⁷⁶

It should be noted that when Sallie Brooke was attempting to organize and shape her future and career at the end of the nineteenth century, the state of Texas was also engaged in an identity change. The young woman exited the predominately-agricultural town of Sherman at the same time Texas was transforming into an industrial state. Subsequently, she embarked on a journey to Fort Worth, a rapidly developing city which would economically flourish at the start of the twentieth century. Again, Texas was on the edge of a massive breakthrough in industry during the turn of the century due to the eventual discovery of oil fields and the Southwest's impending influx of European immigrants and eastern American migrants. Historians Light Townsend Cummins and Glen Sample Ely have both critically examined this period in their research. The Gilded Age, and the succeeding early twentieth-century Progressive Era in Texas, has been noted to have brought inevitable change to Texas following the Civil War due to the area's vast lands and rich resources. These significant developments presented an abundance of prime economic, social, and cultural opportunities for businessmen, families, students, artists, doctors, inventors, lawyers, reformers, and laborers, among many other professionals.⁷⁷ This

framed construction of change helped bolster and propel Sallie into the next stage of her life. Thus, Sallie's and Texas's journeys of progress are certainly synonymous.

Sallie was born in an unsettling period during the last months of the American Civil War, where gender roles were enforced by southern white men's efforts to preserve white supremacy, amidst a sudden rise of immigration, capitalism, and industrialization. White women were once again pushed back into the household and expected to learn the tools of the domestic trade. Their sex was restricted by the white male patriarchy from speaking out in public regarding equal rights for women, as they were forecasted to marry young and obediently support their husbands. Women in Texas were not expected to fill their brains with much academic material and instead prepare early for marriage and motherhood. From a very early age, Sallie was adamant that only she had the power to forge her own path. She desired to embark on an independent adventure rather than be a submissive wife. Sallie's life choices in Sherman trumped the social standards of white male authority. By 1884, she had already shown a strong sense of personal ambition and ability. As merry and delightful as her early life in Sherman was, she was ready to leave the small North Texas community and embark on a new adventure on her own. Only time would tell when the young lady would put her skills to the test and begin to harbor a fueling passion to help other females succeed in academics as a reformer and administrator. The individualistic traits and unique opportunities that Sallie Brooke acquired from her childhood experiences in Sherman became the intransigent features of a woman who would actively inspire young females and children to pursue their academic goals amidst community disapproval, and gradually challenge the white male patriarchy in the state's educational system.

CHAPTER II

UNEXPECTED LOVE & FAMILY, 1885-1910

In 1884, Fort Worth was suitably named “the city where the West begins.”⁷⁸ The latter-half of the nineteenth century brought many positive changes to the nation, as new technologies and a second industrial revolution allowed the national economy to grow rapidly, prompting immigration to the United States and migration from east coast to west coast to soar to previously unimagined heights. The expansion of the railroad industry connected the two sides of the continent for the first time in history in May 1869, allowing many towns in the southwest, including Fort Worth, to thrive demographically and economically. Often labeled “Cowtown,” due to its strategic location of being in the center of the nation’s cattle industry, Fort Worth was booming with more than just cattle drives by the time Sallie arrived at the end of 1884. The famed livestock center was a pivotal trading point for the wealthiest ranchers of the plains country, while two of the United States’s largest meat-packing plants were planned to be in Fort Worth. Additionally, the growing city was home to sizable grain silos and multiple cotton gins. Fort Worth would be one of the few cities in the nation to rapidly expand in population for over seventy years after the Civil War because of its proximity to Texas’s enormous oil fields permitted the city to do so, especially after the discovery of Texas oil at Spindletop starting in 1901. The short-lived newspaper, *The Democrat-Advance*, would remember the 1880s being kind to Fort Worth, noting that “the city hovering on the ragged edge of uncertainty, as to whether it would remain an overgrown village or develop into a city. It leaves it without a doubt in the minds of any, the most prosperous and progressive city in the state, the admiration of all, and with a future before it full of hope, and which excites the envy of its rivals.”⁷⁹ Fort Worth was the ideal medium between east and west, a community filled with boundless opportunities, and a quintessential place for Sallie Brooke to begin her adult journey as a young woman with extensive ambitions and dreams.

Sallie was astounded by the daily growth and bustling activities of Fort Worth, and apparently desired to become a part of the thriving community. Furthermore, it is presumed the young woman wished to spiritually expand, connect to new female acquaintances, and chat about

the recent outbreaks in feminist literature. Thus, she joined the congregation of the First Baptist Church in October 1884. Founded in 1867 by a pair of local pastors, W.W. Mitchell and A. Fitzgerald, the First Baptist Church in Fort Worth, then located on the corner of 4th and Thockmorton streets, had originally boasted over two-hundred members. However, the congregation separated into two churches in 1882. By the time Sallie joined the church two years later, the original congregation was very small—less than seventy-five members—and was struggling to keep financially afloat.⁸⁰ The sight of a weak church frustrated Sallie, who exclaimed “those poor people of God suffer so much....” Though she had been raised as a Methodist in Sherman, the woman did not mind being baptized and converting within sects of Christianity, because she wanted to make a difference among this spiritual group. The warm and friendly congregation, who had welcomed her with open arms, desperately needed volunteers, relief, and a little boost to revive its membership. In the end, the type of religion did not matter to Sallie. If the presence of God was felt in a different church, then Sallie was determined to cross religious lines, and donate time, money, and assistance to those who needed help.⁸¹

Fort Worth’s First Baptist Church’s congregation grew in the mid-1880s, from less than one-hundred to five-hundred and forty-one members, largely due to selfless and dedicated volunteers like Sallie Brooke. According to her notebook, the young woman regularly introduced herself to members of the congregation after services and frequently engaged in thoughtful conversations about women’s roles in the church and government. It was common in this time that religious organizations were often spaces for women’s Progressive Era reform activities, and Sallie naturally married her religious beliefs with parts of her reform agenda, in Sunday school and environmental conservation activism.⁸² Additionally, Sallie connected with a group of white females during weekly Wednesday afternoon sessions, where the topics discussed varied, from improving public school education in Texas to the plots of books that had been recently published. This specific group would later become the Fort Worth Woman’s Club, an organization that was part of “a club movement in which the ideology of ‘true womanhood’ was infused with new content, relevance, and meaningfulness for non-wage-earning women in modern America.”⁸³ The club still meets today. Sallie was named a charter member of this famed organization. In 1885, Pastor Walter E. Tynes allowed Sallie to preside over several Sunday school classes, where she was able to teach them about the word of God and perhaps also pick up some information about what the male and female students were taught in their public school

classrooms. Sallie consistently attended three church meetings each week-- the Sunday morning service, the Tuesday afternoon female lecture, and the Wednesday evening pastoral lecture. She embraced the rituals and traditions of the Baptist sect, focused intently on the sermons, listened attentively to the beautiful voices of the student choirs, and became a fervent advocate for the church in the community. Sallie's cheerful and accommodating personality became well-known in the populous streets of Fort Worth, especially when the woman, according to the church's newspaper of that month, joined many other volunteers and happily distributed home-made Christmas cookies and warm soup to those who were less fortunate in the winter of 1885.⁸⁴

In the late nineteenth century, many women were too reserved to showcase their talents and knowledge and shred the gender barriers which had traditionally kept them in the household. As historians Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck put simply, only several brave souls challenged and sequentially ripped the fabrics of the established gender roles apart: "Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Charlotte Perkins Gilman recognized and evaded that problem—as feminist revolutionaries had to—by distinguishing woman's reserved potential from her prevalent character and emphasizing the rapidity of progressive change."⁸⁵ Sallie Brooke was one of the few women who stepped outside the norm, and with an outspoken personality, dived head-first in a career path that was oriented towards the white male. She was not afraid to flirt with society's gender boundary. She had a desire to advance women's ambitions and publicly serve the community and its civilians. She thoroughly enjoyed following the words of God and giving back to the community, especially educating young children in the church's Sunday school classes. Sallie would note that she was "gravely disappointed" that public schools in North Texas were in a dismal state of array. The young scholars were not learning enough sufficient information in schools concerning the natural world or Christianity.⁸⁶ In this period, young women in school wanted to learn the same subjects as their male counterparts, however, they were heavily encouraged to instead master the duties of a "perfect" domestic housewife—according to a U.S. Bureau Census of the National Center for Education, only an estimated 33.4% (percentage of all students enrolled) or forty-thousand women had been given permission from their families to enroll and attend an institution of higher education in 1880. Sallie was among several woman leaders who desired to help others achieve their goals, even though society judged women on their weak intelligence.⁸⁷ Sallie Brooke embarked on a public service

career where she craved to make a *real* difference in women's education in North Texas and empower the shadowed gender to contribute more to society and the world.

When Sallie was educating children, connecting to other woman leaders, and learning about Fort Worth, a young Episcopalian entrepreneur, William Capps, entered her life. William was born on May 20, 1858 in Livingston, Tennessee and moved to Johnsons Station, Fort Worth at a very young age. He, according to *The Pitchfork*, sequentially captured the attention of many because of his handsome charm and bright personality and was dedicated to helping many Fort Worth families stabilize their finances and properties.⁸⁸ By his early-twenties in 1880, William Capps was recognizable in Fort Worth and across the state of Texas, and had amassed a huge fortune as a successful real-estate developer, builder, and president and editor of the *Fort Worth Record*, the city's first morning newspaper. A newspaper reporter once wrote in 1915 that William Capps was "a builder... a marshaller of social and industrial forces. It is natural for him to do big things. If the people of West Texas needed a railroad and Mrs. William Capps needed a new hen house, William Capps would build the railroad first." Another reporter commented on William's ambition on monitoring the successes of young unemployed men: "William Capps is not only a man of large constructive caliber, but he is a good man. He is particularly interested in young men of worth and stamina who are trying to make an honest success in the world."⁸⁹ William became one of the prime movers in the development of Fort Worth's South-Side residential district, a construction project that would employ hordes of men in the first-half of the 1920s. Much to the delight of his future wife, William Capps was elected president of the Fort Worth School Board for several terms, starting in 1902. The tycoon also attended law school for a brief period at Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee, was admitted to the Texas Bar in 1881, and became co-founder of the famed Fort Worth law firm, *Capps, Cantey, Hanger & Short Law Firm* in 1882. The firm represented the two largest electric holding companies in the nation-- American Power & Light Company and Electric Bond & Share Company-- among several other large industries. The office was spearheaded by William, who was often known for his innovative and "big picture" ideas, and Samuel Benton Cantey Sr., a lifelong student of the Constitution.⁹⁰

William Capps's fame grew on the night of October 18, 1884. Two Texas Rangers and a New Mexico sheriff rode into Fort Worth and promptly arrested "Longhaired" Jim Courtright.

They had a warrant signed by Texas Governor John Ireland, accusing Courtright of the murder of two men in New Mexico. The alleged criminal had originally served as sheriff of Fort Worth from 1876-1879, and successfully lowered the murder rate in the city by more than half by threatening to shoot innocent bystanders and criminals in cold blood if they were to disobey his orders.⁹¹ Courtright was held in a room at the Ginocchio Hotel that night, as the law officials intended to catch the first train out of Fort Worth the following morning. However, their plan was spoiled, as word of the arrest spread like wildfire, and an angry crowd quickly gathered outside of the hotel. Some reports note that many in the crowd had guns hanging on their hips. In a riotous mood, they demanded the release of Courtright, chanting “Ol’ Jim might have been a crooked marshal, but by Gawd, he had been *our* crooked marshal!” The restless citizens feared that the three law officials would kill Courtright in cold blood on the trip back to New Mexico, or even worse, turning the former marshal over to a Mexican lynch group. Texans had hostile feelings towards Mexico. And as the mob envisioned this scenario, anger flourished, and shouts of “Remember Goliad” and “Remember the Alamo” were chanted. The noise grew louder and more boisterous, and soon a major chunk of the city’s population was outside the hotel, chanting or observing what was happening. It is presumed that Sallie, a month-old resident in Fort Worth, was in the crowd that night. The terrified lawmen, knowing of William Capps’s popular rapport with the people of Fort Worth (and Capps’s personal friendship with Courtright), sent a hastily-written message to the lawyer pleading him to help cool the turbulent situation.⁹²

William Capps agreed to help. He ran to the chaotic scene and climbed atop the roof of the railroad ticket office next to the hotel. The crowd fell silent, gazing into the eyes of a man whom they admired. On his high perch, Capps ignored the threats of violence that were below him and showed true courage and bravery by reassuring the citizens of Fort Worth that the prisoner would not be harmed. He looked into the eyes of the unconvinced members of the mob and appealed to their hearts. Capps no doubt recognized many faces in the mob. The crowd gradually lowered their weapons, pitchforks, and lit torches. The anger in the atmosphere slowly diminished. Peace returned. William Capps must have given the best oration of his law career because he held the mob’s focus in check long enough for the three law officials to quietly smuggle Courtright out the back of the hotel and safely to the city jail. This tense situation was nothing like William had encountered before and had not been covered in any textbook or course during law school. However, William prevailed. Once William was finished with his speech, the

crowd dispersed, believing that their former sheriff would not face death in the hands of New Mexico's lawmen. Though "Longhaired" Jim Courtright escaped the next day, using two hidden pistols to violently kill the lawmen who had arrested him and continue to terrorize North Texas until his demise in a dual three years later, William Capps's audacity in delivering a rooftop speech amidst a threatening atmosphere impressed many citizens, including the fearless young woman of this story named Sallie Brooke.⁹³

Though William Capps demonstrated a vociferous attempt to successfully steer a crowd of angry civilians to peace, the man was habitually quiet and amicable. William B. Smith, editor for *The Pitchfork*, the humorous and satirical political magazine based in Dallas, once wrote the truth of William Capps in October 1916: "He loathes the thought of having the blood of a dog on his hands... he is as tenderhearted as a woman. He is an incarnation of peace and gentleness. If he were a well-man, he would be reluctant to set foot even upon a worm."⁹⁴ It was the gentle side of William Capps which caught the attention of Sallie Brooke. The pair met at a private event in 1886 and were immediately attracted to one another. Though the young woman had dismissed the subject of marriage for a long time, the twenty-one-year-old changed her mind. Sallie fell in love with William Capps. During their courtship, William presumably did not mind Sallie's independent personality. While William concentrated on his business opportunities, Sallie continued to progressively advocate for advancements in female education in Texas. Sallie's life goals and budding feminist objectives were protected under William Capps. Furthermore, the wealth and security that William had meant that if Sallie chose to marry him, she would not have to work for the rest of her life. The financial comfort would allow her more time to tend to future children and her desired public service career. The couple's respect towards one another in their family and personal goals guaranteed that the marriage would prosper from the start.⁹⁵

Sherman's well-received newspaper, *Sherman Daily Register*, recorded the events of the Capps wedding. On the evening of June 1, 1887, William Capps, accompanied by his brother, Frank Capps, and a close friend who would be his best man, Newton Lamiter, took the north-bound Missouri Pacific train to Sherman. The following morning at 10:30 on June 2, William Capps married Sallie Brooke, "one of the most lovely and intelligent young ladies of that day," quoted the *Texoma* newspaper. St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in downtown Sherman served as the venue for the ceremony and the vows were "officiated in by Bishop Garrett, and the beautiful

ceremony of the Episcopal ritual was gone through without a single falter indicative let it be hoped of a life without a ruffle of unpleasantness.” Family and friends from Sherman and Fort Worth presented the newly-wed couple with many elegant gifts as the friends of the groom congratulated William “on the step he is taking and trust that he and his fair young bride may enjoy a long, useful, and happy life.” After the ceremony and reception, the happy couple took an extended bridal trip to Niagara Falls, the Great Lakes, and other points of interests along the Canadian-United States border. On this celebratory day, Ms. Sallie Brooke became Mrs. William Capps.⁹⁶

It should be noted that the Capps marriage was unusual to other marriages of the period. Historian Nancy F. Cott notes that by the end of the nineteenth century, while the two houses of Congress were debating on the citizenship privileges of new immigrants, it was common that the general discussion on the streets focused on the pivotal role a male would play in the household upon his marriage. “He was the determining character; *his* capacity for labor; *his* capacity for citizenship mattered most. These qualities were linked to his potential to be a husband and father, the head of a household bound by ties to dependents he supported.” Historian Jessica Brannon-Wranosky expands on this truth in her essay: “[The] patriarchal idea commanded that men needed to be trustworthy leaders, with women placing ‘perfect confidence in [men’s] judgement’ and believing that they ‘always knew best.’” As the male legally and untimely possessed the voice, the vote, and the privileges of an American citizen, they usually represented their family in public and behind closed doors. The wife was subsequently named a submissive subject, and commonly treated as such. She applied her skills to the domestic roles of the household, such as entertaining guests, raising healthy children, and tending her husband’s daily wants and sexual desires.⁹⁷ The prescribed separation and common appearance of distinct roles for the genders upon marriage was a familiar sight in the South, a region that was once solely based off a structured racial and sexist hierarchy which empowered white-male patriarchal values.⁹⁸ Capps flirted with different values of love and desired a marriage in which both partners were on equal footing. She was not a submissive subject and within the conventional parameters kept a separate identity from her husband on many occasions—for example, she continued to attend services at the Fort Worth First Baptist Church while her husband would participate in Fort Worth’s Saint Andrew’s Episcopal Church services in accordance with his faith. However, she would not be entirely independent. She would enjoy marriage and did not avoid male companionship or sexual

intercourse. After childbirth, Capps would choose to play the role of a domestic mother because she enjoyed spending time with her four children. She took delight in educating and supporting their academic and extra-curricular endeavors. The woman would gradually blend this traditional female trajectory with a softer feminist side—the feminist opinions that she had developed in Sherman—as she would continue to advocate for the advancement of women in society at the same time as raising a family.

In Fort Worth, Capps's frequent exposure to children as a Sunday school teacher likely prompted the woman to begin thinking about growing her young family beyond a pair. It could be assumed that she gradually harbored a desire to have a small child of her own. And so, in the presence of Sallie's elderly mother—who, according to 1900 United States Federal Census records, had taken up residence in her daughter's home several years before her death in 1901—the couple were jubilant when they welcomed their first child, a healthy girl named Alba Capps, at their Fort Worth home on Weatherfold Street on February 11, 1890.⁹⁹ During Alba's infancy, the mother chose to spend most of her time at home, protecting and raising “her gift from God,” and educating her daughter on simple subjects such as sentence structure, grammar, and basic algebra. Capps wished for her eldest daughter to succeed in school like she once did, and closely monitored the girl during her daily homework sessions. Alba triumphantly lived up to her mother's academic expectations, and according to her report cards, was a “straight-A” student during her enrollment at a Fort Worth public school for nine years. Additionally, the girl achieved “outstanding” top marks in English literature, reading, and history.¹⁰⁰

Delighted with the delivery of their first child, the couple were ecstatic with the birth of their second child on January 1, 1892, also a healthy girl they named Mattie Mae.¹⁰¹ “Smaller and more rebellious” than her older sibling, according to several sources, Sallie's second daughter struggled to maintain the perfect academic standards Alba later achieved. At a Fort Worth public school, Mattie Mae earned numerous Cs and Bs in arithmetic, English, composition, reading, and spelling, though achieved the highest marks in her class in geography and history. Although academics was never a strong point for the younger daughter, Mattie Mae immersed herself in books, pamphlets, and other pieces of literature on France. She embraced its exquisite culture and romantic language. Following her fierce passion in the European country, Mattie Mae would become fluent in French, and even encouraged her mother to learn some of

the basic verbs, adjectives, and grammatical conjugations of the language. Whilst their academic levels differed in various ways, it seems that no sibling rivalry or jealousy ensued. Alba adored her little sister. Capps's two daughters were very close, as evident in photographs of them together, linked arm-in-arm and gaily skipping along Galveston Beach, often accompanied by a couple of male friends (see *Appendix A: Photographs*, page 87). Their closeness in photographs appears that the two sisters remained very friendly towards one another. Furthermore, when Alba moved up north the summer before her freshman year of high school and started attending the Virginia Female Institute in the fall of 1905, Mattie Mae subsequently followed suite two years later.¹⁰²

The Virginia Female Institute, later renamed Stuart Hall School after the widow of the famed Confederate general J.E.B. Stuart, Flora Cooke Stuart, was a prestigious and exclusive boarding school for white young women. It was founded in 1844 by Maria Sheffey and the Episcopal Church, and located in the small town of Staunton, Virginia. The Institute was one of the first female schools on the Atlantic Coast to offer girl's educational instruction past the elementary level. The school was famous for its structured schedule, as each female student was required to rise every morning by 6:45am, make their beds and quickly change into their uniforms. They would then proceed to eat breakfast at 7:30am upon the chimes of the principal's bell, attend a variety of liberal arts classes during the day, eat dinner following the conclusion of announcements at 6:30pm, complete homework during study hall at 8:00pm, and engage in thoughtful prayer before a 9:30pm bedtime. Furthermore, the mission of the institution was to develop the character and personal honor of each female, prompting the staff to praise students' cordially meetings with young gentlemen. The school also prevented any female from engaging in "non-lady" activities, which included smoking, drinking alcohol, and illicit sexual intercourse. One such example of these strict regulations comes from rule IX of the school's rule booklet: "The principal's chief injunction to her girls is 'Always be a lady.' A lady will offend nobody; therefore, the girls must not wound the feelings of the masculine sex by refusing to accept the various notes or return the cordial greetings extended to them during their daily walks."¹⁰³ Alba and Mattie Mae both attended the high school, then under the direction of Principal Maria Pendleton Duval. Sallie commended the Institute and recommended it to her husband for the girls' high school careers, as she wished to see her young developing girls grow into creative independent women.¹⁰⁴

Besides working hard on their academics, Alba and Mattie Mae took advantage of the extra-curriculars at the Virginia Female Institute, as their mother had at her high school in Sherman. Both young women attended the weekly Sunday church service at the Episcopal-based church that was adjacent to the school, and frequently occupied their time with discussions in Bible-study club. The girls were both excellent writers, each utilizing their talents in the school's publications—Alba wrote a touching story about two lost friends reuniting at Christmas, titled “A Christmas Surprise,” which was featured in the school's magazine, *The Inlook* in December 1907.¹⁰⁵ Mattie Mae became the editor-in-chief of the periodical in her senior year in the fall of 1910. The younger sister spread her creative talents beyond writing, getting elected as the vice-president of VFI's literacy society and performing in the school's medieval-based production of “The Cabaret” as a lady-in-waiting. Additionally, Capps's daughters were actively involved in the school's Pi Eta Kappa club, a structured local Greek sorority that coincidentally shared the same name with the University of Maine's male counterpart. Alba was elected the inaugural president of the organization, which was founded on January 3, 1906. Mattie Mae also held an executive office in the organization and became the assistant secretary upon their inductions. According to the secretary's meeting minutes between 1906-1909, the activities of the club consisted of examining books over savory hors d'oeuvres and sweet cakes, debating parliamentary and congressional laws, and attending the local theater. Furthermore, Pi Eta Kappa members were sworn to secrecy by an oral pledge upon their induction to the organization, and members were instructed to solely pass notes to each other regarding evening activities instead of publicly talking about them to others during school.¹⁰⁶

Sallie's and William's final child to survive to adulthood, a small yet healthy boy named Count Brooke Capps, was born on July 11, 1897.¹⁰⁷ Archival records show that Count Brooke was also a student at a Fort Worth public school and would attend the University of Texas at Austin before transferring and later graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1920. The boy, who was constantly praised by his affectionate mother for “having the creative brains in the family,” received “straight-As” in all his high school classes besides writing. Though little is written about the third child, photographic evidence suggests that Count Brooke enjoyed playing on Galveston Beach with his family, and embraced the pristine fashionable clothes of the period, often smiling and striking a

pose in front of the family house in a variety of vibrant outfits (see *Appendix A: Photographs*, page 86).¹⁰⁸

The Capps also had another child, a sickly boy named Andrew Wilson Capps, who was born on August 6, 1902. There are little archival records and no labeled photographs concerning Andrew, though it is presumed that his mother devoted much attention to her bed-ridden fourth child. This confirms that Sallie was whole-heartedly committed to her family, however, she was not a model-mother as her career extended to opportunities outside of the domestic sphere. After years of poor health, as medicines did not alleviate the pain and illness Andrew had, Sallie's second son died on October 15, 1918, a couple of months following his sixteenth birthday.¹⁰⁹ In addition to guiding them to academic successes, it is evident that Sallie B. Capps was constantly committed in playing the role of a dutiful mother—helping to provide the best cooked-meals, home-education, and motherly-advice to all her children, traits which enabled her three oldest offspring to flourish in their early careers.

Although she undertook a busy life raising her children, Capps never wavered on her true aspirations on progressively reforming young women and children's educations in North Texas. The woman, who cared deeply about her children's academic futures, was disgusted at the inadequate state of the primary schools in Fort Worth. Capps had been fortunate to start her education in Sherman at four years old, however, this was certainly not the case for other children in the Lone Star State. Fort Worth, among many other school districts, did not have a "beginning grade," as male and female students started their primary education at age six. As mentioned previously, Capps was obliged to educate her young children on basic subjects, such as English grammar, spelling, and mathematics, before they started school at six-years-old. Capps was not the only one who felt that a child's early education was dismal in Fort Worth's schools. In February 1896, Capps and fourteen other women from a local mothers' study club convened and declared that public schools in Texas needed a kindergarten "grade," where every child between the ages of four to six years old, would receive the valuable training and experience he/she would need before the start of their academic career. Capps would presumably agree with the words of Cornelia Branch Stone, the chairman of the Education Committee for Galveston's public schools: "I consider this [kindergarten] idea vital... children develop primary skills that construct the foundations of reading, counting, and social interaction."¹¹⁰ By the end of

that year, the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association was firmly established and the women founded a small school for kindergarten children. Capps supervised many young children, who according to a local pamphlet, “are growing into industrious, thoughtful and helpful little citizens and are being taught in simple, child-like ways their right duties and relationship in life.”¹¹¹ Her teaching and persistent efforts to open the school received praise from locals, including W.T. Fakes, who on June 1, 1900, wrote: “I am not unmindful of the selfless service, you, as a teacher, have rendered the kindergarten school and the state....”¹¹²

According to a *Dallas Morning News* article, the ladies of the kindergarten association attended a Fort Worth School Board meeting on September 4, 1900 to secure a place for their new school. William Capps and Mayor T.J. Powell were present to vouch their support for the organization.¹¹³ In mid-September, a training facility for kindergarten teachers was successfully set up in a rented room in the city’s Fourth Ward School building. The Fort Worth Kindergarten Training School, subsequently named The Fort Worth Kindergarten College in 1903, offered morning instruction and evening classes to young women from all parts of Texas, where they could “obtain the necessary training to enable them to become well-equipped kindergarten teachers.” According to an article in *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, the curriculum was based on the psychology of Dr. Denton Jacques Snider, a writer and educator of child psychology and one of the original members of the St. Louis Philosophical Society.¹¹⁴ The school became a popular academy in Fort Worth and would become a precedent for other kindergarten teacher colleges in Texas, such as Wallie Felton’s instructional college for kindergarten educators in Dallas and Edna Foster Faires’s kindergarten committee in Denison. Sarah Holmes Hardwicke wrote to her sister, education reformer Anna Pennybacker, discussing the proposal of a “musical kindergarten” in Dallas, where teachers presumably would immerse their young students in classical music as “various acoustics helps cognitive development.”¹¹⁵

The small Fort Worth institution maintained a high standard of scholarship and was increasingly successful. The college annually enrolled six to twelve women who graduated as self-supporting professionals.¹¹⁶ The teachers were important to the school’s success, and like most other teachers in the Progressive Era, “sought to upgrade their profession, ridding it both of intrusive moral constraints and political interference in hiring.” Sallie B. Capps, one of the college’s teachers and later elected as president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association in

1905, a position she held until 1919, played an instrumental role in encouraging young local women to master the field of teaching. Gerda Lerner notes that in the 1910s, there was “a shift in emphasis, from the single-issue suffrage campaign to a broad-spectrum attack on various issues related to the welfare of women and children.”¹¹⁷ Women in their twenties (with motherly instincts) could not resist chasing their dreams of becoming qualified kindergarten teachers and becoming a critical part in a child’s early development. For several years, the college was affiliated with the highly-successful Chicago Kindergarten College, an institution founded by Illinois native Elizabeth Harrison in 1885 that was committed to provide the best kindergarten instruction to teachers in the Mid-West.¹¹⁸ Due to the college’s significant success, *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, a North Texas women newspaper, named the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association as one of the most impactful women’s clubs in the region in October 1908.¹¹⁹

In this issue of *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, an editorial announcement noted that the “woman is not placed into the world as a mere toy or fixture of an establishment, a music box to grind out mechanically a fixed number of tunes, a merely sub servant or instrument or part; but she is a member of a great system, which comprehends God; a rational being, and in virtue of that rationality she has a duty to perform, which she owes to herself and to her maker.”¹²⁰ With these words in mind, Capps made certain that every member of the organization and student of the college were determined to use their acquired knowledge to positively affect society. By spring 1908, three years into Capps’s presidency, the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association had made rippling effects in white female education across Texas, especially in Fort Worth. Many graduates of the Fort Worth Kindergarten College went on to become the city’s first kindergarten teachers, after the North Fort Worth school board overwhelmingly voted to make the kindergarten “grade” a part of their public schools in fall 1907. Due to Capps’s strong leadership, the number of woman kindergarten teachers in Fort Worth rose steadily over the next decade. Capps’s devoted efforts did not stop at the local level. According to the *Journal of the Senate of Texas*, during the first session of the Thirty-First State Legislature in Austin (January 12- March 13, 1909), the kindergarten association and Senator Peeler Alexander presented a bill to the Texas Senate concerning the need for kindergarten “grades.” After much debate, the bill passed into law, giving power to school boards across the state to make nurseries a part of their public schools.¹²¹ According to *The Club Woman’s Argosy* October 1909 issue, the law was a major victory for Capps, the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association, and young women in Texas. By

discretion of the local school board, children as young as four years-of-age in Texas were given the opportunity to attend school and develop important cognitive skills faster than previous generations of students. Furthermore, a great number of white female teachers were hired to preside over the new kindergarten classes in segregated schools in many regions of the state as there were more professional careers for women.¹²² The chairman of the Civics Committee of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. A.H. McCarty, once said, that "the club of the future will address itself to the greatest problem of living. It will question poverty, crime, disease, education, economics, and all that pertains to society, with the aim of lessening the dreariness of human life, enlarging its scope, and lifting its horizon." It could be positively assumed that Mrs. McCarty strongly believed the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association was a club of the future.¹²³

What made Capps's activism possible included her ability to integrate her reforms with her life as wife and mother. During her tenure as a kindergarten teacher and president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association, Capps, being the steadfast and committed mother she was, regularly made the long trek up to Staunton by railcar or a new ethanol-powered motored vehicle called the automobile, to support her eldest daughters' endeavors. As noted in her diary, the woman attended the annual VFI Christmas recital on December 14, 1906. She enjoyed the concert and piano solos combination, and applauded the female students, including Alba, after they finished gracefully singing various seasonal songs. Five months later, Capps was back on the VFI campus, where she relished the music of a student dramatic recital on April 12, 1907. Alba was one of the few select choral students chosen to sing a variety of beautiful melodies, including *The Array* by Rubenstein, *The Bells* by Edgar Allen Poe, and *Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes* by an anonymous English songwriter. Moreover, when Mattie Mae enrolled in the female boarding school that fall, Capps habitually attended the concerts, art exhibitions, and theater productions that her younger daughter participated in. Her unwavering love also extended towards her youngest son, Count Brooke. On many occasions in the fall months of 1906, it is recorded that Capps treated nine-year-old Count Brooke with visits to the Beverley Theater in Staunton, where they enjoyed watching many student theatrical reproductions of *Sergeant Kitty*, one of the first of nineteen musicals written by R.H. Burnside; *The Country Chairman*, a non-musical comedy about a local politician struggling to his voice amidst his constituents; and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, the famed comedic production about two twins who are separated in a shipwreck and each find love upon first sight.¹²⁴

In the lead-up and aftermath of her successful passage of the Kindergarten Bill in the Texas Legislature during the spring months of 1909, Capps continued to periodically travel to north to see her daughters and appreciate the fine arts performances that were there. She and her husband savored the charm of old English literature during a production of Shakespeare's *A Midsummers Night's Dream* at Gunston Hall in Lorton, Virginia, on February 20, 1909. Six days later, on February 26, as described in a letter written to a close friend, Sallie attended a Pi Eta Kappa event at VIF with Mattie Mae called "Colonial Tea." The club's members and their parents dressed in colonial attire and enjoyed hot tea and violet/white ice cream under the canvases of a large tent that was decorated with red, white, and blue streamers, mini American flags, and a large portrait of George Washington. On March 4, Capps was among the thousands of spectators at the presidential inauguration of William Howard Taft, the twenty-sixth man elected to the highest office in the land. Since a blizzard from the night prior to the ceremony had covered the streets of Washington D.C. with over ten inches of snow, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Melville Fuller in the Senate Chamber. It could be assumed that Capps was a fan of the progressive politicians, as she received signed autographs from Taft and Vice-President James S. Sherman in her inaugural souvenir book. Additionally, the woman toured Arlington National Cemetery and viewed the stone graves of the many fallen Civil War soldiers who had been laid to rest, as evident by an automobile sight-seeing guide of the burial site she had collected that afternoon.¹²⁵ Though Capps was heavily involved in progressive reforms after the start of her involvement with Fort Worth's First Baptist Church in 1884, she demonstrated her commitment to her family as she continually found time to appreciate music concerts and theater productions with them, activities which were then reserved for the wealthy.

The month of May in 1909 was a time of celebrations for the Capps. Alba would be among the minority of women in the nation to graduate high school, a feat that her mother had accomplished seventeen years prior. The eldest daughter was a successful scholar who managed to maintain a high culminative grade-point average whilst involved in her extra-curriculars, and a steadfast student who exemplified the school's mission and academic goals. Thus, Alba was chosen by the VFI administration as the House Girl during her senior year, a pinnacle appointment given to one female in her last year of studies who "showed true excellence in academics, leadership, and extra-curriculars."¹²⁶ Furthermore, Alba was selected by her colleagues to give the class presentation during a traditional pre-graduation ceremony on the eve

before the commencement activities. Her captivating speech, which is noted to have brought tears to Capps's eyes, praised the dedicated efforts of the teachers and noted that the soon-to-be graduates "shall ever remember our days here... our very happiest and to be thankful that we have been able to spend so many years under the kindly guidance and ennobling example of our dear principal."¹²⁷ The next morning, on May 26, 1909, Alba Capps walked across the stage, received her high school diploma, and graduated from the Virginia Female Institute. After the ceremony, she gave her mother a big hug and constantly thanked her for the love and motivation Sallie had provided. It is pivotal to point out that Sallie B. Capps was also the role model for Mattie Mae and Count Brooke, two young scholars who desired to emulate their mother's successful academic achievements and would both graduate from high school in years later. In sum, family life energized her. Capps's willingness to educate her children at home before they could enroll in primary school, her persistence in closely monitoring their grades and homework, and her unfaltering dedication in providing her offspring with the best tools to succeed in their academic careers were paramount in establishing her own role in society as a devoted mother who also led a public service career in reforming education in North Texas.

Celebratory spirit was still prominent in the family's atmosphere in the days following Alba's academic milestone. According to the ship's handbill, Capps and her family boarded a Southern Pacific-Atlantic passenger steamship named *Antilles* on May 29, 1909. The gathering was quartered in a luxurious first-class cabin and enjoyed a relaxing journey down the east coast of the United States, around the Florida Keys, and deep into the heart of the Gulf of Mexico. The trip, which covered thousands of miles from New York City to New Orleans, must have been a delight for Sallie, who would have seen the natural elements of the oceans and exotic plants of the Everglades.¹²⁸ Upon their return to Fort Worth in January 1910, the Capps looked for a new place to live. According to several sources in uptown Fort Worth, Sallie B. Capps was adamant in choosing a residence that within walking distance of the downtown plaza, not only for the scenic natural views from her reading window, but also to excitedly remember the times she used to stroll into downtown Sherman as a teenager. After a month of decisive searching, the couple settled upon and purchased the famed Queen Anne's House for a pricey sum of \$25,000. Located on "Fort Worth's Quality Hill," 1120 Penn Street was one among the several luxurious two-story Victorian-styled homes of Fort Worth's most affluent neighborhood. Among Sallie and William's neighbors were wealthy bankers, city businessmen, lawyers, physicians, and famed

publishers. According to one independent scholar, “if the board game of Monopoly had a ‘Fort Worth 1900’ version, the board would have Penn Street, and putting a house on Penn Street would cost you a wad of play money.”¹²⁹ The house, which would be worth over \$628,000 today, was built in 1898 and ornately designed by Howard Messer, a British architect who was publicly obsessed with creating diamond patterns of colored bricks in each of his projects.¹³⁰

The Capps bought the home from the aging Dr. Joseph R. Pollock, a homeopathic physician from Illinois and a former president of the Texas Homeopathic Physicians Association, and his wife, Phoebe were packing their boxes. The Pollocks had occupied the house since its beginning twelve years prior when they had first moved to Texas and had routinely entertained Fort Worth’s wealthiest groups at several receptions in the lavishly-furnished residence. According to a column in the *Fort Worth Register*, dated on November 11, 1900, it is recorded that Phoebe Pollock’s fashionable reception that evening was “the first important event of the social season.” An abundant number of guests were treated to fine wines and appetizers. Additionally, many praised the bright interior of the house, which was seasonally decorated with autumn’s most colorful floral displays, collections of white and pink roses, and decorative streamers. The driveway outside was crowded with several hundred parked carts. It is presumed that many that night went home with their stomachs full of delicious foods and alcohol. Though many celebratory parties were held at the residence over the next ten years, the Pollocks were aware to tidy up and leave Queen Anne’s House in an orderly state upon the Capps’s arrival.¹³¹

Sallie B. Capps fell in love with the family’s new home. Beyond the red brick and limestone exterior, she fondly admired several large interior rooms, the grand wooden staircase at the foot of the entrance hall, the unique hexagonal corner tower in the house’s northeast corner, and the decorative stained-glass windows spotted throughout the first floor. Sallie B. Capps also took great pride in up-keeping the two ornate chandeliers, which hung in the dining and sitting rooms. As he was fascinated by bigger projects, William incorporated his grand ideas in remodeling the Queen Anne’s House in the summer of 1910. William, along with Sallie and Count Brooke, enlarged the interior by adding three bedrooms, a functioning bathroom, and a conservatory, in addition to attaching a three-car garage and a sizable ballroom to the back of the large house. Furthermore, the exterior changed, as the front porch was expanded and enclosed for privacy, and a golf course and a couple of tennis courts were subsequently built. Upon

Sallie's recommendation, a barn was constructed on the property. This stilted structure would become the home to several horses and cows Sallie insisted on keeping and nurturing.¹³² Besides the supplementary household features, the residence's location was perfect for the mother and her children to easily walk into downtown Fort Worth without hassle, and Sallie never needed to worry about the hot Texas summers during the days before air conditioning, as the bluff-top estates of Penn Street were consistently kept cool by the breezes which drafted off from the nearby Trinity River in the West.¹³³ The Queen Anne's House would remain an integral part in the Capps family's lives until 1971, when the residence was purchased by the Historic Fort Worth Inc., and the Texas Historical Commission subsequently named the Pollock-Capps House a state landmark six years later in 1977. The structure, restored after its original glory, still stands today, atop the bluff-tops of Fort Worth as a remembrance beacon of both influential families.¹³⁴

In this period of her life, Capps began to develop a strong commitment to improve academic opportunities for women and young children in local public schools. This devotion can be seen in her steadfast leadership as a church volunteer and the president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association. Furthermore, Capps's involvement in a local book club became pivotal in the development of the Fort Worth's Woman's Club, an organization that demonstrated her intent to promote white women on an equal social level. Additionally, Capps immensely enjoyed her domestic life, and began to appreciate the idea of growing a family. She was actively engaged in her children's academic careers and still found the time to travel and attend many student theater productions. Her love towards nature and the fine arts grew during this period. Capps's choice to become a mother can be described by historian Wendy Kline, who writes that "many feminists, moral reformers, psychiatrists, cultural critics, and eugenicists perceived motherhood as a privilege, not a right, limited to those who demonstrated the ability of a 'highly trained specialist' to inculcate morality, education, and healthy habits in their children."¹³⁵ In sum, Sallie B. Capps integrated domesticity and feminist advocacy. She willingly chose to marry and birth children while still pursuing her goals in achieving more equalized academic and professional opportunities for females. In Fort Worth, Capps found love in a happy marriage and in organizations she desired to use to advance woman equality in North Texas.¹³⁶

As the nineteenth century concluded and the twentieth century gradually unfolded, Sallie B. Capps's experiences in the city guided her to new opportunities. She fell in love with William

Capps. The marriage was a happy union, as evident by four children, three who would survive to adulthood. Though Capps enjoyed life in the domestic sphere, she also desired to live outside of the household. In public, she harbored a passion for volunteer work and saw her early high school education and professional networking as means of furthering her public service goals. She dedicated her time to the people of Fort Worth and created more educational opportunities for children and women. Her steadfast desire to help society provoked the young woman to help the homeless during charitable events hosted by Fort Worth's First Baptist Church and vocally advocate for the introduction of a kindergarten 'grade' in Texas's public schools. Her successful tenure as president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association demonstrated Sallie's devotion to helping others who were neglected by society, a trait which would subsequently get her unanimously elected as the new secretary on the Board of Regents for the College of Industrial Arts in Denton in 1911. In Fort Worth, Sallie Brooke Capps became a woman who unexpectedly enjoyed raising a family but also keenly sought a life beyond the domestic sphere, where she began to significantly contribute to the progressive growth of state and local education.

CHAPTER III

SECRETARY OF THE COLLEGE OF THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS'S BOARD OF REGENTS, 1911-1929

Historian Patricia Albjerg Graham notes that “the American woman of the early twentieth century was to appear young, beautiful, and ardent on demand. She was also to find happiness in her home.” Furthermore, it was understood that college degrees or academic involvement were more useful for men, who were required to work and provide for their families. Whereas, young women were not encouraged to engage in education because they were to reluctantly view their “future through a wedding band.”¹³⁷ In their life, women would be bound in a relationship that required them to possess knowledge of children and domesticity instead of mathematics and English composition. The College of Industrial Arts, which was approved by the narrowest of victories in the Texas Legislature (lawfully established by one vote) and chartered in April 1901, was a product conceived from the Texas Women’s Christian Temperance Union reformers who challenged the duties of a marriage and the normality of a woman’s life as described above. Thus, the thousands of young women who enrolled in the college after 1901 embraced higher education. These young pupils followed in the footsteps of many progressive females, including a woman who once tried the patience of a small North Texas community and received an unexpected high school diploma. The college’s students followed suit, confronted the anticipated nature of womanhood, and obtained college degrees that were once symbolic objects of male power. Unsurprisingly, the College of Industrial Arts in Denton became a second home to Sallie B. Capps, as the Fort Worth resident used her administrative status and professional networking connections to continue advocating for more academic opportunities for scores of young white women and children in North Texas.

Helen M. Stoddard and the Texas WCTU originally envisioned “an institution of broad culture and wide opportunities that would attract the wealthy and noble as well as those of the humbler walks, and it must be open only to those young women whose lives are pure and blameless.” Denton became the home to the proposed school. American studies educator High Hawkins once wrote that “colleges [in the twentieth century] also relied on local and regional royalties [money and scholarship funding].” Since the success of North Texas State Normal

College (known as the University of North Texas today), Denton citizens were excited to welcome another academic institution in their community, as shown by promising to give seventy acres of land to the school. The town's men also dug a six-inch artisan well on the grounds to guarantee an abundant water supply. The Texas Industrial Institute and College for the Education of White Girls of the State of Texas in Arts and Science—here shortened to the College of Industrial Arts—officially opened its doors to great applause in September 1903 and offered a curriculum that was comprised of industrial studies, scientific cooking, practical housekeeping, and education. Texas Governor Joseph D. Sayers named Cree T. Work the college's first president and appointed four men and three women to the school's original Board of Regents that year. The administration's mission was "to meet the need of our times in training women who will be competent, intelligent and refined; well fitted for self-support... thoroughly prepared for woman's work in the industrial and commercial world... well trained for companionship with worthy manhood and motherhood..." President Work reinforced CIA's desire to engage in progressivism and education reform as young women were encouraged "to enter other suitable occupations [other than home keeping] if they so desire." He praised the Board's future vision in providing the girls "equivalent opportunities with the boys." The college was distinct from other institutions as it rebuffed the traditional male college curriculum and gave young women the opportunity to pursue higher education. When the Board of Regents needed a new secretary in spring 1911, a candidate who would embrace the pioneering vision of the college, they looked no further than Fort Worth and approached a formidable leader who had already significantly impacted public schools in Texas with her extensive involvement in the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association and its teacher training college. Upon the approval of Texas Governor Oscar Branch Colquitt and the college's second President W.B. Bizzell, Sallie Brooke Capps became the Secretary of the CIA's Board of Regents on March 1, 1911.¹³⁸

Within a decade of opening, the College of Industrial Arts advanced the prospects of women in the state, as students who desired to become independent professionals in their fields were able to pursue an accredited degree. As the only woman's state-funded college in Texas, the institution streamlined the progressive movements of white women. When Francis Marion Bralley assumed the CIA presidency on September 1, 1914, the administration initiated a new four-year college-level curriculum with courses in music, home economics, and education. Though the revisions were "long and tedious," according to several faculty members, President

Bralley became close to the Regents's secretary, whom he consistently depended on for support. Capps was instrumental in reevaluating the degree requirements, which allowed the college to present the first Bachelor of Arts degrees to three women in May 1915. In August 1916, the Texas State Department of Education recognized the College of Industrial Arts as "a college of the first class," a distinction that meant that bachelor's degrees from CIA would carry equal recognition with bachelor's degrees of any other college or university in the state. CIA female graduates could proudly say that their diplomas that signified the culmination of their academic studies were on an equal standing with those of the male graduates from the University of Texas at Austin and Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in College Station. The designation of first-class status was a major triumph for the Board of Regents and President Bralley, who often reminded the students that "as long as I have anything to do with it, the College of Industrial Arts will never be the tail of the educational kite of any other educational organization in Texas." Reflecting the influence of Capps on the Board, the school's department of education, which was attempting to meet the demands for one thousand new female public school teachers each year, expanded its faculty and started to offer kindergarten teacher-training courses in August 1917. The kindergarten "laboratory," used by students who engaged in hands-on teaching with children from the elementary schools in Denton, was the first program of its kind at a state-funded college. These decisive academic measures enabled CIA students to be entitled to receive teacher certificates with their diplomas at graduation. The college's revised curriculum and academic standards, the progressive brainchildren of President Bralley, the Board, and Capps, are direct examples of a female institution of higher education snatching the spotlight from a field of male-dominated universities. Capps's invested group of young feminist prodigies became academically independent, as shown in a 1915 school newsletter: "The girl who is thrown on her own resources seldom lands in an easy chair. It might be added, however, that being a graduate from the College of Industrial Arts puts a cushion on it."¹³⁹

However, good news turned sour as the College of Industrial Arts experienced problems regarding the lack of on-campus housing for students in the 1910s. At the end of the 1916 fall semester, it was recorded that only 41 percent of students were accommodated in the dormitories on the Denton campus. Many other pupils had to quickly scramble to find beds at the local boarding houses, where owners would unfairly charge high rates that the young scholars could barely afford. Since the college frequently boasted that they were one of the few residential

college campuses in Texas, this dilemma was subject to ruin the school's prestige and image. To solve the problem, the Board of Regents and President Bralley proposed using state funds to build two residential buildings. In spring 1917, the Texas Legislature appropriated money for the two dormitories. One of these dormitories was Lowry Hall, named after the CIA Regent from Honey Grove, James H. Lowry. President Bralley promptly named the other dormitory after one of his closest friends, Sallie B. Capps, and the Board unanimously approved the motion.¹⁴⁰ All the Regents felt that their secretary deserved recognition for her tireless service to the institution thus far. Capps's Hall, which cost the college \$115,000 to build, was ceremonially dedicated in spring 1918 in front of a large energetic crowd of Regents, faculty, students, and Denton citizens. The president invited the *Dallas Morning News* and other state press organizations to report the special occasion.¹⁴¹ The Sallie B. Capps Hall was a modern, fireproof dormitory that contained a community kitchen, a games room with comfy chairs and a billiards table, seventy-two furnished bedrooms, and housed one hundred and fifty-nine students in the first year of its opening. Capps Hall not only became a prominent fixture on Dormitory Row, a street of eight residence halls located on the north side of the CIA campus, but additionally served as a safe and welcoming habitation which thousands of female students (and later male students when they were admitted into Texas Woman's University undergraduate programs in 1972) called "home."¹⁴²

Despite a shortage of funds, secretary Capps was pivotal in the development of the college's popular summer courses, which were first introduced in June 1917. That summer, the college hosted three hundred classes, more than the number of courses offered in any quarter. Due to new classes and academic programs, the college's enrollment skyrocketed to over two-thousand pupils, and according to a *Dallas Morning News* article in November 1918, though only fifteen years old, the College of Industrial Arts was the second-largest educational institution of higher learning in Texas.¹⁴³ Upon this astonishing momentum of growth, Capps also gathered support from her colleagues on the Board to approve the construction of two new campus facilities in 1920, a \$150,000 music hall and a \$85,000 gymnasium. The CIA Auditorium-Music Hall opened in spring 1922 "as a model of its kind and the pride not only of the College, but of the community," and housed over three thousand seats on two-stories. The gymnasium, which opened in August 1921 to much applause, contained physical training equipment, lockers, classrooms, and a swimming pool which would be used by thousands of students each year during swimming lessons. As the CIA campus expanded in the 1920s, the

pupils' academic and recreational horizons broadened due to the tireless efforts of the Board and college's president, who each desired to constantly serve the best interests of the students.¹⁴⁴

While education reform was on Capps's mind during the 1910s, the suffrage movement in Texas was slowly gaining momentum. Under the direction of Minnie Fisher Cunningham, the Texas Equal Suffrage Association (TESA), affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association and local grassroots support, attempted and failed to gain full voting rights from the state legislature in Austin between 1916-1918. Locally, the Dallas Equal Suffrage Association (DESA) concentrated on informing the public of the cause, writing articles for the periodicals and distributing informative pamphlets at meetings of other organizations, including at clubs in Denton and Fort Worth. According to historian Elizabeth York Enstam, these white middle-class women desired the right to vote because they wanted to "clean up politics, to raise the standards of public life, and to apply the values of home and family to community problems." Between 1913- 1917, DESA hosted an annual gathering called "Suffrage Day," where suffragists from Dallas joined forces with reformers from the TESA and paraded around the grounds of the State Fair of Texas, distributing propaganda flyers to fairgoers and waving bright yellow flags that read "Votes for Women." After years of parading, in January 1918, Cunningham and the TESA focused their efforts on primary suffrage, which would require only a simple legislative majority in the Texas House and Senate and serve as a stepping stone in attaining full suffrage. There is no direct evidence that Capps was involved in the state's suffrage movement, however, it could be presumed that the fairly-feminist progressive was aware of the TESA's agenda. A preliminary victory was scored on March 26, 1918, when Governor William P. Hobby signed a bill that gave white Texas women the right to vote in all primary elections and nominating conventions.¹⁴⁵

Suffragists nationwide continued this movement, and finally on August 18, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was adopted. This law was groundbreaking. For the first time in American history, women were given a direct vote in national elections and a voice in the solution of social problems (white women were given a political voice, and in some states, African American women were too). Like many other reformers, Capps cherished the good news. She wrote to a friend noting that "the Suffrage Bill is historic... a desirable victory for our young women."¹⁴⁶ The secretary intended to spread the significance of this law across the CIA

campus. At her request, the student bulletin printed on November 1, 1921 offered advice and support to new women voters on campus. Additionally, “the bulletin encouraged middle-class women to learn about finances and state institutions and recommended laws dealing with compulsory education, labor, liquor, divorce, public health, morals, and safety as special areas of concern for women.”¹⁴⁷ This evidence on Capps’s involvement in championing the significance of the Nineteenth Amendment on campus shows that the progressive leader saw women’s votes as necessary for solving key social issues at the local and state levels. This was a campaign, a woman’s movement across the country, and Sallie B. Capps played an instrumental role in bringing civic politics to the campus.

Dr. Bralley’s tenure as the president of the College of Industrial Arts remains today as one of the most expansive periods of growth in the institution’s history. The administrator noted in the summer bulletin of 1924 that the college “is proud of the record it has made in the efforts to serve, broadly and helpfully, the State of Texas. In home and in the communities, and in many of the suitable vocations for women, throughout Texas, are thousands of the former students of this college, whose vision and leadership are recognized. Their service makes Texas a better and safe place in which to live, and their influence for good will bless the oncoming generation of the state.”¹⁴⁸ Thus far, the president and Regents had created opportunities that allowed CIA’s students to acquire valuable knowledge and broaden their skill sets to help advance the state’s progressive agendas. More pioneering plans on creating new academic departments had been planned, however, the school’s leadership diminished greatly by the end of that summer. The fate of the college hung in balance when President Bralley suddenly became ill on August 7, 1924, with a mild strain of influenza. Following several days of fever, he was taken to Baylor Hospital in Dallas. His condition worsened, and the beloved administrator of the College of Industrial Arts died of myocarditis on the morning of August 23. According to a *Dallas Morning News* article, the CIA Board of Regents swiftly convened for a special meeting on August 25 to discuss the selection of the college’s next president. Dean Edmund Valentine White was proclaimed the Interim President and James H. Lowry was named chairman of the search committee. The news article then stated that nominations and endorsements concerning the people of Texas’s choice for Dr. Bralley’s successor were strongly encouraged to be sent directly to secretary Capps’s house address in Fort Worth.¹⁴⁹

The first candidate to be nominated for the CIA presidency was Annie Webb Blanton. In the 1920s, Blanton was one of the most educated females in Texas, having graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with bachelors and master's degrees in English and literature. Furthermore, the woman had been a consistent advocate for education reform for females since the days after her collegiate studies, as demonstrated by her steadfast dedication in raising funds to improve the facilities of public schools throughout the state during her four-year stint as the first female state superintendent for Texas public schools, an elected position she decisively won one year before the successful passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Blanton had spread her influence over many women-dominated organizations, as a well-favored faculty member at North Texas State College in Denton for seventeen years, vice-president of the National Education Association, president of the Texas Teacher's Association, and founder of Delta Kappa Gamma, the international society for key women educators.¹⁵⁰ The progressive woman, who claimed that "the evidence of my business ability, executive ability, and power to influence the legislature and organize the state for [the] school purposes are critical for this position," was clearly the favorite candidate to take the reins. Since the first three presidents of the woman college had been men, it could be presumed that many progressive reformers desired to have a female president and launched their support towards Blanton. Frederick Eby, a prolific Christian author and religious studies professor at the University of Texas at Austin, praised the successes of his colleague on August 27, 1924, and addressed Blanton as "a very able administrator, thoroughly conversant with the best ideals of education and capable of organizing an institution of learning and directing its activities efficiently." A day later, Mrs. W.E. Odone, a frequent education collaborator with Blanton, commended the former state superintendent for her appropriate academic training and scholarship, and noted that "her administration will go down in history as one of the most constructive and far-reaching [for public schools] in Texas."¹⁵¹

Many other endorsements for Blanton followed suit in the last week of August and in to the month of September. Various superintendents from school districts in Texas applauded Blanton's impactful decisions to drive more money into Texas's defective public schools during her tenure as the state superintendent, including Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith of Gainesville County public schools, J.W. Cantwell of Wichita Falls public schools, Effie Price of Wise County public schools, Mrs. Frederick Turner of Washington County public schools, E.G. Littlejohn of Galveston County public schools, and Mary Nash of Kaufman County public schools. S.M.N.

Marris, Blanton's successor at the state office, examined his colleague closely: "I have rarely met anyone who had a better grasp of details and who could so quickly and almost intuitively arrive at correct conclusions with reference to matters which required prompt action." Local business also gave their support to Blanton. W.W. Woodson, president of the First National Bank in Waco, wrote that Blanton was an "excellent choice [as] she understands the womanhood of Texas," while Ella F. Little of Wichita Falls and Nathan Adams of Dallas, two hotel owners, saluted their candidate's fierce compassion towards people.¹⁵² A variety of people believed that a woman was destined to lead CIA's next generation of female students to success, including Mrs. J.M.F. Gill of the Texas Woman's Press Association and Decca Lamar West, historian of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, the first president of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association, insisted that Blanton would be chosen as the finalist because the few female regents on the Board would successfully persuade their colleagues to favorably vote for the former state superintendent.¹⁵³ J.C. Cochran, superintendent of public schools in the City of Lockhart, wrote on August 29, that it should be natural for a woman to ascend to the CIA presidency because "women are now being recognized in positions of high honor and trust." Annie Webb Blanton also believed that Texas's only state college for women should be managed by a woman, enclosing a copy of her best-selling book, *Hand Book of Information on Education in Texas*, with her application and a note questioning the reality of the times: "Is it not fitting that a woman should be granted the opportunity of making a success as its (CIA) President?"¹⁵⁴

On September 6, 1924, T. Whitefield Davidson, an attorney in Marshall, expressed his opinion on the presidency matters, writing that he "prefer a man for the head of a great institution, but this is a school of girls, and if a woman possess the same qualifications, then I would be for the woman and for that reason I am for Miss Blanton." The East Texas lawyer was one of the many people who openly voiced their support for Blanton. However, there were a few Texans who expressed their disapproval of the female candidate because of her family ties. Blanton's brother, Thomas Lindsay Blanton, was a congressman in the United States House of Representatives and like all politicians, had some vocal enemies. On September 13, W.E. Spell, a contractor of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company and family friend of the Capps, described Thomas as "hysterical and temperamental as it is possible for a person to be at large." Furthermore, the CIA Ex-Students Association of Dallas and O.E. Schow of The Schow Brothers-Dealers in General Merchandise and Furniture in Clifton sent letters to Capps,

revealing their strong objections to Blanton's candidacy, with the latter's correspondence noting that "one Blanton in public life in Texas is enough, two would mean untold injury."¹⁵⁵

H.E. Speck, Dean of Students at the San Marcos Teacher's College, nominated Mr. Edmund Valentine White for the CIA Presidency on September 5, 1924. Mr. White, the second candidate for the position, was the Dean of Students and Director of the mathematics department at the College of Industrial Arts. He was credited for creating the institution's first annual academic catalog. The administrator was very popular among the CIA faculty and student body, and garnered many endorsements from alumni, most notably from the Ex-Students Associations in Denton, Dallas, and Fort Worth. The president of the Ex-Students Association in Mineral Wells wrote: "More than anyone else, Mr. White has been closely connected with the organization and plans of the college so that he is able to carry out the work of the coming year most successfully with the least friction." Roberta Clay, a 1921 graduate of the college, penned a letter to the Board of Regents and pronounced that "every one of those thousands of girls [who graduated from CIA] is with me in feeling that Dean White is the very person to execute the affairs of the college, and to keep alive the wonderful spirit of the College of Industrial Arts." Though E.V. White had the school's inside approval, a petition started by Joseph Gallivan and addressed to the CIA Board of Regents noting the Dean's secret affiliation with the Klu Klux Klan ruined his chances to become the college's President. It was believed that one of E.V. White's top endorsements, Ed R. Bentley, had received support from the Klan's Grand Dragon A.D. Ellis during his successful 1922 state superintendent campaign.¹⁵⁶

The third candidate to be nominated for the CIA Presidency was Dr. C.D. Judd. Dr. Judd had all the traits some members of the Board of Regents were looking for in a college president-- Christian, highly-educated, and a well-respected Southern gentleman. Formerly a teacher and a superintendent from Eastland County in West Texas, Dr. Judd had then received his doctoral degree from Peabody Institute in Baltimore before joining the faculty at the College of Industrial Arts in 1921. Two popular attorneys from Eastland, H.P. Brelsford and Allen D. Dabney, endorsed their close friend on September 13: "To those who do not know him, let us say that we can conceive of no better man for the presidency of the College of Industrial Arts, than Dr. C.D. Judd." Four days later, the Texas State Bank of Eastland and the Thursday Afternoon Study Club of Eastland mailed their letters of endorsement. The elderly members of the study club remarked

that Dr. C.D. Judd “is a man of sympathetic understanding, with a love for the higher ideals of life, interested in the protection and in the purity of our young womanhood.” Ten days before the finalist was announced on September 22, 1924, Judd Mortimer Lewis, an advisor to Texas Governor Pat M. Neft, officially endorsed Dr. Lindsey Blayney of Houston. Dr. Blayney, the fourth candidate for the position, was a nationally-recognized writer and lecturer in education, having served on the faculties of the University of Kentucky and Rice Institute. The gentleman had also received a Distinguished Service Medal from the United States government for his peace efforts in Germany following World War I. Nellie M. Mills, the president of the Ex-Students Association in Houston, and Elise Pickett, the president of the Ex-Students Association in Austin, both strongly supported Dr. Blayney, citing his national public service career and close ties with the late Dr. Bralley. In his cover letter addressed to Capps, Dr. Blayney boasted about his national feats, and recorded that *only* he could improve the institution: “Let me repeat that I have an intimate knowledge of the problems that confront the college, and I believe as president I would be instrumental in bringing these problems to a happy situation.”¹⁵⁷

Capps heavily favored Annie Webb Blanton for the CIA Presidency. Her endorsement for the former state superintendent is evident from several letters. On August 27, 1924, Capps drafted a letter to Regent James H. Lowry, imploring him to favor Blanton: “She [Blanton] is far-seeking, conscientious, adaptable, sympathetic, and worthy of any honor or distinctions which the Board or citizens of Texas might confer upon her.” Maggie W. Barry, chairman of the American Home Department of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in College Station, wrote a message to Capps on September 4, acknowledging the secretary’s support for the favored candidate and persuading her to not give up hope: “I know you and Miss [Mary Eleanor] Brackenridge formerly favored a woman for the presidency of the College of Industrial Arts and I believe you would still like to see our great girl’s school that you have contributed so much towards developing presided over by a woman....”¹⁵⁸ However, Capps could not rally the support for Blanton—Mary Eleanor Brackenridge, the regent from San Antonio and an ally to Capps, died before the Board made its final decision.

After much consideration, the Board of Regents chose Dr. Lindsey Blayney as the finalist for the Presidency of the College of Industrial Arts and Science on October 2, 1924. Most of the regents refused to give serious consideration to hiring a woman. Capps’s plea to confirm a

woman as president of the state's first woman college is a clear indication that Capps regularly discussed feminist plans and motivations with her colleagues on the Board. Upon hearing the news, Blanton directed her disappointment to CIA's female regents, confiding to a friend, "I fear that we have to accept the fact that while the people will elect women to executive positions, women, generally, when they are board members, will not support one of their own sex for such places."¹⁵⁹ Capps was gravely disappointed at the result of the vote and would write to a confidante, Mrs. O. Lee Jones, on October 2: "They [the Regents] do not see the potential that women have, including Miss. Annie Blanton... My support for her was steadfast, but my fight was not enough." Several others were also upset but acknowledged Capps's fierce campaign for Blanton. W.E. Spell wrote to the secretary on the same day: "While Mrs. Spell and I are as a matter of course, disappointed, however, we wish you to know that we are confident that you acted sincerely and with that degree of wisdom as God gave you the light to see it... However, we will not surrender our convictions, but will whenever the opportunity offers in the future, to voice our opposition to any man who seeks to become the head of this institution." As she reflected on the appointment, Capps did not let a grudge or sadness overshadow her goals in providing the best resources for the CIA's students, and she professionally continued to serve on the Board of Regents.¹⁶⁰

Despite some negative views towards his appointment, Dr. Blayney was sworn in as the President of the College of Industrial Arts by Governor Pat M. Neff on January 11, 1925. In the college's auditorium, which was draped for the occasion with American flags and banners of Texas and the American Legion, and surrounded by a chanting crowd, the new administrator, according to the *Dallas Morning News*, "pledged himself to a program insuring just, political liberty and religious tolerance, and the proper relative emphasis upon the vocational, spiritual and liberal training of the young womanhood of Texas...."¹⁶¹ Dr. Blayney had already embraced the campus-community spirit in the months prior to his ceremony, as he had given a eulogy during the college's memorial service for the late Dr. Bralley on October 16, 1924. Like his predecessors, Dr. Blayney was determined that the institution would develop well-rounded students, reporting in June 1925 that "so long as the present administration is at the helm of this great Texas college the things pertaining to the head, hand, heart, and body will always be equally emphasized." President Blayney swiftly assumed responsibility for negotiating funds for the college, acquiring more than \$250,000 of funds from the state legislative to pave the campus

and purchase land which would later be used for athletic activities, create scholarships and financial aid packages, and establish a school newspaper called the *Lass-O* and a popular four-year program that led to a degree in journalism. Dr. Blayney praised the students at CIA, describing the “character, application, zeal, and devotion” of each pupil. The president’s crowning success in his short term was securing membership for the college in the famed American Association of University Women in August 1925.¹⁶²

On the surface, Dr. Blayney was positively impacting the institution and its students. However, behind closed doors, the president often argued with staff, faculty, and administrators who did not share his vision. One example of the bitterness between the president and the CIA administration was differing opinions on graduate work. Dr. Blayney fueled this tension by publicly attacking the administration’s and Board’s decisions on not appropriating funding for graduate programs in the college’s bulletin on March 1, 1925: “The administration refuses to be tempted by the allurements and consequent dangers of graduate training and of highly specialized scholarship.”¹⁶³ The feud was one of several conflicts between the two factions. Another conflict arose dealing with the faculty’s ability to research and write scholarship. Capps, like many CIA alumni, were shocked to hear that in that September Dr. Blayney issued a brash statement to twenty-five faculty members to improve their scholarship or be terminated. As seventy-five percent of the faculty in the liberal arts, sciences, and vocational departments held an M.A. or a Ph.D. in their fields, and all believed that teaching was more important than research, the educators resented this order. In August, Capps addressed the possibility of Dr. Blayney’s removal as president in a letter to Nellie M. Mills: “In a nutshell, Dr. Blayney’s Military Administration in a Democratic College... is a misfit.” As previously mentioned, Mrs. Mills was a friend of the CIA President and forwarded the strongly-worded note to him, further dividing the torn relationship between him and the Board’s secretary. In a letter to the secretary dated on September 11, Margaret Minnis, an alumna of the college, branded Dr. Blayney’s leadership as “eccentric hallucinations.” Tensions mounted between the President, Department Heads, and members of the Board. Sallie B. Capps, who served in the best interests of the school, students, and staff, spearheaded a movement among the Regents vocalizing the opinion that Dr. Blayney was unsuited for the CIA Presidency and calling him to resign from the post.¹⁶⁴

Amidst the tension between Dr. Blayney and his administration, according to a *Dallas Morning News* article on September 17, 1925, members of the College of Industrial Arts faculty requested a meeting with the Board of Regents, which they labeled as “prayer for relief from an irreconcilable situation.” Sallie B. Capps’s husband, William Capps, who had recently retired from his law practice, was chosen to speak before the Board on behalf of “all but four of the faculty members now in Denton.” The retiree recited the position of a majority of the faculty, outlining the many differences that had widened the breach of peace and unity between them and the president over both administrative policies and the process of displacing faculty members without prior notice. He declared “that no teacher shall be dismissed by either college president or the board of regents without an open and public hearing.” William Capps also said the faculty believed that Dr. Blayney’s administrative policies and future goals for the woman’s college was entirely opposed to those of the late Dr. Bralley. The newspaper article records that the faculty’s spokesman gave a prepared speech for an hour and forty minutes. A second board meeting occurred on September 20, as evident by another *Dallas Morning News* article, which stated “a number of the faculty were preparing to come before the board of regents with a list of specified reasons why they demand the resignation....” The faculty were represented by Judge Alvin C. Owsley of Denton. At the end of this gathering, a compromise was indicated, as the Board did not wish for the administrative bickering to embarrass the opening exercises of the college a few days later. Though William Capps and the CIA faculty had made sufficient points to request the resignation of Dr. Blayney at two board meetings, uncertainty concerning this issue remained as it would take another month before the Board announced their final decision.¹⁶⁵

Sallie B. Capps’s disappointment in the newly-elected CIA president was prolonged, as sadness would continue in the woman’s life as tragedy struck the Capps family in 1925. William Capps, who, after his powerful remarks to the CIA Board had been preparing for his well-earned period of relaxation, caught a fatal strain of pneumonia and was confined to his bed during the final days of September 1925. Sallie was constantly at her husband’s bedside during these grave days, tending to his daily needs, responding to his whispered sentences, and praying for his health, as evident by her frequent absences from campus and the CIA board meetings. Though she sought to get rid of bad leadership, she had to prioritize family, integrating family life and public reform. Yet her prayers of optimism were finally swallowed in darkness at eight in the evening on October 5, 1925, William Capps, surrounded by his family, drew his last breath and

died. The man was sixty-seven years old and had lived a healthy and successful life (for an elite white man), a better lifespan for a man in this era. The City of Fort Worth and the College of Industrial Arts mourned the loss of a popular community member, as evident by the Board's President, Hugh Fitzgerald's decision to quickly end the regent's meeting on October 6 "out of respect to Judge William Capps of Fort Worth...."¹⁶⁶ According to the *Fort Worth Record* and the *Dallas Morning News*, a public funeral took place at the family house on October 7, and was attended by CIA faculty members (Dean E.V. White had issued an order to suspend classes that morning) and officiated by Reverend E.H. Eckel of the local parish, Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church.¹⁶⁷ Sallie wept frantically-- she lost more than a husband or companion, she'd also lost a supportive ally in her reform efforts. After a brief period of mourning, Sallie was able to wipe away the tears and get back to work. Once again, the woman's ability to professionally continue her advocacy on education reform and service to the college in Denton after a traumatic moment shows that Sallie B. Capps emulated an identity that comprised of masculine traits. She was too brave to let fear and tragedy mask her ambitions.

Dr. Blayney received a lot of unfavorable press from the Board of Regents and Ex-Student Associations across Texas in fall 1925. Led by Capps, the Board drew up a list of complaints and convictions against President Blayney, citing his reluctance to perform the duties of the office that were in the best interests of the students and college, his unwillingness to cooperate with the faculty, and his wasteful tastes in squandering the college's funds on needless travel trips across the country. However, some alumni defended Dr. Blayney, supporting his status as a 'rainmaker,' a man who could acquire money faster than his predecessors and create more opportunities for students. One Ex-Student chapter in San Antonio came to the defense of the president, claiming they believed "that the unjust charges of inefficiency, failure of duty, and incompetency, made publicly and privately against Dr. L. Blayney as president of the college, are to be deeply regretted, since these charges are of petty nature, bearing personal interests of those bringing the charges as their foundation." An executive Board meeting was called in Denton on October 28, 1925. In a heated meeting, the Regents unanimously voted to request Dr. Blayney's resignation to become effective June 1, 1926. Capps had originally suggested that the president tender his resignation earlier, on January 1, 1926. However, this vote was lost, 3-2 opposed, and 2 in abstention. According to the meeting minutes, the president reluctantly agreed to the resignation date and said several words of reflection: "The present situation is no longer

endurable. I have stood by what I believe to be in the best interests of the student body and the people of this state through this long controversy.” After the decisive meeting, Dr. Blayney talked with reporters. In an article published by *The Daily News-Telegram*, he is quoted to have said: “If insubordination exists no executive can carry on, therefore, I tender my resignation... I have supported all that was humanly possible.” The newspaper also notes that there was “a flash of temper that threatened to draw violence” between the president and Charles Ulrich Connellee, a regent from Eastland County.¹⁶⁸ Following the decision, Capps issued instructions to the CIA faculty, requesting them to “cooperate faithfully with President Blayney and conscientiously support his administration” for the remainder of his tenure before the transition to a new leader. Once again, the secretary tried to persuade her colleagues to favor Annie Webb Blanton, but the Board rejected her maneuverings. Instead, they chose Louis Herman Hubbard, formerly the Dean of Students at the University of Texas at Austin, as the leader who would be tasked to bind up the College’s wounds from the bitter fight.¹⁶⁹

During her stint as the Board’s secretary, Capps regularly suggested ideas at board meetings that would improve the college’s curriculum, facilities, and student life. As evident by a list of American women colleges she carried around in her pocket, the woman took great delight in receiving academic and residence life statistics from board representatives of Alabama College, Bryn Mawr College, Iowa State College, Mississippi State College for Women, and North Carolina College for Women, among many other institutions. Either in person when she traveled to higher education conferences or by telephone, Capps would ask questions to these board members regarding the tenure process of their college’s faculty, the size of their institution’s endowment, the terms of employment of their school’s staff, financial reports, faculty sabbatical and contract statistics, and the conditions and standards of their institution’s residence halls. In net sum, the committed secretary on the Board of Regents not only took interest in continuously advocating for upgrades in the academic standards of the College of Industrial Arts and Science, but noticeably cared for the wellbeing of the institution’s students who consistently helped set the college’s high academic standards and prestigious ranking among other institutions of higher learning.¹⁷⁰

Capps became a favorite administrator among the students at the College of Industrial Arts. On many occasions, students would strike a conversation with the secretary on their way to

classes if they saw her walking around the campus. In 1940, Capps reflected on such encounter in her last diary: "I miss the women in Denton... [I] recall a delightful exchange I had with a student about Texas politics. She was charming and intelligent."¹⁷¹ Furthermore, Capps's table conversations over lunch were often disturbed whenever she ate in the school's dining room as pupils tried to politely reach out to Sallie and thank her for her unwavering service. The close relationship between Capps and the female students at CIA was mutual. The secretary was a frequent audience member at the college's theater and music productions, most notably crying to senior Stella Owsley's beautiful singing recital who performed Johann Sebastian Bach's, "Willst Du Dein Herz Mir Schenken," on November 5, 1926, and applauding the unflagging efforts of the sophomore class in their theatrical production, *The Student Princess*, on May 2, 1927. Capps continued to be a firm presence at the college, attending the dedication of the Francis Marion Bralley Memorial Library on April 16, 1927. The new library, which rivaled the University of Texas's equivalent, was among one of the institution's many construction projects in the 1920s as the college enjoyed a modest growth in its academics and physical facilities. The red brick, colonial-style academic building housed an expansive reading room and several private study spaces, and contained approximately twenty-four thousand volumes, more than seven thousand classified pamphlets, and one hundred and thirty-five news periodicals and government publications.¹⁷² The ceremony's principal address was given by Edgar Odell Lovett, the first President of Rice Institute in Houston and a close friend to the late CIA president. Additionally, Ruth West, a 1923 alumnus of the college, read an emotional poem to the teary-eyed crowd: "And we who talked with you, and walked the way with you a little while, that led us towards those heights where serve the great souls and the pure, we keep our tryst with sorrow on the day, and with tomorrow's dawn we grasp your sword, holding with faith to memories that endure."¹⁷³

In the 1910s and 1920s, the number of extra-curricular activities on the Denton campus expanded, as the female students were encouraged by the Board of Regents and the Hubbard Administration to develop communication and leadership skills outside of the classroom. Many young women paid visits to the gymnasium or swimming pool, while others participated in intercollegiate basketball and tennis competitions. Tether tennis and track and field became popular activities among CIA's students. Educator Joyce Thompson notes that students were in high spirits when Texas Christian University agreed to play the college's basketball team in November 1914. On March 13, 1915, a school newspaper reported that CIA had bravely invited

the male athletes of Trinity University (then located in Waxahachie) for a tennis tournament. Not only did athletics spark great enthusiasm among the students, theatrical production opportunities were common on campus. On an evening in May 1917, choral students were able to watch a grand staging by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Max Zach, and then sing the music from *The Creation*, an oratorio written by the eighteenth-century Austrian musician Joseph Haydn. A year later, more than two hundred students performed with the Russian Symphony Orchestra in a rendition of the Biblical oratorio, *Elijah*, written by the nineteenth-century German composer Felix Mendelssohn. The CIA staff were also given money from the administration to take the students on woodland retreats to Highland Park in Dallas and Country Club Lake in Fort Worth. The informal team parties, which also included first-hand knowledge of native plants and general biology, combined comprehension and pleasure with the development of social skills. As noted in her diary, Capps enjoyed the “picnic lunches and bacon breakfasts” she took part in.¹⁷⁴

Capps and the Board of Regents were instrumental in allocating the funds and approving the expansive projects in the college’s student affairs department in the 1910s and 1920s. Student life on the CIA campus rapidly developed. Numerous clubs on campus brought together all kinds of students with common interests. According to school newspapers, there was an art club, among other organizations ranging from the Red-Headed Club to a Farm Girls’ Council. Literary societies were also formed. As a doting mother of two daughters who had both thoroughly enjoyed their extra-curricular clubs and societies during their academic careers, Capps actively encouraged the establishment of these organizations, and often suggested (and pressured) her colleagues on the Board to regularly approve funds to support the nonscholastic activities. After the college’s graduating class of 1915 generously donated a moving picture machine in February 1916, movies became a popular form of entertainment among students. Cinematic flicks that were previewed included *The Carpet from Bagdad* and *The Birth of a Nation*—the latter movie is notable as it reinforces the fact that a racially exclusive atmosphere developed on the campus. The College of Industrial Arts also hosted an assortment of internationally and nationally renowned lecturers, artists, and politicians. Speakers ranged from Swiss pianist Rudolph Ganz to Metropolitan Opera Company performer Giovanni Martinelli. Former Secretary of State and a Presidential Candidate for the Democratic Party on three occasions, William Jennings Bryan paid a visit to the college in June 1916, where he vehemently spoke about his opposition to the

Great War in Europe and warned the crowd of the dangers of the American Preparedness Policy.¹⁷⁵ By the end of Capps's tenure on the Board of Regents, the College of Industrial Arts offered the same, if not more academic *and* extra-curricular opportunities for its female students than the male students at many other colleges in Texas. CIA alumna and supervisor of the home economics department at San Antonio public schools Emma E. Pirre wrote a letter to Capps discussing the great impact the college's graduates were making on Texas communities: "To-day two thirds of my teachers are from the C.I.A. and compare most favorably with the graduates of any of the first-class colleges."¹⁷⁶ Under Capps's guidance, CIA's young scholars grew into versatile women who were given many chances to academically succeed and became a well-rounded human being.

One of the last public events Capps attended as the Board's secretary was CIA's annual homecoming celebration on June 2, 1928, a harmonious event that brought faculty, students, and alumni together. Coincidentally, this year was also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the institution since classes started in 1903. According to a schedule of the day, the quarter-centennial festivities began with a "blue chambray" breakfast in the lobby of the Administration Building, generously catered by the Ex-Students Association. Attendees and dignitaries were then treated to an automobile tour of the campus and City of Denton before disembarking at the dining hall, where they enjoyed a lunch and listened to a keynote address from President Hubbard. In the afternoon, everyone flocked to the Auditorium-Music Hall and touchingly watched several organ and choral recitals performed by CIA students. As the day was a networking event, reuniting CIA's graduates with the present students, it is presumed that Capps actively conversed with both types of pupils to obtain a bigger picture of what the students needed at the college for the future. As previously mentioned, she desired to go behind the scenes and hear the student's academic and residential experiences at the college. Her abiding service to the College of Industrial Arts and its students continued until March 1929, where at age sixty-four, Sallie Brooke Capps stepped down from her administrative position. The Board of Regents had a banquet in her honor, and many dignitaries subsequently wrote letters expressing their sincere gratitude for her service to the institution. W.R. Nabours, the school's business manager, commended Capps for her unselfish and patriotic labor, noting, "I write this letter because I just wanted to say that as a citizen of Texas, I appreciate your service and in keeping with the spirit of 'flowers to the living.'" Dean E.V. White profusely thanked the secretary for fighting on

behalf of the faculty, adding, “in fact, I think you can always claim a large portion of credit for saving the College of Industrial Arts and Science and its ideals.”¹⁷⁷

After her tireless service for the College of Industrial Arts in Denton, Capps continued to build connections with other local reformers to advance her progressive agenda. She notably played an instrumental role in the growth of the Dallas organization, the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association. Upon the turn of the twentieth century, there was deep concern over the dismal state of public education in Texas, and whether young children were constantly upholding moral Christian values, participating in citizenry training, and attaining a well-rounded education. The lackluster discussions about children’s education in the Texas legislature were not taken lightly by the voters. Some citizens blamed the state government’s neglect of their schools and limited funds towards education, citing that according to the Texas Department of Education statistics in 1890 only \$3.34 was spent on each pupil. Others assumed that mothers attributed to the state’s problem of poorly educated children, due to lack of discipline and nurture at home—though this was a fleeting rumor. As state politicians did very little to improve education standards or children’s welfare in Texas, a group of women in Dallas convened at the Methodist Publishing House to discuss the best practices in childrearing for parents and maternal involvement in state public schools so that these social ills could be averted. The Texas PTA was organized on October 19, 1909, by Ella Caruthes Porter, and comprised of white conservative mothers, fathers, and teachers who were concerned about children’s welfare at homes, schools, and churches throughout the Lone Star State. Collectively, they sought to encourage regular cooperation between parents and teachers in the education of children, raise the standards of home life, promote the welfare of children in private and public facilities, and secure adequate laws for the protection of children. Article II of their constitution details the mission of the institution: “The object of this organization is to raise the standard of home and school, and to bring parent and teacher into a closer relation with each other, that they may co-operate more intelligently in the education of the child.”¹⁷⁸

Demonstrating the close connection between the Texas PTA and Capps’s own views of the connections between women’s family roles and successful education (and success for women teachers) was the speed with which joined the movement. Capps joined the Dallas organization in December 1909 as a “life member,” the highest tier of membership where the woman would

pay a \$25 annual fee to receive frequent updates and detailed pamphlets concerning the organization's upcoming activities, and invitations to conferences and dinners hosted by the Texas PTA. She was welcomed with open arms by Porter, who had at this time been elected as president of the group and had heard of Capps's victorious passage of the Kindergarten Bill in the Texas State Chambers. When Porter reorganized her cabinet and leadership team in January 1912, Sallie's name appeared at the top of her list of favorites. The president subsequently nominated the Fort Worth native for a Texas PTA cabinet position, presumably wanting Capps to continue making a significant impact upon the lives of many children in Texas, just as she had done during the first successful years of her tenure as president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association.

Capps was unanimously elected as the organization's vice-president in March 1912 amidst great approval, and promptly called upon the general assembly of the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association to solidify the organization's new aims, which included improving children's hygiene in public facilities, increasing access to the new field of home economics as well as Texas school libraries and playgrounds; she also sought to highlight parent showcase days. Under Capps's four-year stint as the vice-president, school boards in North Texas received additional funding for teachers and principals, and public school classrooms were supplied with desks, maps, flags, library items, and sanitary drinking cups. Furthermore, the organization's publicity avenues flourished, as the Texas PTA was the first club in Texas to showcase a child-welfare exhibit at the annual State Fair of Texas in Dallas between the years 1912-1914. News about the popular exhibits spread by word of mouth as well as detailed printed materials, and by 1914 there were three hundred and twenty registered parent-teacher associations across the state, from the Texoma region to Corpus Christi. The election of Sallie Brooke Capps to the vice-presidency of the Texas PTA chapter in Dallas reaffirms Capps's devotion and commitment to professionally connect to other reformers of the period and lead a movement that made it a mission to improve education standards and childrens' welfare in Texas.¹⁷⁹

The Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association became a leading advocate for progressive reform in education and a key agent in developing local support for reform in Texas's public schools. Capps, in a prime leadership position, used lobbying

techniques to push for kindergarten funding, curriculum additions, school supplies and equipment, and other legislation that affected primarily women teachers and young children. The woman's enthusiastic efforts in spreading word about the organization and its goals were successful, as membership enrollment and the number of registered mother congresses both increased in the 1910s. Moreover, Capps and other officers of the Dallas PTA traveled to parts of the state, like Lubbock, Goliad, San Angelo, and Wichita Falls, spoke at several organizations' meetings, and encouraged principals, superintendents, and members of the schools' faculties to participate in such meetings. Some clubs were organized by the schools' administrative officials who were eager to gather support from the parents and anxious to improve the ragged state of their schools. The mother congress at Travis School in Houston, for example, was created when the school principal called a parent meeting and subsequently developed a Texas PTA.¹⁸⁰ During her leadership tenure, the Dallas congressional organization was named an official branch of the National Congress of Mothers, and was cited for its excellence in balanced finances and spreading the word on new proposals, two areas which were under the control of Capps, as the vice-president was also the chairman of the organization's finance committee. Owing to the critical efforts of Sallie B. Capps, the number of PTAs grew, where over two thousand-seven hundred parent-teacher organizations exist today in Texas, comprising of more than eight hundred and fifty thousand parents and teachers who are eager to shakeup the state government's agenda and insist on the continual improvement of Texas's primary state schools.¹⁸¹

In this period of her career, Sallie B. Capps successfully used her networking connections from the CIA's Board of Regents and the Texas PTA as springboards to facilitate her goals in championing for better academic opportunities for women and children in the Lone Star State. The progressive Catholic Archbishop John Spalding once clarified the purpose of a female education: "The primary aim [of education] is not to make a good wife and mother, any more than it is to make a good husband and father. The educational ideal is human perfection, perfect manhood, and perfect womanhood... Woman's sphere lies wherever she can live nobly and do useful work... It is good to have a strong and enlightened mind; therefore, it is good for a woman to have such a mind."¹⁸² The College of Industrial Arts strived towards standards which were like Spalding's vision as students were encouraged to embark on different career paths other than home making and become confident in their capabilities as scholars and leaders. The Board of Regents's secretary made a significant impact upon the institution, by successfully advocating

for rewrites in the curriculum, addressing the students' academic and recreational desires at board meetings, and tirelessly advocating for her colleagues to vote for a female candidate when the CIA Presidency was vacant. And when Capps lost two fights—the 1924 CIA presidential decision and the death of her husband in 1926-- it has been shown that though there were limits for a female reformer in a world of men's networks during this era, she was professional and dedicated to fulfilling her public service goals. The woman did not let challenges slow her momentum or sadness consume her. Capps's selfless efforts in bringing the students' interests to the forefront in board meetings resulted in major improvements to the school's academic catalog and campus size in the 1910s and 1920s, which made the College of Industrial Arts very attractive. Capps's public service career did not stop in Denton, as the woman continued to promote the welfare of young children in Texas's public schools by serving as vice-president of the Dallas chapter of Texas Congress for Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association. As she neared retirement age, Capps's fervent persistence and engagement with other administrators became a strategy she used to further install progressivism in public education in North Texas.

CHAPTER IV

THE TWILIGHT YEARS, 1930-1946

During the 1930s and 1940s, Sallie Brooke Capps maintained an active local profile in Fort Worth. Although she had stepped down as secretary for the Board of Regents at the College of Industrial Arts and was of retirement age, Capps devoted her free time to and continued her involvement at Fort Worth's First Baptist Church. She fondly participated in multiple church services each week, regularly assisted the pastor in the services' communion, and routinely invited friends and extended families from the church over to her house for dinner and "small-chat." On November 6, 1932, for example, Capps invited a close colleague from church, Mrs. Maynard, and her family of six to the Capps residence for a post-service supper.¹⁸³ Capps also spent much time unofficially overseeing the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association and its thriving college for women teachers. She proudly represented the progressive organization at many education conferences in San Angelo, Odessa, Gonzales, Dallas, and Houston. From these conferences, Capps was able to receive critical feedback about the existing structure of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association, and advice on how to refine the enrollment standards of the teaching college. Besides obtaining new information regarding the future of public education in Texas, Capps had numerous opportunities to connect with other educators, parents, and reformers at the conferences. As evident from her collection of calling cards, the woman kept in close contact with Texans Otis B. Berry, Mary Cameron, Winifred Browse, Virginia E. Logan, Ruth Montgomery, and Delaney G. Shropshire. Furthermore, it is presumed from some of the cards that Capps had contact with acquaintances outside Texas, such as Dale Clark from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Elizabeth Hammers from Summit, New Jersey; and Carl Canning from Bournemouth, England. These men and women routinely sought advice from Capps, concerning education opportunities for women and children, as they knew the enthusiastic progressive leader from Fort Worth had radical and revolutionary opinions of her own.¹⁸⁴

The year 1936 was a celebratory one for Texas. It marked one hundred years since Texas successfully achieved its independence from Mexico. Following a variety of colorful pageants in San Antonio, Galveston, El Paso, and Gonzales in January 1936, the central celebration that was held at Fair Park in Dallas in the spring showcased the state's illustrious history, and the beauty

of Texas's diverse and rich culture. Dozens of regional artists and sculptors erected monuments, buildings, and statues commemorating the likes of men and heroes who had positively impacted the state. Furthermore, visitors to the exposition were treated to motion-picture previews of local movies that had been made specifically for the celebratory occasion and exhibited the uniqueness of the Texas identity, such as *The Big Show* and *Pigskin's Parade*. The *Cavalcade of Texas*, a historical pageant depicting four centuries of Texas history, became one of the exposition's most popular attractions. The prismatic attractions of the Texas Centennial rose the entertainment bar to a new level.¹⁸⁵ During the preparations of the Texas Centennial celebrations in Dallas, the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, spearheaded by the publisher of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Amon Carter, opted out of the proposed festivities and instead planned to hold their own city-wide celebratory event, commemorating the cattle industry and the atmosphere of the old frontier. Utilizing a \$5 million loan-grant from the Public Works Administration and one-hundred and sixty-two acres of land on the west side of the city, the Fort Worth Frontier Centennial Exposition in 1936 was a huge success, attracting many people across the state as well as international tourists. The purpose of the event was to take the spotlight away from the Dallas exposition and portray "a superb demonstration of a great city's soaring vision, of its dauntless leadership, of its adventurous soul-- in short, the Fort Worth spirit."¹⁸⁶

Unlike its Dallas counterpart, the 1936 Fort Worth exposition uniquely centered on a replica of an early nineteenth-century western town, complete with various wooden buildings, facades, and saloons enclosing a dirt-earthed street. One visitor observed that "the sets looked as if you traveled back to [the] 1830s." *The Frontier Fiesta*, the official brochure of the festivities, informed the public that if they were to walk "along Sunset Trail, you could admire a recreation of a fort and the depilated, worm-eaten building that is Cactus Jim's Silver-Dollar Saloon." The exposition also included the raunchy Sally Rand's Nude Ranch, a replica of American cowboy Will Roger's den on his ranch in Santa Monica, a musical-circus show titled *Jumbo*, the theme-decorated Pioneer Palace (a restaurant and dance hall), and a collection of world-famous movie directors, artists, and craftsmen.¹⁸⁷ Capps was unable to attend the hyped celebrations due to illness but was extremely ecstatic when she found out that the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce decided to host the Fort Worth Frontier Centennial Exposition again in 1937 due to popular demand. *The Frontier Fiesta* labeled the second incarnation as "bigger, better, and more beautiful than its illustrious predecessor... *The Frontier Fiesta* welcomes you to an incomparable

playground, where yesterday lives again and tomorrow is previewed.” Capps attended the 1937 exposition with Mattie Mae. Though an aged woman, Capps never ceased interaction or contact with her grown children. She never ceased interaction with local culture or the community. The woman observed the natural surroundings and rustic architecture of Albert Johnson, an art director for the local Radio City Music Hall; met John Murray Anderson, a Canadian director who had helmed thirty successful musical comedies in Europe and North America, and had directed the first all-colored flick, *King of Jazz*; and participated in a magician’s production starring Billy Rose, the showman from New York City who had been named by the City of Dallas as “the theatrical man of the year.”¹⁸⁸

At the 1937 Fort Worth Frontier Centennial Exposition, Capps also witnessed a musical dramatization of *Best Sellers*, an original drama that opened on Broadway in June 1918. Directed by Anderson, the theater production starred “America’s premiere ballerina,” Harriet Hctor, and was staged in the publicized Casa Mañana (“the House of Tomorrow”), the world’s largest open-aired theater-café which boasted an elegant restaurant, over three-thousand spectator seats, and a revolving stage.¹⁸⁹ It should be noted that Capps was never a part of the planning process of the centennial celebrations in Fort Worth or Dallas. The festivities purpose, which showcased the state’s rapid progression of technology and cultural advancements since the early nineteenth century, was not theoretically only constructed by males. Rather, independent scholar Kaitlyn Casmedes remarks that “the adopted western and cosmopolitan identity [prominently seen in 1930s Texas] that created a more complex and complete modern identity that cannot be found anywhere else,” was also built with the labor, dedication, and creative talents of many women represented throughout Texas’s illustrious past.¹⁹⁰ One of these progressive pioneers who had successfully impacted the lives of many in the Lone Star State was Sallie B. Capps. The elderly woman unknowingly relished in her own societal successes during the jubilant showcase concerning the development of Texas’s heritage.

At seventy-six-years-old in 1940, the woman had no intention of scaling back her involvement in the community. Since she could not travel much due to continuous pains in her legs, Capps joined the congregation of Saint Andrew’s Episcopal Church, which was a five-minute walk from the family house. As a continued Baptist at heart, the woman enjoyed attending the four Episcopal services each week and congregating among others who had similar

passions in religion, nature, and societal reforms. Capps regularly invited her new friends to the house following the services, where they would enjoy “biscuits, cakes, and coffee” and discuss that day’s sermon. As evident by her pocket Bible and final diary, she took great pride in comprehending the meaningful messages behind every sermon given in church. Whether the oration concerned bravery or world peace or the longevity of Christianity in the United States, she carefully wrote small notes to herself within the margins of her religious books. Furthermore, Capps continued to influence the academic and moral worlds of children as a Sunday school teacher, and she always excitedly volunteered for many of the church’s annual events. On February 5, 1940, Ernest McChesney, a famed opera singer from New York City, performed at the Episcopal Church. Capps, as a passionate fan of musicals, enjoyed every moment of that night and threw herself into the extensive volunteer work that was needed to host the gathering. She joyfully served the dinner: “All attended [the church’s] concert—artist Ernest McChesney leading the tenors... After the concert, they and a number of the band came out here for a sausage supper and danced.” Though she harbored active ambitions, age naturally took a toll on Capps’s body. The grave disappointment Capps expressed in a diary entry when she was compelled to miss that year’s Easter service due to illness is visible. On March 24, she notes that her “family went to 9 o’clock communion service, but [I] was not able to go too... I was much disappointed as I wanted to hear the sermon. Church is beautiful...”¹⁹¹ In the last years of her life, Sallie continually poured her efforts in positively shaping a local church congregation, while she tried to ignore the limitations natural aging had placed upon her aching body.

Capps also participated in designing a new stained-glass window for the south wall of Saint Andrew’s Episcopal Church. Titled *Healing of the Sick*, the window depicted a famed event in the Bible where Jesus Christ gave strength to a sick elderly woman who had little faith in herself. The church’s companion guide to the stained-glass windows notes that the image consists of a deeper meaning: “The woman had an issue of blood for twelve years and no one could cure her. When this woman stopped Him, Jesus was on His way to see Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, whose child was ill. The woman pressed through the crowd, saying that if she could touch His garment, she would be cured. When she did this Jesus felt the power go out of Him and wanted to know who had touched Him. He told her that her faith had made her whole.” The window cost Sallie \$875 and she subsequently dedicated the beautiful creation to the loving memory of her late husband, who she greatly missed. It could be presumed that the reason the

woman chose this Bible story to encapsulate her former marriage, is that Capps felt protected and a little more confident to tackle the parameters of a masculine society—just like the old woman in the biblical story—when she met and passionately married the man who changed her life.¹⁹²

Teaching continued to be one of Sallie B. Capps's passions, even as she aged. The former president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association regularly conversed with the staff of the organization's teaching college. Furthermore, the counsel Capps received from other school and college administrators in Texas from the education conferences she attended provided relief to the training school, as its enrollment numbers had started to struggle in the years following 1930. The college not only had to compete against other Texas university teacher programs for female students but had to face many women in society who desired to start families instead of enrolling in, let alone teaching at colleges and institutions of higher education. Historian Susan B. Carter notes that this academic withdrawal (which was also present in the Cold War later on) "was not a situation in which men were slamming the doors of academia in the faces of eager, ambitious women scholars but rather one in which despite the lures of fellowship, women turned their backs and ran to rock the cradle."¹⁹³ Capps, in an attempt to preserve the faltering teacher college she had helped create, spread her bright charm and an abundance of knowledge to many prospective students in local classrooms. According to her diary, she occasionally visited and guest-lectured at the Fort Worth public schools, where several successful female graduates of The Fort Worth Kindergarten College taught. It is assumed that Capps was proud at the work she and other education reformers championed for during the progressive era, as the local schools had undergone major improvements, in academic catalogs and physical aspects on campus. Historian David G. McComb notes that these public schools "provided the foundation of knowledge necessary for the advancement of society... they preserved and passed on the heritage of western civilization."¹⁹⁴ Capps would write: "[I] am beyond happy when in front of these children... they have much to learn." Some of Capps's fondest memories in her twilight years were from the classroom as the woman took delight in broadening the blossoming minds of a future generation of scholars.¹⁹⁵

Historian Carolyn Merchant writes that during the early decades of the twentieth century, many women embarked on campaigns to promote environmental conservation as they were "propelled by a growing conscientious of the panacea of bucolic scenery and wildness, coupled

with the need for reform of the squalor of the cities....” Large organizations comprised of middle-class white women who desired to ensure that their children and grandchildren would have resources to build good homes in the future activated a crusade that aimed at protecting Earth. Members of the Women’s National Rivers and Harbors Congress chapter in Shreveport focused on introducing conservation education to the schools, conveying to children their responsibility to save the country’s natural resources. The Daughters of the American Revolution chapters tirelessly worked to generate publicity and enthusiasm for the conservation and forestry in their communities. Many DAR committees in the South sent letters to the state governors asking how they could best help each state’s conservation efforts. In 1909, Mrs. Jay Cooke Howard of Louisiana was reported to have noticed the truth of the white male opposition, quipping, “most of the governors preferred to have us turn our attention to the children rather than to the men.” Women support for the environment created much opposition from white males. When several environmental conservation chapters vocally challenged the construction of a dam in Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park in the early 1920s, San Francisco engineer Marsden Manson was one in the crowd who despised this woman movement. He noted in his diary that his “opponents consisted largely of ‘short-haired women and long-haired men’ who were members of the so-called nature-loving like Appalachian Club....”¹⁹⁶ Opposition against the environmental protection campaign did not slow down the momentum, as seen by the regular growth of environmental organizations today. Though there is no direct evidence concerning Capps’s involvement in any environmental conservation club, it is logical to assume that the progressive reformer regularly conversed with others about the Earth crusade during other gatherings.

In the early 1930s, the City of Fort Worth started to take notice of woman environmental conservationists and designed multiple parks. Rock Springs Park, later renamed Fort Worth Botanic Garden, was completed in 1931 after many years of activists’ conservation campaigning and two years of construction. Under the direction of the city’s forester Raymond C. Morrison, the park was home to trails and lagoons, naturalized waterfalls, and beautiful shrubberies. Monticello Harmon Field and Sylvania Park would both be built soon after in the early 1930s. All three parks were frequently visited by many city civilians and visitors. It is logical to assume that Capps was delighted at the opening of Fort Worth’s Arlington Heights High School, an expansive academic and natural undertaking using funds from the newly-formed agency created

as part of the National Industrial Recovery Act on 1933, the Public Works Administration. The high school, which opened to much city-wide applause in 1937, had beautiful grounds that were landscaped in a joint project of the city's park board and school district. The appealing property had a formal park-like entrance and was home to a vista lined with informal paths, a small shelter amid groves of trees, playfields, an amphitheater and track, and a football field to satisfy the avid sports fans. Often describing themselves as "the caretakers of the state," women in Texas's Progressive Era were taking long strides in community spheres other than politics and gradually helping to preserve the environment one step at a time.¹⁹⁷

Capps's regular involvement with children in class or at Sunday school prompted her to write a book draft on the importance on viewing the world from a different lens and appreciating God's natural environments. She began drafting the book on June 21, 1941. Her manuscript draft was titled *The Child's Book of Nature*. She noted in the introduction that the object of the book was "to teach the child at an early age to know the names and uses of the things he sees and handles and appreciates the beauty of nature in general." Her passion for the preservation of the natural world and the creativity she had developed within her writing since she was a child strengthened the message of this project. The book was presumably aimed for a young audience, utilizing simple yet descriptive sentences to illustrate the divine beauty of clouds, the deep-blue sky, food, water, flowers, trees, plants, birds, butterflies, and a variety of other creatures in the environment. In sum, Capps wished for the younger reader to open their eyes, beyond the concrete of classroom walls and the tangible items of their world and enjoy the fruits of labor that God had given them since birth. She wrote: "If the child goes through the world looking upon everything only as so much to eat, to drink, and to use, he will never see the beauties of nature... But if you tell him why things happen, and how great God has made and governs this world of ours... then he learns to love and know nature." It is not known why the fifty-seven-page manuscript never got published nor if the draft was rejected by a publisher after she completed writing the draft on August 18, 1941, yet Capps's commitment to continually try to provide a naturally-preserved world for all remained paramount in her progressive struggles to redevelop society.¹⁹⁸

In her twilight years, Capps enjoyed partaking in simple activities of the day. She would begin every day by saying a short prayer, glancing out her window, observing the grassy knots of

North Texas and the cosmopolitan areas of Fort Worth, and briefly commenting on the day's weather conditions in her diary. Many of these diary entries of the weather and environment were brief, however, some were elaborate in detail and showed more emotion in the writing. She would then take a hot bath, often vocalizing that if she did not she would become very cold throughout the day. As Capps relaxed in the water, she listened to the radio, so that she could know about the news of the world, including America's progression in World War II. After a brief lunch, Capps would spend time with friends, her children and their families. She frequently took Count Brooke, who continued to visit the family house on Penn Street after his college graduation and marriage to Betty Clarke, to Fort Worth's man-made pool, Lake Worth. The happy pair would splash in the waters and lounge in the sun. Additionally, Capps would commonly be seen at various shops in downtown Fort Worth with her two daughters, where she took great interest in looking at new clothes, clocks, and furniture items for the house. The elderly woman spent her days cooking and sewing, and often shared her hobbies with Phoebe Pollock, who had remained in contact with Sallie B. Capps since the Capps' had bought her house in 1910. The two widows would discuss various shared interests over a supper that they cooked together. It is not known what happened in the last five years of Capps's life, as her last diary entry was recorded on September 10, 1941. However, it could be presumed that she continued to inspire church members, and advocate for equal opportunities for women and children from her bed. In the presence of her three surviving children and two grandchildren, Sallie Brooke Capps gradually succumbed to the pains and illness that had plagued her for the previous decade, and quietly died at the family house in Fort Worth on July 16, 1946. As her elder siblings and parents had passed away by the turn of the twentieth century, she was the last member of her immediate family to die. She was eighty-one-years-old, having lived a life that included more years than the average lifespan for a white woman in this era.¹⁹⁹

Sallie B. Capps's estate, worth several hundred thousands of dollars, and the stocks and assets of the land company that William Capps had owned before his death in 1925 were left in the hands of the surviving children.²⁰⁰ She was subsequently laid to rest beside her late husband and youngest son, Andrew, in the family plot at Fort Worth's Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum. The woman died largely forgotten by the public and press, which had routinely reported on her profound changes upon education in Texas during earlier decades. The principal newspaper in Tarrant County, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, for example, only had one sentence

dating the death and time, with no mention of Sallie B. Capps's societal accomplishments concerning education reform. *The Dallas Morning News*, headquartered in a city where she had spent much time conversing with civilians and other women leaders in Texas PTA meetings, failed to mention her death. It is presumed that the CIA Board of Regents, members of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association, and the congregation of Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church mourned and discussed the successful public service career of Sallie B. Capps, at least for a little while. However, Capps's public reputation dimmed considerably in the months following her passing, and the woman's story and her significant contributions to public education in Texas were gradually buried under more-recent developing histories of the Lone Star State.²⁰¹

As this thesis is of a white woman, it is imperative to acknowledge that fact that though they were primarily frowned upon by the color of their skin, blacks and minorities also played instrumental roles in the development of North Texas during the Progressive Era, and that Sallie B. Capps was a person who regrettably did not help these ethnic groups find their way in community politics. There is no direct evidence to state whether Capps intended to advance the academic opportunities for blacks, natives, Asians, or Hispanics in North Texas. Like many other white women of this era, Capps was sheltered and lived among her social class and consistently sought to improve the lives of those around her, not the welfare of others outside of her wealth or status. Capps lived in the luxuries of her affluent life, and though having the support of white women and men, her progressive agenda—a plan that attempted to achieve a better life free of deliberating ills and political proscriptions—did not extend beyond her class's borders and admit the talent of colored students. According to the 1930 and 1940 United States Federal Censuses, Capps employed two negro wage-earning servants at the family house on Penn Street. Alma Slaughter, the self-educated daughter of two former slaves in Texas, served as the family's cook. Clarence Ross, an uneducated black from Virginia, was employed as a gardener. In short, Capps's behavior towards minorities was common among Southern women, who were blinded by race yet embraced the idea of labeling colored people as domestic servants.²⁰²

In the second-half of the twentieth century, Sallie B. Capps's legacy remained in secluded pockets throughout North Texas. The City of Fort Worth named the Pollock-Capps House a city landmark in 1991, amidst great approval from long-time residents of the community and close friends of the Capps family. William Capps would have been proud had he known that

his house has become the present home to a successful law office, Dent Law Firm. The practice, which was founded in 1990, represents the injured throughout Texas and the nation with “commitment, integrity, and professionalism.” According to the firm’s website, their lawyers deal with “serious injury and death claims, claims against insurance companies, car wrecks, aviation, and other personal injury cases.” I am happy to note that the well-respected attorneys and staff of the Dent Law Firm speak very highly of the Capps family, and graciously embrace the history of the old residence each day.²⁰³ Furthermore, the Capps were again posthumously recognized for their local contributions when the City of Fort Worth constructed a natural park on the south side of the city in the early 1990s in their honor. Capps Park, which has been built upon a parcel of land between Devitt and Berry Streets that William once donated to the city in 1910, has been visited by hundreds of people (and dogs) since its opening, and today it is used as the venue for the South Hemphill Heights neighborhood annual Fall Festival, a family event in which children and adults are able to relax, have fun among carnival-type games, and enjoy the autumn weather. It may be logically assumed that Sallie B. Capps would have been delighted to see a community playground, which encourages young children to embrace God’s natural projects, named in her family’s honor.²⁰⁴

Unfortunately, Sallie B. Capps Residence Hall at the College of Industrial Arts was razed in the early 1980s and the land was used to build a new student library.²⁰⁵ Today, little remains that honors Capps on the campus of Texas Woman’s University in Denton. Many students, faculty, staff, and administrative officials had not heard of Sallie Brooke Capps when I casually asked them during conversations. However, the progressive steps regarding the increase in academic opportunities for female students that Capps had passionately advocated for and helped pass into practice by the Board of Regents in her eighteen-year stint as its secretary, were building blocks of the rapidly-expanding academic institution that is now known as the largest state-supported university for women in the United States. Likewise, the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association and its college for women teachers were quietly discontinued in the 1950s, but the organization’s pinnacle achievement in propelling the Texas Legislature to pass the Kindergarten Bill in 1909 meant that young children had the prime opportunity to start classes and cognitively develop within the academic world one year earlier than previous generations. According to the Texas Education Agency annual report on Texas public school enrollment during the 2016-17 academic year, over three-hundred and seventy-two thousand

students were enrolled in the kindergarten grade, where these young pupils were given the basic curriculum tools to enable them to succeed in their academic careers. Parents in Texas who proudly watch their young scholar grow as an infant and develop as an intellectual during the kindergarten grade are unknowingly supporting a product of an ambitious academic program that was once spearheaded and implemented by Sallie Brooke Capps, a formidable woman who was not afraid to blaze a new trail in Texas education.²⁰⁶

Strong leadership came naturally to Sallie B. Capps, and drawing the support from her family, colleagues, and other progressive reformers, the elderly woman continued to crank the wheels of progress in her sixties and seventies. She never dismissed her beliefs or public service mission, even in the face of obstacles. Though she harbored goals and progressive plans to improve other areas of the community, her most abiding concern consistently focused upon the disintegration of Texas's public schools and universities, and subsequently made it her mission to help increase the number of academic opportunities that were offered for children as young as five-years-old and older women who had dreamed about becoming a teacher. She believed that the future would indeed hold great potential if knowledgeable and honorable women and children be allowed to study the same academic materials as males. As she had done for earlier decades, Capps devoted her last years to this idea. These final years wrapped up the life of a woman who, in every position she held, and in every organization she tirelessly took part in, was determined to spread joy to young children at Sunday school and advocate equal educational possibilities for women and children in public schools.

In the last years of her life, Sallie B. Capps lived quietly among the local community. Though at retirement age, she did not quickly recede into the background like most others during this period. Instead, she actively continued exploiting her passions and volunteering at the local church and teacher college. Additionally, she traveled around the state, participating in various education conferences and connecting with other progressive leaders of the era. She continued to educate young children in the eyes of the Lord during church and inspire them to academically succeed in Fort Worth public schools. She participated in undertakings that were not necessarily for women in the era. She continued to inspire women teachers at the teaching college as they bravely took several steps closer to professional equality. Capps also found quality time to spend with her surviving children and later grandchildren, appreciating the simple materials and

activities in her twilight years. Furthermore, up until her last breath, it is evident from an unpublished manuscript she wrote, that Capps harbored a goal to advocate for the preservation of the environment and God's natural work. She presumably desired for the youth to take a step back from the bustle of life and appreciate the environment around them. At the time of her death in 1946, although Sallie B. Capps was one of the few people in Fort Worth who did everything she was doing, male or female, her reputation was non-existent. The success story of an ambitious woman who had triumphantly pushed for education reform and more academic opportunities for women and children in a male-dominated field gradually vanished over the course of time and was buried under new state histories. In sum, Sallie Brooke Capps's legacy today is not tangible, though cemented within the structural foundations of Texas's public school system and the framework of Texas Woman's University.

CONCLUSION

Barbara Miller Solomon once debated the reasons why many women became interested in creating change in societal institutions at the turn of the twentieth century, writing that “as women became more confident of their intellectual and organizational skills, they were more able and more eager to take on the challenge of social change. Likewise, involvement in social change, whether philanthropic or political, was educational and satisfying on a deeply personal level.”²⁰⁷ Sallie Brooke Capps was a woman who, after receiving a quality education as a child, wholeheartedly enjoyed the domestic sphere, however, never stopped flirting with the feminist movement, as she sought to positively impact the patriarchal structure of public schools and universities in Texas’s Progressive Era. As an energetic Sunday school teacher and volunteer for two local churches, Sallie contributed to the growth of religion, and environmental protection policies in the Fort Worth community. In her leadership roles as the president of the Fort Worth Kindergarten Association, vice-president of the Texas Congress for Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association, and the Regents’s secretary at the College of Industrial Arts, Capps developed professional connections with other reformists and state leaders and used her networking to successfully advance her agenda on progressively reforming the state’s public education system. Additionally, Capps mentored young female scholars towards their goals and constantly who magnified the importance of other female leaders around the state. Though she cherished creating relationships with male colleagues, Capps was not afraid to clash with old hierarchal values and fight fire with fire if the best academic or welfare interests of women and children were not met in Texas’s schools. Upon examining the historical significance of Sallie B. Capps, it is evident that her life and accomplishments should not be taken lightly. Capps’s efforts in assisting in the growth of institutions in North Texas and significantly modifying the parameters of education in Texas is just as important as the efforts made by other reasonably-known women progressive reformers, such as Annie Webb Blanton and Minnie Fisher Cunningham.²⁰⁸

Sallie B. Capps paved the way for other women in Texas to gradually break the gender barriers and claim male-equivalent leadership roles in education. Women like Capps sought to inspire confidence in a sex that were just as intelligent as men and more insightful within the communities of the twentieth century. Since Capps’s death in 1946, females in Texas have

gradually gained access to more academic opportunities. This is evident by escalating female student enrollment rates at state universities, such as the University of Texas at Austin, Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas State University in San Marcos, and Texas Tech University in Lubbock; the soaring number of female students attending women private high schools, including the prestigious Hockaday and Ursuline preparatory institutions in Dallas; the increasing number of qualified elementary and secondary women teachers in the state (where the number of females educators now outnumbers their male colleagues); and the extensive expansions that have occurred at Denton's Texas Woman's University (formerly known as the College of Industrial Arts), which today proudly has an enrollment of fifteen-thousand students and awards more doctoral degrees to women than any other institution of higher learning in the nation.

Due to Sallie B. Capps's unwavering efforts to constantly campaign for progressivism in Texas's schools and help inspire a network of leaders to jump on to the liberal bandwagon, many women since the 1940s have had the opportunities to enjoy being domestic household mothers at the same time as receiving academic degrees and relishing in employment success. And the future for women in Texas schools continues to look bright. Capps's story is not the only story that was originally missing from this state's history. Several historians, including Stephanie Cole, Rebecca Sharpless, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, have noted that "a growing number of articles, master's theses, and doctoral dissertations attest to the continued interest in Texas women's history," as many studies since the 1970s have been launched to rescue the pages of women who have been buried in the darkest spaces of historical archives. Numerous historians are continuing to investigate the female exiles who also shaped our understanding of the history of Texas.²⁰⁹ As the search for more scholarly histories of Texas women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continues in academia, it is important to reflect upon the vibrant histories we know of thus far, including the legacy of the woman of this thesis-- the liberally-feminist, spirited, and passionately-charged education trailblazer in North Texas named Sallie Brooke Capps.

APPENDIX A: PHOTOGRAPHS

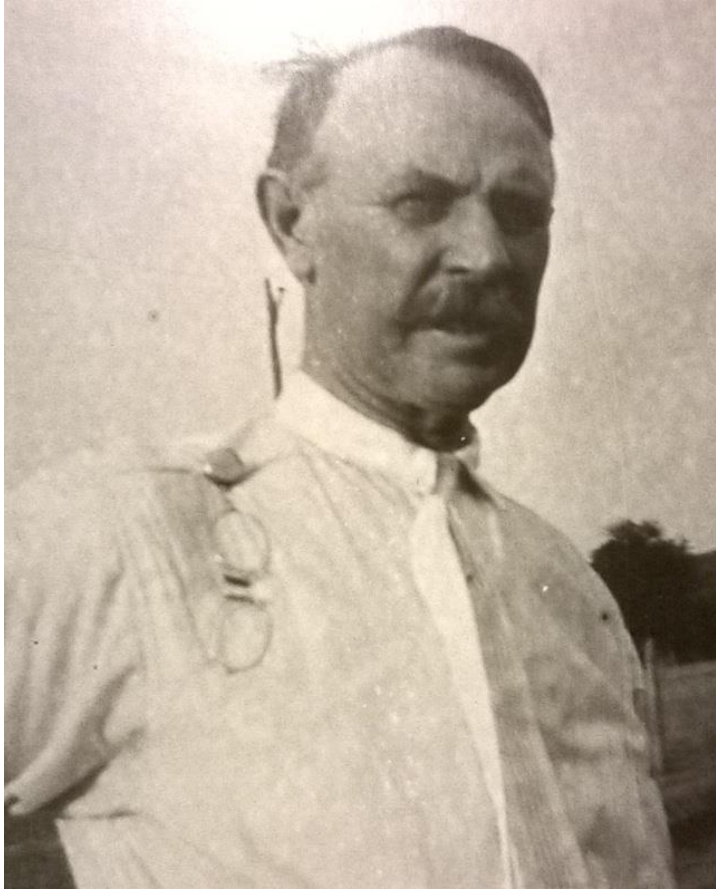
Unless otherwise noted, all photographs were loosely found in the Sallie B. Capps Papers, Boxes GA 197 & 198, Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington Library.



Fort Worth Kindergarten Association's prominent members, 1905. Sallie, the president, is in the center.



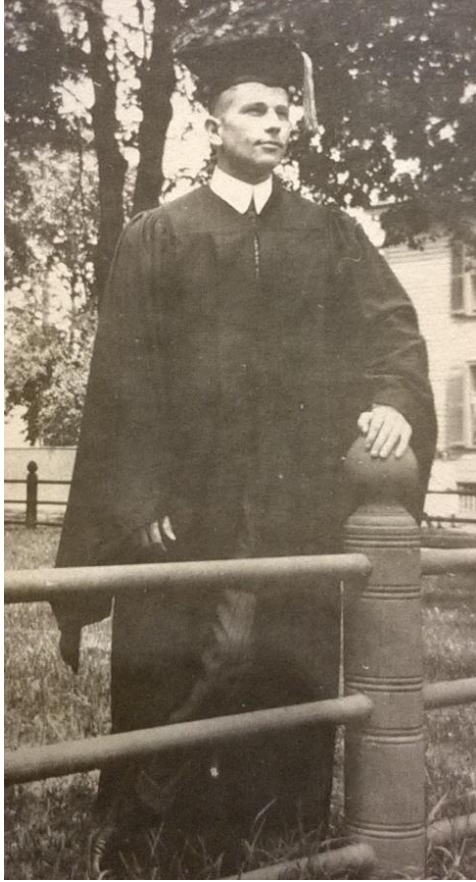
Sallie Brooke Capps (left) and her eldest daughter, Alba, 1910.



William Capps, Fort Worth attorney and the love of Sallie's life, 1910.



Mattie Mae Capps, Sallie's second child, VIF yearbook photograph, spring 1911.



Count Brooke Capps, Sallie's only son to survive to adulthood, in high school graduation regalia, 1915.



Sallie's three children, L-R, Mattie Mae, Count Brooke, Alba. Photograph taken in Fort Worth, 1920.



William Capps and his three children on Galveston Beach, 1910. L-R, Mattie Mae, Alba, Count Brooke.



Sallie's two daughters were extremely close, attending the same boarding school in Virginia and participating in many of the same organizations. Here they are pictured with their significant others at Galveston Beach, 1912. Front row: L-R, Mattie Mae, Alba.



1120 Penn Street, Fort Worth. Commonly known as the Pollock-Capps House. William Capps purchased the house in 1910, and the structure would remain in the family's possession until 1971. The building is currently home to Dent Law Firm. This photograph, probably taken in 1900, is found in *The Tarrant County Historical Journal* 3, no. 1 (spring 1997), 16.



Tennis courts were added to the Capps's house during the 1910 remodeling. Sallie, pictured left, frequently played tennis with her daughters on the new courts.



The two men that defined a chaotic presidential transition period for the College of Industrial Arts (1924-1926). Francis Marion Bralley (pictured above) assumed the institution's presidency in 1914 and served in the post until his death in 1924. He was a close friend to the Regents's secretary. Against Sallie B. Capps's desires, the Board appointed Lindsey Blayney (pictured below) to the CIA presidency in 1925, hoping that Bralley's successor would bring change and unity to a grieving college. However, the former Rice Institute professor had many conflicts with the CIA faculty and Board, leading to his dismissal in June 1926. Photographs found in *Marking A Trail: The Quest Continues, A Centennial History of the Texas Woman's University* by Phyllis Bridges, 16, 22.





A photograph of Sallie B. Capps Residence Hall on the College of Industrial Arts campus in Denton, 1918. The hall would be razed in the 1980s. Photograph found in *Marking A Trail: A History of the Texas Woman's University* by Joyce Thompson, 58.



One of the last family photographs of Sallie, smiling as she plays with one of her two grandchildren, probably taken in the early 1920s at the family house.



Board of Regents's Secretary Sallie Brooke Capps (second row on right side) dons a black gown and mortarboard with other CIA faculty, staff, administrators, and special guests at the college's annual homecoming celebrations and twenty-fifth anniversary festivities in Denton in June 1928. CIA President Louis Herman Hubbard (1926-1950) and one of his predecessors, Cree T. Work (1903-1910), are also seen in the first row. Photograph found in a *Dallas Morning News* article, June 5, 1928, 2.

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

- ¹ Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 126-7.
- ² For further information on “women worthies” and “compensatory history” and literature that serves as an introduction to Texas women studies: Mari Jo Buhle, Ann G. Gordon, and Nancy Schrom, “Women in American Society: An Historical Contribution,” *Radical America* 5 (1971): 3-66; Gerda Lerner, “Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975): 5-14; Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053-75; Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women’s Eyes: The Twentieth-Century Experience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); Rebecca Sharpless, “Texas Women,” in Bruce A. Glasrud, Light Townsend Cummins, and Cary D. Wintz, eds., *Discovering Texas History* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2014), 76-93.
- ³ Stephanie Cole, Rebecca Sharpless, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, eds., *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 148.
- ⁴ For further information regarding women’s clubs and organizations in Fort Worth: Katie Sherrod, ed., *Grace & Gumption: Stories of Fort Worth Women* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 2007).
- ⁵ Kelley M. King, *Call Her Citizen: Progressive-Era Activist and Educator Anna Pennybacker* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010), 2, 25, 120-1.
- ⁶ Willard B. Robinson, “Temples of Knowledge: Historic Mains of Texas Colleges and Universities,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 77 (1974): 455, 466-8, 473, 480. In his article about the life of Broadway stage performer Anna Held, David Monod writes that the rapid increase in industrial factories and slumming in cities led to the white man’s sexual dominance over women in the urban communities, red light districts, and saloons. He notes that “sexual modernism was the instrument that legitimized disruptive working-class and African American cultures by commercializing and reworking them in ways that middle-class white males could dominate,” David Monod, “The Eyes of Anna Held: Sex and Sight in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10 (2011): 292.
- ⁷ Carl H. Moneyhon, “Public Education and Texas Reconstruction Politics, 1871-1874,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 92 (1989): 400-2.
- ⁸ Colby D. Hall, *History of Texas Christian University: A College of the Cattle Frontier* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2014), 13, 15-6, 21-4.
- ⁹ For further background information regarding the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Austin College, and Texas Technological College: Henry C. Dethloff, *A Pictorial History of Texas A&M University, 1876-1976* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975); Light Townsend Cummins, *Austin College: A Sesquicentennial History, 1849-1999* (Fort Worth: Eakin Press, 1999); “Texas Tech University,” Texas State Historical Association, accessed May 5, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kct32>, online article by Lawrence L. Graves.
- ¹⁰ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 4, 15, 19; Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Vol. 2* (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 860.
- ¹¹ Catherine Cocks, “Rethinking Sexuality in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 5 (2006): 101-3.

¹² Elisabeth Israels Perry, "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1 (2002): 30, 35-6, 48; Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History, 2nd ed.* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009), 477-8, 504, 531-4.

¹³ "Texas Federation of Women's Clubs," *The Club Woman's Argosy* 2, no. 3 (October 1908), 24-5, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Sallie B. Capps Papers, Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington Library. Hereafter cited as Capps Papers.

¹⁴ Lerner, 22-3.

¹⁵ For further information regarding patriarchy as a system of male assumptions that control the actions and labor of women: Johanna Alberti, *Gender and the Historian* (New York: Pearson Education, 2002), 28-9.

¹⁶ For further reading on Minnie Fisher Cunningham: Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham: A Suffragist's Life in Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); for further reading on Mary Evelyn Blagg Huey: "Mary Evelyn Blagg Huey: 1984 Inductee, Higher Education," Texas Woman's University, accessed May 3, 2018, <https://www.twu.edu/twhf/honorees/mary-evelyn-blagg-huey/>; for further reading on Annie Webb Blanton: Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993).

CHAPTER I: EARLY LIFE IN SHERMAN, 1864-1884

¹⁷ "Education During The 1860s," Civil War Trust, accessed December 17, 2017, <https://www.civilwar.org/learn/articles/education-during-1860s>, online article adapted from *An Introduction to Civil War Citizens* by Juanita Leisch (New York: Thomas Publications, 1994).

¹⁸ 1860 United States Census, Sherman Ward M653, Grayson, Texas, 138, 805295. These census records indicate that John Brooke's birth year is listed 'abt 1828.'

¹⁹ "Peters Colony," Texas State Historical Association, accessed May 2, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/uep02>, online article by Harry E. Wade.

²⁰ Kris Rutherford, *Baseball on the Prairie: How Seven Small-Town Teams Shaped Texas League History* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 26; "Dr. John Brooke," Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/141676229/john-brooke>; West Hill Cemetery, Sherman, Grayson County, Texas, Memorial ID-- 141676229.

²¹ 1860 United States Census, Sherman Ward M653, Grayson, Texas, 138, 805295. These census records indicate that Nancy C. Brooke's birth year is listed 'abt 1834.'

²² "History 'lives' at West Hill Cemetery," HeraldDemocrat.com, accessed March 24, 2018, <http://www.heralddemocrat.com/living/lifestyle/history-lives-west-hill-cemetery>, Dr. John Brooke's drug store burned down in 1875, four years before his death; "Nancy Caledonia Chaffin Brooke," Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/141675000/nancy-caledonia-brooke>, Sallie's mother died in Tarrant County on May 27, 1901, buried in West Hill Cemetery in Sherman, Memorial ID-- 141675000; "Mary Ann Brooke Owens," Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/77495702/mary-ann-owens>, Mary died in Sherman on September 13, 1902, buried in West Hill Cemetery in Sherman, Memorial ID-- 77495702; "Charles Albert Brooke," Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/141731365/charles-albert-brooke>, Charles died on September 26, 1853, buried in West Hill Cemetery in Sherman, Memorial ID-- 141731365.

²³ Linda Ashby, *Sherman* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 7-8.

²⁴ Graham Landrum, *Grayson County: An Illustrated History of Grayson County, Texas* (Fort Worth: University Supply & Equipment Company, 1960), 24-6.

- ²⁵ Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum, Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas. Memorial ID-- 124297927; 1870 United States Census, Sherman, Grayson, Texas, M593_1588, 5A, 553087.
- ²⁶ Day-dreaming stories in Capps's first journal [1869-1874], Box GA 196, Folder 1, Capps Papers.
- ²⁷ For further reading on William Quantrill and his raids in Texas: Paul R. Petersen, *Quantrill in Texas: The Forgotten Campaign* (Nashville: Cumberland House Publishing, 2007).
- ²⁸ For further reading on Jesse James, Frank James, and the James-Younger Gang: Marley Bryant, *The Outlaws Younger: A Confederate Brotherhood* (New York: Madison Books, 1995).
- ²⁹ "Kidd Key College," Texas State Historical Association, accessed October 20, 2017, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kbk02>, online article by Larry Wolz.
- ³⁰ Annie Connelly, *History of Kidd-Key College* (Master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1942), 13.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 13-4.
- ³² Moneyhon, 393-4, 400-1, 413. Dr. Frederick Eby, a Professor and Chair of the History Department at the University of Texas at Austin (1909-1957), once noted that the state centralization of education in 1871 miserably failed because "the arbitrary powers of the superintendent and board scarcely suited individualistic Texas" (394).
- ³³ John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education, 2nd Edition* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 146-7.
- ³⁴ Ruth O. Domatti, "A History of Kidd-Key College," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 63 (1959): 264-5.
- ³⁵ Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3 (1978), 760.
- ³⁶ Domatti, 265.
- ³⁷ Light Townsend Cummins and Justin Banks, *Austin College* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 9. Austin College is currently the oldest college in the State of Texas still operating under its original charter, originally founded in 1849 in Huntsville. After the college moved to Sherman, the campus was used by a teaching school.
- ³⁸ Domatti, 265-6.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 265-6. By offering college-constructed courses the school had hoped to make a lot of money, but this did not happen. In 1886, four years after Sallie's graduation, North Texas Female College closed because of financial instability. The college was re-opened under Mrs. Lucy Ann Kidd-Key in 1888.
- ⁴⁰ Journal entry for March 1878, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁴¹ James Reid Cole, *Seven Decades of My Life* (London: Forgotten Books, 2016), 92-3. The graduation speaker on this day was Thomas S. Gathright, the President of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College and a man whom had praised the successful progress of North Texas Female College.
- ⁴² Domatti, 266.
- ⁴³ Day-dreaming stories in Capps's first journal [1869-1874], Box GA 196, Folder 1, Capps Papers.
- ⁴⁴ Activities at school and home in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁴⁵ Newspaper clipping in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.

- ⁴⁶ Newspaper clippings in Capps's first journal [1869-1874], Box GA 196, Folder 1, Capps Papers; Unpublished book about nature conservation is found in Box GA 196, Folder 5, Capps Papers.
- ⁴⁷ Journal entries for March 19, 1880, and March 31, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁴⁸ Journal entry for May 21, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers. According to the bulletin, the North Texas Female College offered no evening or night classes to its students at this time. Sallie Capps used to stay at school beyond regular hours because she was a dedicated student.
- ⁴⁹ Journal entry for March 19, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁵⁰ Ashby, 12, 16, 23. According to maps and street descriptions of Sherman at this time, this would be the route Sallie Capps presumably would take. On her many trips to downtown Sherman, Sallie Capps would also walk by the Hall and Chapman Law Firm, First United Methodist Church, and the Fisk Building, which housed the local Wholesale Boots and Shoes Store. In 1876 Sherman had five flour mills and the largest grain elevator north of Dallas.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 12, 16, 23; Journal entry for March 19, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁵² Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 20.
- ⁵³ Newspaper clipping in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁵⁴ Journal entry for April 20, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁵⁵ "Funeral of Mary Kyle Dallas," *The New York Times*, August 29, 1897, 5, short article found in *Obituary* section; "Mary Kyle Dallas (1830-1897)," LibriVox, accessed March 24, 2018, https://librivox.org/author/9906?primary_key=9906&search_category=author&search_page=1&search_form=get_results; "Woman's Press Club of New York City Records, 1889-1980," Columbia University Libraries: Archival Collections, accessed March 24, 2018, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/archival/collections/ldpd_4079494/.
- ⁵⁶ Newspaper clipping in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers. Dallas's short stories and poems were said to often be derived from her own personal experiences.
- ⁵⁷ Newspaper clipping in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁵⁸ Sharon E. Wood, *The Freedom of The Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in A Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), Ch. 4 & 5. Background information-- examples of labels given to fallen unmarried women in growing rural areas in the late nineteenth century.
- ⁵⁹ Journal entry for April 3, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁶⁰ Journal entry for May 6, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁶¹ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 111.
- ⁶² "1878-1899: Religion: Overview," Encyclopedia.com, accessed December 3, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/1878-1899-religion-overview>.
- ⁶³ Ashby, 8.
- ⁶⁴ Domatti, 270-1. Mrs. Lucy Ann Kidd-Key (1839-1916) transformed North Texas Female College into a thriving residential community during her tenure as its leader (1888-1916). The female president was responsible for the increase in the number of art and music classes offered, the rapid growth in student population, and the construction

of a three-story dormitory. During her tenure, North Texas Female College also became a chartered collegiate institution. Mrs. Kidd-Key was much beloved by her students and the college's alumni, including Sallie Capps. Upon Kidd-Key's death, North Texas Female College changed its chartered name to Kidd-Key College in 1919.

- ⁶⁵ Newspaper clipping in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁶⁶ Newspaper clipping in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁶⁷ Journal entry for June 2, 1880, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers. By 1880, Sherman was the home to businessmen, traders, attorneys, cattlemen, farmers, and factory laborers. The town economically expanded into a powerful industrial center in North Texas.
- ⁶⁸ Thelin, 175. It was not until the 1890s when females in Texas would begin attending and successfully graduating high school in increasing numbers. Since Texas was slow at expanding from an agricultural region to an industrialization state in the 1880s, many females tended to labor on farms or the domestic needs of the household.
- ⁶⁹ Domatti, 267. Judge Onis was elected President of North Texas Female College in 1881.
- ⁷⁰ Quote from Dallas's newspaper short clipping titled *The Sweet Laugh of Woman*, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers. The newspaper short describes a story of a woman's best attribute to society, a bewitching sweet laugh. Sallie Brooke glued the newspaper clipping in her journal.
- ⁷¹ Archival folder contains three small books-- a remembrance album, a booklet of contacts, and a collection of calling cards, Box GA 196, Folder 3, Capps Papers.
- ⁷² Solomon, 116-7. The author notes that young women "tried a number of different activities" (117). Sallie B. Capps moved to Fort Worth and would subsequently undertake volunteer work as a local church.
- ⁷³ Newspaper clippings in Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁷⁴ Remembrance album, Box GA 196, Folder 3, Capps Papers. Among the people who signed this memory book after 1884 were Sallie's devoted daughters, Alba and Mattie Mae Capps. The latter child, a poetic student who enjoyed writings, penned the message: "On this leaf of memory pressed, may my name, forever rest."
- ⁷⁵ Journal entry for September 28, 1884, Capps's second journal [1874-1885], Box GA 196, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ⁷⁶ First chapter of this thesis comprises of primary documents from these three archival folders, Box GA 196, Folders 1-3, Capps Papers.
- ⁷⁷ Glen Sample Ely, *Where the West Begins: Debating Texas Identity* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 7-20; Light Townsend Cummins, *Allie Victoria Tennant and the Visual Arts in Dallas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2015), 7-8.

CHAPTER II: UNEXPECTED LOVE & FAMILY, 1885-1910

- ⁷⁸ "Introduction," *The Frontier Fiesta*, official program of event, 1937, 3-4, Box GA 196, Folder 7, Capps Papers.
- ⁷⁹ Caleb Pirtle III, *Fort Worth- The Civilized West* (Fort Worth: Centennial Heritage Press, 1980), 74-5; for further reading on Fort Worth, Texas, from the 1840s to the mid-twentieth century; Harold Rich, *Fort Worth: Outpost, Cowtown, Boomtown* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); "Railroads," Texas State Historical Association, accessed March 20, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/eqr01>, online article by George C. Werner. In the late 1870s, railroad mileage in Texas had reached 2,440 miles. During the 1880s, over 4,000 miles of track was built around the state.

- ⁸⁰ “First Baptist Church, Fort Worth,” Texas State Historical Association, Accessed December 28, 2017, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ibf01>, online article by Karen O’Dell Bullock.
- ⁸¹ Entry [Winter 1884] in Capps’s small notebook [1884-1899] and “Welcome,” *The Fence Rail*, January 19, 1917, 1-2, Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers. The church newspaper, which was controversial to many as it frequently combined politics with religion, was praised by the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Fort Worth, John Franklyn Norris (1909-1952).
- ⁸² Entry for October 15, 1884, Capps’s small notebook [1884-1899], Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers.
- ⁸³ Megan Seaholm, *Earnest Women: The White Women’s Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880-1920*. (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1988), iii, 184-6, 335.
- ⁸⁴ “Local Community Service,” *The Fence Rail*, January 19, 1917, 4-6, Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers.
- ⁸⁵ Nancy F. Cott, and Elizabeth H. Pleck, ed., *A Heritage of Her Own: Towards a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 12-3.
- ⁸⁶ Entry in March 1885, Capps small notebook [1884-1899], Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers.
- ⁸⁷ Solomon, 63. Graphs on female university enrollment and information regarding female involvement in higher education in the latter-half of the nineteenth century are found in Chapter Five: *Who Went To College?* (62).
- ⁸⁸ Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum, Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas. Memorial ID-- 124297928; 1880 United States Census, Johnsons Station, Tarrant, Texas, 1328, 101A, 093.
- ⁸⁹ “Local Builder,” *The Pitchfork*, September 1915, 6-7, Box GA 197, Folder 3, Capps Papers. Additionally, according to a column in *The Democrat-Voice* newspaper for Coleman County 33, no. 38, September 18, 1914, William Capps became co-owner of the Swinden Orchard, the largest seedling pecan orchard in Texas (1).
- ⁹⁰ “William Capps,” *Fort Worth Record*, September 18, 1916, 8, Box GA 197, Folder 3, Capps Papers; Pirtle III, 184; “William Capps,” Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124297928/william-capps>; Buckley B. Paddock, *History of Texas: Fort Worth and the Texas Northwest, Vol. II* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 311. In 1927, the law firm in Fort Worth dropped William Capps’s name from its official title and was subsequently named *Cantey & Hanger Attorneys*. William Capps was also a stakeholder in the famed Fairmount Land Company, which awarded land lots to Texas Christian University after the institution relocated from Waco to Fort Worth in 1910, Colby D. Hall, *History of Texas Christian University: A College of the Cattle Frontier* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1947), 66-7.
- ⁹¹ For further reading on “Longhaired” Jim Courtright: Robert K. DeArment, *Jim Courtright of Fort Worth: His Life and Legend* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2004).
- ⁹² Mike Nichols, *Lost Fort Worth* (Dallas: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 78-9; Richard F. Selcer, *Fort Worth Characters* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2009), 43-4. At only twenty-six years old, William Capps would gain valuable experience in persuasion that most men would never face at such a young age.
- ⁹³ “Lawyer was Fast Thinker,” Dent Law Firm, accessed on December 10, 2017, <http://www.thedentlawfirm.com/>; “The Great Escape (Part 1): When the Jury Is A Mob,” Hometown by Handlebar, accessed March 26, 2018, <http://hometownbyhandlebar.com/?p=1645>.
- ⁹⁴ “William Capps,” *The Pitchfork*, October 1916, 4, Box GA 197, Folder 3, Capps Papers. For further reading on *The Pitchfork* magazine: “Pitchfork,” Texas State Historical Association, accessed December 26, 2017, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/edp02>, online article by William W. Baxley.

- ⁹⁵ “Sallie B. Capps Papers: A Guide,” Texas Archival Resources Online, accessed October 20, 2017, <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utarl/00003/ar1-00003.html>.
- ⁹⁶ “Nuptial,” *Sherman Daily Register*, June 2, 1887, 1. Newspaper article accessed by *The Portal to Texas History*. The Texoma newspaper noted that the Capps’s wedding was one of three ceremonies held in Sherman that morning.
- ⁹⁷ Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 60-1, 140-1; Jessica Brannon-Wranosky, “Mariana Thompson Folsom: Laying the Foundation for Women’s Rights Activism,” found in *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives*, 210.
- ⁹⁸ Lerner, 104-5. The author notes that in the early twentieth century, many households did not employ servants. Thus, the housewife now performed her monotonous, repetitious cycle of activities in even greater isolation than did women in previous centuries, which diminished her position in society.
- ⁹⁹ Greenleaf Cemetery, Brownwood, Brown County, Texas, Memorial ID—117869073; “Alba Capps Lucas,” Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/117869073/alba-lucas>; 1900 United States Census, Fort Worth Ward 9, Tarrant, Texas, 9, 0108. Alba Capps Lucas would die less than three years after her mother on February 19, 1949, suffering a heart attack. Like her mother, she had an illustrious public service career as president of the Woman’s Auxiliary of the diocese of Dallas and a member of the United Council of Church Women. She was a lifelong member of the St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church. She married Henry Gaillard Lucas.
- ¹⁰⁰ Alba Capps’s Fort Worth public school report cards, Box GA 197, Folder 4, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁰¹ Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum, Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, Memorial ID—124297932; “Mattie Mae Capps Anderson,” Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124297932/mattie-mae-anderson>; 1900 United States Census, Fort Worth Ward 9, Tarrant, Texas, 9, 0108. Mattie Mae Capps Anderson would marry Frank McDaniel Anderson, a business manager of William’s newspaper, and died on November 24, 1963.
- ¹⁰² Mattie Mae’s Fort Worth public school report cards, Box GA 198, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁰³ *The Virginia Female Institute Rule Booklet*, 117, Box GA 198, Folder 1, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁰⁴ Paul D. Escott, “The Uses of Gallantry: Virginians and the Origins of J.E.B. Stuart’s Historical Image,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1995): 60; “History Of The School Beginnings,” Stuart Hall School, accessed December 31, 2017, <https://www.stuarthallschool.org/history-school>. Stuart Hall School’s first classes were held in Mrs. Sheffey’s house before the VFI was officially recognized in 1844. Though the school was discontinued between 1861-65 due to the Civil War, its student population steadily increased in the years following Reconstruction. The famed Confederate general of the former Army of Northern Virginia, Robert E. Lee, served as the school’s president for several years after the war. The institution is still in operation today.
- ¹⁰⁵ “A Christmas Surprise,” *The Inlook*, December 1907, 15, Box GA 197, Folder 7, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁰⁶ Secretary’s notes and minutes of the Phi Eta Kappa club; Alba Capps to Mattie Mae Capps, November 1, 1906; Alba Capps to Mattie Mae Capps, December 3, 1906; Mattie Mae’s membership card, November 1907-- all documents found in Box GA 197, Folder 4, Capps Papers. A pledge of the club goes as follows: “I, (member’s name), by the great honor shown, I hereby pledge myself not to divulge by act, word or sign the American name of the society or club.”
- ¹⁰⁷ Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum, Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, Memorial ID—124297929; “Count Brooke Capps,” Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124297929/count-brooke-capps>; 1900 United States Census, Fort Worth Ward 9, Tarrant, Texas, 9, 0108. Count Brooke Capps died on January 13, 1954.
- ¹⁰⁸ Count Brooke’s Fort Worth public school report cards and yearbook photographs, Box GA 198, Folder 4, Capps Papers.

- ¹⁰⁹ Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum, Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, Memorial ID—124297926; “Andrew Wilson Capps,” Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124297926/andrew-wilson-capps>.
- ¹¹⁰ Cornelia Branch Stone to Anna Pennybacker, May 5, 1901, Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs Collection, MSS 32, 3a, 3.6, Woman’s Collection, Texas Woman’s University Library. Pennybacker was president of the Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs (1901-3).
- ¹¹¹ “The Progression of Education,” *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, October 1908, 7-8, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹¹² Letter from W.T. Fakes to Sallie B. Capps, June 1, 1900, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹¹³ “School Board Meeting: Room in the Fourth Ward Building Is Given for Kindergarten Work,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 4, 1900, 4. The article records a “heated tilt” between Mr. Capps and the superintendent.
- ¹¹⁴ “Denton Snider (1841-1925),” Froebel Foundation, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.froebelfoundation.org/people/Snider.html>. Snider avoided commercialization, so he subsequently published his writings himself, at his own expense, under the imprint of his Sigma Publishing Company.
- ¹¹⁵ Sarah Holmes Hardwicke to Anna Pennybacker, May 28, 1902, and “Fort Worth’s Teaching College,” by Edna Foster Faires, *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, [1902] page number obscured, Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs Collection, MSS 32, 3a, 3.2 & 3.8, Woman’s Collection, Texas Woman’s University Library.
- ¹¹⁶ Hollace A. Weiner, *Jewish “Junior League”: The Rise and Demise of the Fort Worth Council of Jewish Women* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008), 20-1.
- ¹¹⁷ Lerner, 25; DuBois & Dumenil, 457.
- ¹¹⁸ For further reading on the Chicago Kindergarten College: “Chicago Kindergarten College,” Digital Commons at National Louis University, accessed December 29, 2017, <https://digitalcommons.nl.edu/ckc/>.
- ¹¹⁹ “The Fort Worth Kindergarten Association,” *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, October 1908, 7-8, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers. According to the first magazine issue (there are two issues of this magazine in the archival folder), the most prominent members of the organization were Mrs. William Capps, President; Miss Myra M. Winchester, Principal of the college; Mrs. B.A. Watters, Vice-President; Mrs. A.J. Roe, Ex-President; Mrs. H. Brann; Mrs. Hunt McCalabe; Mrs. O. Lee Jones; Mrs. R.L. White; Mrs. J.J. Nunnally; and Mrs. H.H. Cobb, Ex-President and 2nd Vice-President (7).
- ¹²⁰ “Editorial Announcement,” *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, October 1908, 2, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹²¹ Texas Legislature, Senate, *Journal of the Senate of Texas*, 31st Legislature, Austin, Texas, 1909, 129. Senate Bill 34.
- ¹²² “Fort Worth’s Kindergarten School,” *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, October 1909, 8-9, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers. Today, male teachers are underrepresented in the State of Texas, as 58% of teachers in the Lone Star State were female in 2016.
- ¹²³ “Chairman’s Message,” *The Club Woman’s Argosy*, October 1908, 25, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹²⁴ Diary entry for [Winter 1906- date obscured], Capps’s [1906-1907] diary, and student theater programs, Box GA 197, Folder 6, Capps Papers.
- ¹²⁵ Sallie B. Capps to Alba Capps, May 1, 1909; a [1906-7] diary; 1909 presidential inauguration souvenir book; visitor’s brochure on Arlington National Cemetery, 1909; and student theater production programs are all found in Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers.

- ¹²⁶ Alba's graduation information is found in the school's 1909 graduation booklet, Box GA 197, Folder 4, Capps Papers. Sallie Capps's eldest daughter received the diploma, with *Honors in English*.
- ¹²⁷ Alba's class presentation speech (3 written pages), 1st page, Box GA 197, Folder 4, Capps Papers.
- ¹²⁸ 1909 *Antilles* handbill-- steamship journey from NYC to New Orleans, Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers.
- ¹²⁹ "A Queen of Quality Hill Then, A Queen of the Cul-de-Sac Now," Hometown by Handlebar, accessed January 17, 2018, <http://hometownbyhandlebar.com/?p=13731>.
- ¹³⁰ Brenda S. McClurkin, *Fort Worth's Quality Hill* (New York: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 34-8. The Heights was developed in the early 1890s as an opulent suburb reminiscent of Humphrey Barker Chamberlin's grand Capitol Hill enclave in Denver. The neighborhood set the standard for local fine living, elaborate entertaining, and philanthropy.
- ¹³¹ "Pollock-Capps House," Revolvly, accessed on December 21, 2017, <https://www.revolvly.com/main/index.php?s=Pollock-Capps%20House&item-type=topic>; "Pollock-Capps House," WayMarking, accessed on December 21, 2017, http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM1WRH_Pollock_Capps_House.
- ¹³² "Lawyer was Fast Thinker," Dent Law Firm, accessed on December 10, 2017, <http://www.thedentlawfirm.com/>.
- ¹³³ Carol Roark, ed., *Fort Worth and Tarrant County: An Historical Guide* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2003), 81.
- ¹³⁴ "Pollock-Capps House," Revolvly, accessed on December 21, 2017, <https://www.revolvly.com/main/index.php?s=Pollock-Capps%20House&item-type=topic>.
- ¹³⁵ Wendy Kline, *Building A Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to The Baby Boom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 30.
- ¹³⁶ Capps [1906-1907] diary, Box GA 196, Folder 6, Capps Papers. It could be assumed that Sallie B. Capps harbored big plans in helping to progressively reform education in Texas.

CHAPTER III: SECRETARY OF THE COLLEGE OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS'S BOARD OF REGENTS, 1911-1929

- ¹³⁷ Graham, 766-7, 770.
- ¹³⁸ Joyce Thompson, *Marking A Trail: A History of the Texas Woman's University* (Denton: Texas Woman's University Press, 1982), 2-4; Hugh Hawkins, "The Making of the Liberal Arts College Identity," *Daedalus* 128 (1999): 4-5. Some progressive women leaders, like Ellen Lawson Dabbs, the chair of the Southern Council of Women in Texas, believed the school should have been in Bryan, a few miles from Texas A&M College (found in Ruth Hosey Karbach's essay on Ellen Lawson Dabbs in *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives*, 191-2).
- ¹³⁹ Thompson, 39-41, 47. After the administration's changes to the curriculum, the college would offer Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Business Administration, and Bachelor of Music designations following 1915.
- ¹⁴⁰ "C.I.A. Dormitory Named in Honor of Mrs. Sallie Capps," *Dallas Morning News*, October 1, 1917, 1; "New C.I.A. Dormitory Named Sallie A. Capps Hall." *Dallas Morning News*, October 13, 1917, 2.
- ¹⁴¹ "The State Press," *Dallas Morning News*, October 14, 1918, 6.
- ¹⁴² Jim Bolz, Tricia Bolz, and Denton County Museums, *Denton County* (New York: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 89-90; Thompson, 48-9, 59.
- ¹⁴³ "College of Industrial Arts Shows Astonishing Growth," *Dallas Morning News*, November 17, 1918, 9.

- ¹⁴⁴ Thompson, 45-7. A photography studio and a greenhouse were also added to the CIA campus in the 1920s.
- ¹⁴⁵ Cottrell, 45-6; Anne Firor Scott and Andrew MacKay Scott, *One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 66-8; Elizabeth York Enstam, "The Dallas Equal Suffrage Association, Political Style, and Popular Culture: Grassroots Strategies of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1913-1919," *Journal of Southern History* 68 (2002): 819-20, 821-22.
- ¹⁴⁶ Sallie B. Capps to Mrs. Hunt McCalabe, December 4, 1920, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers. Hereafter, letters addressed to or written by Sallie B. Capps are cited as Capps.
- ¹⁴⁷ Thompson, 43. The Lone Star State gradually warmed up to the idea of females being permitted to vote, as Texas was the first southern state and the ninth in the nation to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919.
- ¹⁴⁸ Phyllis Bridges, *Marking A Trail: The Quest Continues, A Centennial History of the Texas Woman's University* (Denton: Texas Woman's University Press, 2001), 16.
- ¹⁴⁹ Newspaper clipping loose-- "Nominations For C.I.A. Presidency," *Dallas Morning News*, August 25, 1924, page number obscured, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁵⁰ Cottrell, 14-5, 27, 42-4, 52-3, 73-5, 81, 108-9, 117.
- ¹⁵¹ Frederick Eby to Capps, August 27, 1924, and Mrs. W.E. Odone to Capps, August 28, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁵² Dr. Carrie Weaver to Capps, August 29, 1924; J.W. Cantwell and Effie Price to Capps, August 30, 1924; Mrs. Frederick Turner to Capps, August 30, 1924; E.G. Littlejohn and Ella F. Little to Capps, September 1, 1924; Mary Nash and S.M.N Marris to Capps, September 2, 1924; W.W. Woodson to Capps, September 7, 1924; Nathan Adams to Capps, September 10, 1924, Box GA 196, Folders 8 & 9, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁵³ Mrs. J.M.F. Gill and Decca Lamar West to Capps, September 11, 1924, and Minnie Fisher Cunningham to Capps, September 12, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 9, Capps Papers. For further reading on Cunningham's opinions on women in education found in *An Essay on Education of Women and Its Relation to Suffrage*, Minnie Fisher Cunningham Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Digital Library, Houston.
- ¹⁵⁴ J.C. Cochran to Capps, August 29, 1924; Annie Webb Blanton's application, resume, and cover letter for the CIA Presidency, sent to Capps, August 28, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁵⁵ T. Whitefield Davidson to Capps, September 6, 1924; W.E. Spell to Capps, September 13, 1924; CIA Ex-Students Association of Dallas to Capps, September 19, 1924; O.E. Schow to Capps, September 22, 1924, Box GA 198, Folder 10, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁵⁶ H.E. Speck to Capps, September 5, 1924; CIA Ex-Students Association of Denton to Capps, September 8, 1924; CIA Ex-Students Association of Dallas, Denton, & Fort Worth to Capps, September 15, 1924; Roberta Clay to Capps, September 15, 1924; Joseph Gallivan's petition to CIA Board, date obscured, Box GA 196, Folder 12, Capps Papers..
- ¹⁵⁷ H.P. Brelsford and Allen D. Dabney to Capps, September 13, 1924; Texas State Bank of Eastland and the Thursday Afternoon Study Club of Eastland to Capps, September 17, 1924; Nellie M. Mills to Capps, August 29, 1924; Elise Pickett to Capps, September 19, 1924; Judd Mortimer Lewis to Capps, September 22, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 11, Capps Papers. Dr. Judd's and Dr. Blayney's applications, resumes, and cover letters are also in this archival folder.
- ¹⁵⁸ Capps to James H. Lowry, August 27, 1924, and Maggie W. Barry to Capps, September 4, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁵⁹ Cottrell, 87.

- ¹⁶⁰ Capps to Mrs. O. Lee Jones, October 2, 1924, and W.E. Spell to Capps, October 2, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 10, Capps Papers. Members of the CIA Board of Regents before this historic vote were James H. Lowry of Fannin County, J.C. Colt of Denton County, Sam P. Harbin of Dallas County, W.D. Adams of Kaufman County, Mrs. Flora B. Cameron of McLennan County, Miss Elanor Brackenridge of Bexar County (later replaced by Charles Ulrich Connellee of Eastland County), and Mrs. Sallie B. Capps of Tarrant County.
- ¹⁶¹ “Blayney Becomes President of C.I.A.,” *Dallas Morning News*, January 12, 1925, 1.
- ¹⁶² Lindsey Blayney Papers, 1924-1926, MSS 832, 12, Woman’s Collection, Texas Woman’s University Library; Thompson, 63-6. In October 1924, Sallie B. Capps was responsible for writing letters to faculty, students, and alumni, expressing sorrow for the late Dr. Bralley and politely asking for donations for the President’s Memorial Fund. According to several sources, many alumni in Texas did not give monetary donations at first because they did not like Dr. Blayney. Hereafter cited as Blayney Papers, 1924-1926.
- ¹⁶³ Bridges, 22-3. Graduate studies in six academic departments would be introduced at the college in 1930.
- ¹⁶⁴ Capps to Nellie M. Mills, [August 1925], Blayney Papers, 1924-1926, MSS 832, 12; Margaret Minnis to Capps, September 11, 1925, Capps to all CIA Ex-Students Associations in Texas, September 25, 1925, Box GA 197, Folder 1, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁶⁵ “C.I.A. Faculty Seeks Relief in Situation,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 17, 1925, 1; “No Request Made for Blayney Resignation,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 20, 1925, 1. Though no final decision was made at the second meeting, the Board of Regents agreed on what Sallie B. Capps termed “a continuation” of the case.
- ¹⁶⁶ “Board of Regents of C.I.A. Adjourn the Austin Meeting,” *The Daily News-Telegram*, October 8, 1925, 6. Newspaper article accessed by *The Portal to Texas History*.
- ¹⁶⁷ “Funeral For Mr. William Capps,” *Fort Worth Record* loose article, October 7, 1925, page obscured, Box GA 197, Folder 3, Capps Papers; “C.I.A. Honors Capps Memory,” *Dallas Morning News*, October 9, 1925, 9. William’s date of death is found at Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum. Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas.
- ¹⁶⁸ “Dr. Blayney Is To Remain Till End Of Year.” *The Daily News-Telegram*, October 29, 1925, 4. Newspaper article accessed by *The Portal to Texas History*.
- ¹⁶⁹ Blayney Papers, 1924-1926, MSS 832, 12; CIA leadership meeting minutes from October 28, 1925, and CIA Ex-Students Association of San Antonio to Sallie B. Capps, October 4, 1925, Box GA 197, Folder 1, Capps Papers; Thompson, 66-9.
- ¹⁷⁰ Small handwritten list of women colleges in the United States that Sallie respectfully pried upon for information regarding the institution’s student life statistics, academic data, and student success stories, Box GA 197, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁷¹ Diary entry for September 14, 1940, Capps’s final diary [1932-1941], Box GA 196, Folder 4, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁷² Thompson, 71. It is assumed from this text that the CIA administration, including Sallie B. Capps, missed their late president so much that they designed the library to look different than the other uniform buildings on campus.
- ¹⁷³ Programs for *The Student Princess*, Stella Owsley’s singing recital, and the Francis Marion Bralley Memorial Library dedication on April 16, 1927 are all found in Box GA 197, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁷⁴ Diary entry [Spring 1932], Capps final diary [1932-1941], Box GA 196, Folder 4, Capps Papers; Thompson, 51-2; Hawkins, 7-8; programs for *The Creation* and *Elijah*. The development of a collegiate culture had become dominant in many colleges across the nation during and after World War I. This culture included relaxing curricular requirements, downplaying religion, and encouraging a solid and vigorous extracurricular schedule with sports competitions at its focus.

- ¹⁷⁵ Thompson, 52-4. Students at the College of Industrial Arts also engaged in community service during this period, cooperating with town churches on Sunday School work and mission trips, and writing to soldiers overseas.
- ¹⁷⁶ Emma E. Pirre to Capps, September 4, 1924, Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁷⁷ 1928 CIA Homecoming program; W.R. Nabours to Capps, February 20, 1929; E.V. White, February 22, 1929, Box GA 197, Folder 2, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁷⁸ Amy A. Hatmaker, *A History of The Texas Congress of Mothers-Parent Teacher Association and School Reform, 1909-1930* (Master's thesis, Texas A&M University- Corpus Christi, 2016), 2, 18-20, 29-32, 35, 37-8.
- ¹⁷⁹ Sixth Annual Conference of the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association in San Antonio pamphlet, November 4-7, 1914, 2-6, 9, 37, found in Box GA 196, Folder 8, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁸⁰ Hatmaker, 34.
- ¹⁸¹ "Texas Congress of Parents and Teachers," Texas State Historical Association, accessed January 9, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kat02>, online article by May Schmidt. Recent data collected in 1990. The Texas PTA also hosts annual leadership seminar at the University of Texas at Austin in July.
- ¹⁸² Solomon, 154.

CHAPTER IV: TWILIGHT YEARS, 1930-1946

- ¹⁸³ Diary entry for November 6, 1932, Capps's final diary [1932-1941], Box GA 196, Folder 4, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁸⁴ Capps's collection of calling cards, Box GA 196, Folder 3, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁸⁵ For further reading on the 1936 Texas Centennial celebrations in Dallas: Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987).
- ¹⁸⁶ "Introduction," *The Frontier Fiesta*, 1937, 2, Box GA 196, Folder 7, Capps Papers. Billy Rose once explained the difference between the Fort Worth extravaganza and the Dallas exposition: "Go to Dallas for education; come to Fort Worth for entertainment" (4).
- ¹⁸⁷ Kaitlyn Casmedes, *The Dallas Theater Project and the 1936 Texas Centennial* (BA Honor's thesis, Austin College, 2016), 58-9.
- ¹⁸⁸ "Introduction," and "Attractions," *The Frontier Fiesta*, 1937, 2, 4-5, 7-8, Box GA 196, Folder 7, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁸⁹ "Texas Frontier Centennial," Texas State Historical Association, accessed January 13, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/lkt03>, online article by Wesley E. Sparling.
- ¹⁹⁰ Casmedes, 78.
- ¹⁹¹ Diary entries from February 5, 1940, 23, and March 24, 1940, Capps's final diary [1932-1941], Box GA 196, Folder 4, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁹² Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church Parish, *Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church Stained-Glass Windows Companion Guide* (Fort Worth: Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church, 1986), 11.
- ¹⁹³ Susan B. Carter, "Academic Women Revisited: An Empirical Study of Changing Patterns in Women's Employment as College and University Faculty, 1890-1963," *Journal of Social History* 14 (1981): 676.
- ¹⁹⁴ David G. McComb, *Texas, A Modern History: Revised Edition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 110.

- ¹⁹⁵ Diary entry for September 10, 1940, Capps's final diary [1932-1941], Box GA 196, Folder 4, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁹⁶ Carolyn Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservation Movement: 1900-1916," *Environmental Review: ER* 8 (1984): 57-8, 66, 68-9, 78.
- ¹⁹⁷ Susan Allen Kline, *Fort Worth Parks* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 15, 38, 52-4.
- ¹⁹⁸ Unpublished typed manuscript, titled *The Child's Book of Nature*, is found in Box GA 196, Folder 5, Capps Papers.
- ¹⁹⁹ Diary entry for September 10, 1941, Capps's final diary [1932-1941], Box GA 196, Folder 4, Capps Papers; Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum, Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas. Memorial ID-- 124297927.
- ²⁰⁰ "William Capps," Find A Grave, accessed March 24, 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124297928/william-capps>.
- ²⁰¹ "Mrs. William Capps." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Fort Worth, July 17, 1946, 11. *Obituary* section.
- ²⁰² 1930 United States Census, Fort Worth, Tarrant, Texas 8A, 0012; 1940 United States Census, Fort Worth, Tarrant, Texas, 7A, 25716.
- ²⁰³ "Home Page- Introduction," Dent Law Firm, accessed on January 15, 2018, <http://www.thedentlawfirm.com/>.
- ²⁰⁴ "Capps Park Fall Festival," Keep FW Funky, accessed on March 26, 2018, <http://www.keepfortworthfunky.com/>.
- ²⁰⁵ Thompson, 97, 116.
- ²⁰⁶ Division of Research and Analysis, "Enrollment in Texas Public Schools, 2016-17," Office of Academics, Texas Education Agency, 2017, 4.

CONCLUSION

- ²⁰⁷ Solomon, 336.
- ²⁰⁸ "Women and Education," Texas State Historical Association, accessed February 3, 2018, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/khwku>, online article by Debbie Mauldin Cottrell. Though women in Texas's history are barely mentioned in the state's history textbooks, a collection of prominent females, such as Annie Webb Blanton, Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Emily Austin Bryan Perry, and Mary Elizabeth Branch, among others who have been written on by academic historians. This thesis on Sallie B. Capps adds to that scholarship.
- ²⁰⁹ Cole, Sharpless, and Hayes Turner, eds., 494, 499-502. "In 1992, the Texas State Historical Association, with funding from Ellen Clarke Temple, created the Liz Carpenter Award for the best scholarly book on Texas women's history, testifying to the growing interest and vibrancy of the field" (494). As more stories on Texas women are uncovered, the complete history of the state comes to fruition.

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Minnie Fisher Cunningham Papers. Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Digital Library.

Lindsey Blayney Papers, 1924-1926. The Woman's Collection, Texas Woman's University, Denton.

Texas Federation of Women's Clubs Files. The Woman's Collection, Texas Woman's University, Denton.

Woman's Press Club of New York City Records, 1889-1980. Archival Collections, Columbia University Digital Library.

Places of Interest

Capps Park, 907 W. Berry Street, Fort Worth, Texas.

Greenleaf Cemetery. Brownwood, Brown County, Texas.

Greenwood Memorial Park and Mausoleum. Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas.

Pollock-Capps House, 1120 Penn Street, Fort Worth, Texas.

Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church, Fort Worth, Texas.

Texas Woman's University (formerly known as College of Industrial Arts), 304 Administration Drive, Denton, Texas.

West Hill Cemetery, Sherman, Grayson County, Texas.

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John Brook [John Brooke] (1860 census)

Nancy C. Brook [Nancy Brooke] (1860 census)

Sarah Angel Bruk [Sarah Angel Brooke] (1870 census)

William Capps (1880 census)

Alba Capps (1900 census)

Mattie Mae Capps (1900 census)

Count B. Capps (1900 census)

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William Capps

Alba Capps Lucas

Mattie Mae Capps Anderson

Count Brooke Capps

Andrew Wilson Capps

John Brooke

Nancy Caledonia Chaffin

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Clarence Ross

Alma Slaughter

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