"A RARE COMBINATION OF ADVANTAGES:"

WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION AT ADD-RAN COLLEGE, 1873-1910

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of AddRan College of Liberal Arts Texas Christian University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

August, 2010

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INTRODUCTION

From its first year of operation in 1873 and into the next century, Add-Ran College, now known as Texas Christian University, was a remarkable place for women and higher education. Established in Thorp Spring, Texas, by brothers Addison and Randolph Clark, Add-Ran College was exceptional compared to other American and Texas colleges of the nineteenth century because it provided an environment that not only encouraged women to pursue and take part in higher education alongside men but also held them to high educational standards. Female students were given the same educational opportunities, allowed in the same classes and degree programs, and expected to perform at the same academic levels as male students in an era where this type of coeducation in institutions of higher learning was just beginning to gain popularity in the United States and virtually unprecedented in the republic or state of Texas. Women also played influential roles in the initial stages of Add-Ran Colleges as supporters, faculty members, and staff members. Women continued to be indispensible to the college's survival and success in the subsequent decades. An examination of the backgrounds and educational attitudes of the Clarks and documents from the early years of Add-Ran College makes the importance of women's education apparent.

There are, unfortunately, relatively few primary sources aside from those used in this study concerning the earliest years of Add-Ran College. No substantial records pertaining to women or accounts written by women who attended Add-Ran College or Add-Ran Christian University seem to have survived. It is probable that any that did exist were lost in the fire

that erupted in the Main Building of Add-Ran Christian University on March 22, 1910.¹

There are some short interviews with former female students and other women affiliated with the school conducted by Frank "Frankie" Miller Mason for her thesis, "Beginnings of Texas Christian University," which she included in an appendix. Even with limited primary sources, however, I believe the ones that are available present strong evidence to demonstrate the notable qualities of Add-Ran College given its context and era.

To fully clarify the significance of Add-Ran College in the late nineteenth-century United States, this thesis begins with background information on the history of women and education in general. The first chapter sketches the foundations of women's education in Western Europe beginning with ancient Greece. It continues to examine developments in women's education in Middle Age and Renaissance Europe, the foundations of modern education. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, women's education continued to gain momentum, albeit in limited scope, in Germany, France, and England. The European influences of the Enlightenment, including those concerning the education of women, spilled over the Atlantic to the American colonies and subsequently impacted the educational trends of the early United States. American education gained its own energy in the nineteenth century, particularly after the Civil War, increasing educational opportunities for women especially in the form of women's colleges and coeducational schools. It was in this era of evolving ideas about women's education that the Clarks began their efforts to establish their college. The next chapter continues this survey of background information as it outlines the development of education in Texas resulting from its environment and time under Spanish,

¹ Colby D. Hall, *History of Texas Christian University: A College of the Cattle Frontier* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1947), 136.

Mexican, and independent governments and how it compared to the other regions of the United States.

The third chapter recounts the early history of Add-Ran College and the Clarks and the influences that created the school. This section also explores the importance of women in leading roles at Add-Ran College, as supporters, administrators, and faculty members. Chapter four analyzes women's education in the early years of Add-Ran College based primarily on the catalogs of the first four years of the school's operation. These publications provide proof of the school's commitment to educating women on a level field with men from its beginning. This analysis continues in the fifth chapter, which covers the period around the turn of the twentieth century when Add-Ran College became Add-Ran Christian University and moved to Waco, Texas. This period represents Add-Ran's continued dedication to equal women's education and perhaps even renewed efforts to attract female students. The main source for this section is a brochure advertising the school as one of the best schools for young women, which provides insight into the offerings of Add-Ran Christian University, as well as what other schools lacked. The details of additional documents and photographs from this period also help to further illuminate the role women played at the university.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Women and education as we think of it today—scholarly knowledge formally learned in schools—have not always been considered compatible, even in an elementary capacity, much less a collegiate one. Throughout history, in cultures around the world, the story of women and education has been complicated. Women's education has traditionally been a way to enforce the separate spheres of the sexes in different cultures. In Ancient China, for example, the mark of an advanced woman had nothing to do with her knowledge of science or literature, but rather her ability to be a good wife through humility, piety, fidelity, obedience, and proficiency in the domestic skills necessary to run her home. 2

The situation in China is not an exception; the people of many other regions, including Western Europe, exhibited similar views of women's education. The question of what women should learn was not even the largest issue. Men have not only debated whether or not women should have the same access to an education like theirs, but whether women could intellectually and physically handle it if they did. Virtually throughout history, the exceptional women who did receive educations comparable to men, through tutors or formal schooling, often risked being branded "learned" and socially excluded by men as well

¹ Shirley Nelson Kersey, *Classics in the Education of Girls and Women* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981), 13.

² Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. 1* (New York: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929), 3.

as other women.³ Despite these notions, there have always been some men who supported academic education for women, which was crucial for its future success.⁴

Women's Education in Europe

The evolution of women's education has been more cyclical than linear, with women of different eras making strides for their education just to be set back over the course of the next generations.⁵ Slowly but surely, however, these movements toward the education of women built on one another, developing into the systems and practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Although their customs pertaining to women many times resembled those in other cultures, ancient Greek society provided some of the earliest advocates for women's education in the Western world. There is evidence that the Greeks had formal schooling for girls as early as the fourth century, B.C.E. Classical philosophers like Aristotle and Xenophon were part of perhaps the earliest dialogues concerning the education of women, discussing how and in what ways women should learn if they indeed should be educated. Plato was an early figure who took a strong stand on behalf of women. He argued that sex in no way affected the ability of one to learn, so there was no reason women could not be educated as well as men. Plato states that any perceived inferior intellect in women was not

³ Averil Evans McClelland, *The Education of Women in the United States: A Guide to Theory, Teaching, and Research.* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 18.

⁴ McClelland, Education of Women, 12.

⁵ Kersey, *Classics*, 14.

⁶ Kersey, *Classics*, 16.

⁷ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 10.

⁸ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 12.

due to innate inadequacy but rather to their lack of exposure to the education of men.⁹

Another important proponent of women's education was the poet Sappho. Although she was a woman, contemporaneous and modern critics consider Sappho's work to rival that written by the best male poets of her era. She was highly respected by other poets and philosophers, and Plato referred to her as the "Tenth Muse." She is even credited with creating a school where she taught poetry to female students, giving them access to the prevailing form of culture at the time.¹⁰

Women and education had a place in the ancient Roman world as well. Although there does not seem to have been much emphasis on formal education for boys or girls in this era, the limited elementary education offered to male students was probably offered to girls too. If there were any major discourses on the education of women in Classical Rome, none of the written sources concerning this issue survive. In Rome, however, there is some of the earliest evidence of the value of women as teachers. Families were considered the basic political unit of Rome, and women were responsible, as mothers and caretakers of their families, for the primary education of their children, especially their sons whose political participation was vital to the functioning of the Roman government. This tradition would prove important for American women in the early years of the United States.

In the Middle Ages, there were also opportunities for women to pursue educations.

During this era, the Roman Catholic Church provided some women access to classical educations—which in many cases were more extensive than that of most of their male

⁹ Kersey, *Classics*, 1.

¹⁰ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 12.

¹¹ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 17.

¹² Kersey, *Classics*, 11.

¹³ McClelland, Education of Women, 21-22.

contemporaries—through convents, where they had access to massive libraries. Convent schools were the primary source of education for women during this time, producing virtually all of the most prominent educated women of the period. ¹⁴ Individual women, like Eleanor of Aquitaine and Heloise of France, were able to advance their studies and become influential academic, political, and religious figures. ¹⁵ In the twelfth and thirteenth century, groups of women known as Beguines banded together in France and Germany to educate themselves and to help their communities. Although they were devout women, they were not avowed nuns, and, because of their education and independence, their societies often persecuted them for living outside their traditional role as women. ¹⁶

The humanistic revival of the Renaissance, along with its renewed emphasis on knowledge and its increased value of secular education, was the beginning of the modern movement toward women's education in Europe and subsequently America. Women achieving positions of power, like Isabella of Castile and Elizabeth I of England, helped to improve the status of women during this period. In England, for example, the reign of Elizabeth I increased women's access to education. In Renaissance Italy, humanists concerned with the potential of humanity and the revival of classical philosophies and academics held that women and men had the same capacity for learning. Humanists established schools and taught young girls in addition to young men. This interest in educating women, nonetheless, rested in the conviction that women schooled in Western

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¹⁴ McClelland, Education of Women, 20.

¹⁵ McClelland, Education of Women, 17.

¹⁶ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 23.

¹⁷ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 23.

¹⁸ Woody, Vol. 1, 25-26.

¹⁹ Kersey, *Classics*, 19.

²⁰ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 12-13.

thought would prove to be better wives and mothers; it had little to do with advancing their social position.²¹

Following the Renaissance, developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries further affected the education of women in the nations of Europe, especially in the case of the Protestant Reformation. The rise of wide-ranging trade and the merchant class of the previous centuries increased need for general education, as well as improved communication through vernacular literacy so that more people could read and write in the language they regularly spoke. Girls needed this educational enhancement as much as boys because of their increasing role in the economic world as both wives of merchants, and sometimes as merchants themselves.²² In Germany especially, Protestantism affected women's education. Luther and the new Protestant church stressed the role of women as mothers and thus potential teachers of the next generation. Educated Protestant women could pass on their knowledge and their religion to their children, ensuring that Protestantism would continue.²³ Luther himself promoted the idea that talented students should remain in school longer to pursue further education, regardless of their sex.²⁴

Another influential figure in the movement for women's education was the French Jesuit priest Francois de Salignac de la Mothe-Fenelon. Born in 1651, Fenelon went to the University of Paris and was a tutor for the Dauphin's oldest son. He wrote his famous treatise, *Education for Girls*, in 1687.²⁵ Although he mentions the "natural weakness" of women in his work, he does avidly promote their education, in part to strengthen their

²¹ McClelland, Education of Women, 22.

²² Kersey, *Classics*, 43.

²³ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 21.

²⁴ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 77.

²⁵ Kersey, *Classics*, 75.

character in order to overcome this innate state of delicacy. Fenelon points out the neglect of female education and the need for more teachers and institutions aimed at schooling girls. Not only would female schooling help society by creating strong, educated women who could do more good for their communities, but also prevent any harm women could cause by being uneducated and therefore presumably immoral.²⁶ Regarded as a crucial step in the development of women's education, Fenelon's work was the beginning of a movement which gave women more intellectual opportunity resembling that of men in France as well as other parts of Europe.²⁷

Even though the advances of the previous centuries had not exactly put women's education on even footing with that of men, they were important foundations for the improvements of the coming era of the Enlightenment. The intellectual fervor of the eighteenth century led to many works on the importance of women's education. Men such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, and Erasmus Darwin wrote works advocating the schooling of women. This was also the era of pioneering women authors like Mary Wollstonecraft and Hannah More. Both teachers, Wollstonecraft and More compiled their own essays promoting the necessary, yet obstructed, education of their sex.²⁸

The salon movements of France, England, and, to a lesser extent, Germany, testify to the increased interest in women's intellect of the eighteenth century.²⁹ The French salon movement began a unique phase of women's experience with education. Women, usually of

 $^{^{26}\}mbox{Fenelon},$ The Education of Girls, trans. by Kate Lupton (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1890), 11-14.

²⁷ Fenelon, *Education of Girls*, 3.

²⁸ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 31.

²⁹ Kersey, *Classics*, 95.

high status, along with men gathered together at parties in each other's homes to discuss and debate the ideas and issues of the day. They were able to pursue knowledge and intellectual advancement through this kind of higher learning while remaining in their traditional role as hostess. By mid-century, the salon became the main channel through which the intellectual community spread and exchanged ideas. The English salon movement, known as the "Bluestocking" movement, began later than its French counterpart. Bluestockings formed networks similar to those of French salons but were more female-centric. They excluded men from their meetings and gave up the hostess pretense, causing their group to be criticized more than French salon women. Regardless of any differences, the salon movements gave women academic opportunities in more or less socially acceptable ways that they had never had before. ³⁰

The developments in women's education through the eighteenth century in Europe were the roots of basic women's education in the colonial America and then the United States. Colonists brought their cultures and ideas about women's education with them while the new ideas of European philosophers and authors filtered to the colonies from across the Atlantic. These social ideas and views varied in their new American setting, changing to reflect region, religion, politics, and practicality.³¹

Women's Education in the Early United States

As in other areas of the world, education for women in the early years of the United States differed a great deal from women's education today. Despite the strides made for

³⁰ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 23-24.

³¹ McClelland, Education of Women, 35.

women's education in the Enlightenment, negative attitudes toward the idea continued to prevail in the eighteenth century, even in the Americas. There were a few exceptions, but for the most part there was little interest in seriously expanding education in general—much less that of women—in the European colonies or in the early United States until the late decades of the eighteenth century.³²

In the colonies and the states they would become, religion was a main influence on the education of girls and women. Puritans of New England did not support women's education, but they did advocate literacy so that women could read and follow the Bible.³³ In New England girls sometimes had the option of going to dame schools, which were similar to kindergartens. Mostly for boys under the age of seven, but open to girls too, the dame schools had curriculums that varied by the quality of the school but generally included reading, writing, and basic arithmetic; girls also learned sewing.³⁴ Town schools, where local town children could receive basic educations, were also an option in New England but did not open to girls until the late eighteenth century and even then not on the same level as the boys.³⁵ A notable example of the classical education of girls began in 1727 in New Orleans when a group of French Ursuline nuns opened a girls' school which offered reading, writing, and arithmetic to virtually all girls of the community regardless of social status or ethnicity.³⁶ In the rest of the South, however, tutorial education in private homes on

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³² Woody, *Vol. 1*, 106.

³³ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 36.

³⁴ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 137-42.

³⁵ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 144.

³⁶Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1837* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 1.

individual bases was the predominant method for girls. Because homes were spread out in rural areas, the town schools of the North would not have been practical.³⁷

In northern regions other than New England, like New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, the influence of Quakers and German, Dutch, and Swedish settlers created an environment more conducive to female education. The Lutheran and Quaker traditions placed a larger emphasis than Puritans on education in general. They were more likely than their Puritan or southern neighbors to view men and women as equals, and they set up elementary schools in conjunction with their churches which were open to boys and girls.³⁸ This region also offered education for girls through adventure schools. Taught by "adventure" masters, these numerous schools offered subjects beyond basic math and reading that would later be taught in high schools and academies.³⁹ The South also boasted many private schools for girls that began in the mid-eighteenth century. They supplemented elementary and tutorial educations and were the precursors to the female academies, which later became essential to the expansion of women's higher education across the country.⁴⁰ These early opportunities for women to get basic educations as teachers of their children and the next generation and through religion actually set the higher education of women in the United States back. By conforming to these ideas of proper education for their sex, women were simultaneously reinforcing their status and gender role, making it more difficult to achieve the higher level of education associated with men.⁴¹

³⁷ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 276.

³⁸ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 178-85.

³⁹ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 217.

⁴⁰ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 281.

⁴¹ McClelland, Education of Women, 39.

In the early republic, girls' education was very limited compared to that of boys. The gap between the percent of literate men to literate women did not close until the middle of the nineteenth century. The politics of the era, nonetheless, did lead to some advancement in women's education through the notion of Republican Motherhood. As with the Romans, in the early American republic, society considered the family the basic unit of politics. The perpetuation of the republic depended on the education of the next generations, which began in the home with the mothers. So, in order to be of the greatest service to her new country, an ideal republican woman was a mother, teaching her children the knowledge and duties of a good republican citizen. In this way, women could be educated while circumventing the "learned woman" stigma because she only intended to use her education for the sole purpose of serving her family and her country. At

The mid- to late nineteenth century was a crucial period in the advancement of women's education in America, especially at the secondary and higher levels. The establishment of institutions which would evolve into modern schools, including private seminaries and public high schools, occurred during these decades. The education of women was a prominent theme in the periodicals published for women in the mid-nineteenth century and was perhaps the most discussed facet of education during this time in popular and academic circles. The same arguments over the quantity and quality of women's education that were debated in Classical Greece reappeared in these dialogues.

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⁴² Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 191-93.

⁴³ Kerber, Women of the Republic, 200.

⁴⁴ Kerber, Women of the Republic, 228.

⁴⁵ Kersey, Women of the Republic, 215.

⁴⁶ Eleanor Wolf Thompson. *Education for Ladies, 1830-1860* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1947), 32.

Meanwhile, women were advocating for their educations and establishing schools of higher learning for their sex. Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, and Mary Lyon were pioneering women who improved the standards of and opportunities for women's education. In addition to establishing seminaries and colleges, Willard and Beecher were advocates of having properly trained teachers in schools. 47 Lyon was a leader in the pursuit for women's physical education in schools. 48 Also scientific advances of this century promoted women's education, especially as consumers. As homemakers and the runners of their households, women had to be educated enough to sift through new products, choosing the best ones for their needs, and to be able to use them in their homes. 49

Establishment of academies, better known as seminaries, in the early nineteenth century was a major step toward the expansion of women's education in the United States.⁵⁰ The aim of these schools was to provide education in religion, morals, domestic training, social skills, and teaching training.⁵¹ By 1830, around two hundred of these institutions exclusively for women had been established in the North and South.⁵² To the average American of the era, academies/seminaries were virtually the same as colleges. These institutions, however, were much like finishing schools, preparing women to be "suitable companions for their husbands," not for academic achievement.⁵³ Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary established in 1821 is generally considered the beginning of higher

⁴⁷ Willystine Goodsell, *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States: Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 129.

⁴⁸ Goodsell, *Pioneers*, 251.

⁴⁹ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 37-38.

⁵⁰ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 329.

⁵¹ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 397.

⁵² Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand & Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 67.

⁵³ McClelland, Education of Women, 123.

education for young women because it was the first institution with a curriculum equivalent to those of men's colleges.⁵⁴

The years 1825 to 1875 were a period of experimentation with women's higher education. For women's colleges to be successful, seminaries had to prepare their pupils for further studies better than their predecessors, and the schools had to find a means of financial support. Until the founding of Vassar College, in the early 1860s, there was no real model for a woman's institute of higher learning, so there was a great deal of variety in women's schools in the nineteenth century. Up to, and even after this point in time, women's colleges were not equal to men's colleges. Their admission requirements were lower, their curricula were less advanced, and their requirements for graduation were fewer. Women also had to fight against the conventional belief that they were not capable of doing college-level work, even after some women had successfully completed and excelled in their college classes.

The South was an innovator in women's higher education prior to the American Civil War. The South showed more interest in female education because southern society held education as a mark of gentility, whereas in the North, many men deemed female collegiate education a threat to sex segregation. Education of southern women was a privilege of the wealthy intended to show their upper class background, and this extended from elementary to secondary and higher education as well. The first official women's college in the United

⁵⁴ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 124.

⁵⁵ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. 2* (New York: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929), 138.

⁵⁶ Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its Problems* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), 25.

⁵⁷ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 166-67.

⁵⁸ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 154.

States, Georgia Female College, was established in the southern town of Macon, Georgia, in 1839,⁵⁹ and the region often intentionally designed its women's colleges as equals to those of men to increase the status of their graduates.⁶⁰ Although so-called ornamental subjects like drawing and sewing remained, most of the curricula of the female schools were taken directly from men's schools, even requiring the same texts.⁶¹ In fact, another southern school, Mary Sharp College, founded in Winchester, Tennessee, in 1853, was possibly the first women's college offering a strictly "classical" education, requiring its students to take Greek, Latin, and higher mathematics, subjects often only required of male students, for graduation.⁶² Because of schools like the Georgia Female College and Mary Sharp College, the South actually led the rest of the nation in the availability of women's higher education.⁶³ The South only lost this reputation for pioneering women's education after the Civil War due to widespread poverty and the strong conservative reactions of southerners to the loss of the war.⁶⁴

The American Civil War, as wars often do, expanded the opportunities of women, especially in education.⁶⁵ Women's participation in the abolition movement of the eighteenth century beginning before the war also helped their educational progress. Women began to see the similarities between the status of their sex and that of American slaves and

⁵⁹ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 161.

⁶⁰ Christie Ann Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 2-7.

⁶¹ Farnham, Southern Belle, 69.

⁶² Farnham, Southern Belle, 20-21.

⁶³ Farnham, Southern Belle, 18.

⁶⁴ Farnham, Southern Belle, 186.

⁶⁵ Woody, Vol. 2, 239.

began to pursue ways to improve their standing in society; education was one of them.⁶⁶
Also, with the declining male enrollment of universities and colleges during war, resistance to the idea of admitting women waned.⁶⁷ Many families sent their daughters away to schools in order to keep them away from possible battlegrounds.⁶⁸ Women filled the vacancies left by male students and teachers who left school to join the military, setting a precedent for a place for women in the faculty and student body of educational institutions.⁶⁹

During and after the war, the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 also spurred women's education. The Morrill Act granted federal land to each state for the purposes of public institutions of higher learning. It motivated female attendance because many tax-paying families felt that they ought to be able to send the daughters as well as their sons to institutions built with their money. As a result, interest in public schools grew after the war which helped women's education twofold. More public institutions meant more girls were able to afford and receive decent educations while the growing numbers of schools necessitated more teachers. Women were able to fill roles as teachers because it was a career path acknowledged as appropriate for women, perhaps because it was conventional to pay female teachers lower wages for working with children. By 1870, 60 percent of teachers nationwide were women.

⁶⁶ Liva Baker, *I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me!: The Seven Sisters and the Failure of Women's Education* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1976), 3.

⁶⁷ Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1959), 12.

⁶⁸ Dan R. Frost, *Thinking Confederates: Academics and the Idea of Progress in the New South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 31.

⁶⁹ Farnham, *Southern Belle* 183.

⁷⁰ Newcomer, *Century of Higher Education*, 36.

⁷¹ Newcomer, *Century of Higher Education*, 14-15.

Coeducation

Of the many developments and advancements of women's education in the nineteenth-century United States, the introduction of coeducation to institutions of higher education is one of the most important to the history of Add-Ran College. The term coeducation was used first in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Coeducation could be construed in three different ways: the education of the sexes in coordinate colleges, an idea popular in the Northeast; the education of the sexes together in the same college, which did not imply equal coursework; or the identical education of the sexes together. The last notion is the one most favorable to the academic education of women but was also the latest form to take hold across the country. Many women educational activists believed this was the only form of coeducation that would ensure that women's education would be equal to that of men.

Merely admitting women to men's schools that were already operating did not necessarily create an equitable educational environment. Female students were met with prejudice and resentment from fellow male students and male faculty members who viewed the admission of women as unreasonable and undeserved. Some of these men did not even believe women capable of handling the experience of a college education and banned them from participating in organizations and activities, inclusion in the yearbook, and from academic honors. In these same schools, women were denied access to campus facilities like

⁷² Woody, *Vol.* 2, 225.

⁷³ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 224.

⁷⁴Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation," in Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia, eds. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), 107.

student centers and gymnasiums. Women were rarely allocated enough room space for all of them to live in the dormitories, and many were forced to overflow into boarding houses.⁷⁵

Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, is generally considered the oldest continuously coeducational college in the United States. Oberlin College was established in 1833 and immediately began admitting women along with men. Their educations were not equal from the start, however. For the first years of the college's operation, women were only able to attend the secondary or preparatory department, which was essentially a high school. In 1837, the first women were admitted to the regular college level classes, although most women who graduated with a degree from the college did so by completing the "Ladies' Course," a curriculum that had Greek, Latin, and calculus replaced with French, drawing, and additional natural science, rather than the "College Course" that the male students were required to complete. When Oberlin awarded its first baccalaureate degree to a woman in 1837, the "era of college woman" began in the United States.

The years 1833 to 1870 were filled with experiments with coeducation across the country, mostly in a small scale. The success of women at coeducational colleges was due to the economic independence they gained as part of industrialization, the decline of religious doctrine preventing women from gaining access to higher education, and the financial success and convenience of educating women and men in the same institution. The numbers of women in coeducational institutions in this span of years show the growing interest in that form of schooling. According to the *Reports of the Commissioner of Education of the United States*, in 1873, more than 2,500 women were attending college-

75 Rosenberg, "Limits of Access," 111-14.

⁷⁶ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 231-33.

⁷⁷ McClelland, *Education of Women*, 131.

⁷⁸ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 260.

level coeducational schools spread across all regions of the country. And from 1875 to the turn of the twentieth century, the number of female students at coeducational colleges increased by six times, from around 3,000 to nearly 20,000, while the number of male students only expanded threefold.⁷⁹

Coeducational schools met with adversaries in the Northeast where men's schools had long been in operation. Coordinate colleges, not as beneficial to women's education as equal education, were the result in this region. This tradition long kept the sexes separated. Even the prominent eastern coordinate colleges of Harvard and Radcliffe did not officially abandon separate classes for male and female students until 1947. In the Midwest and West, areas where the tradition of separated sexes was not as strongly rooted and where finances could not sustain two separate colleges, coeducational schools flourished the most. In the South, the more western states and territories where characteristics of the West blended with those of the South, like Texas and Arkansas, coeducation was more successful than in the more eastern states, which clung to conservative tradition.

By the 1870s, the efforts to educate women that had been building for the last five centuries were finally fostering substantial results. More women were receiving educations, and higher education was developing its modern features. The experiences and effects of the Civil War, the rise of institutions admitting women, and the increasing popularity of coeducation combined to create the broad conditions in the United States in which the Clarks, the founders of Add-Ran College, began their educational endeavors. To more fully

⁷⁹ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 250-52.

⁸⁰ Newcomer, Century of Higher Education 43.

⁸¹ Rosenberg, "Limits of Access," 111.

understand the context of the Clarks work, one must turn to the more specific details of education in Texas.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN TEXAS

While women's education in Texas shared a history similar to that of the rest of the United States, it had its own share of obstacles and setbacks, not just to women's education but to education in general. Even before Texas officially became part of the United States, individuals and the various governing powers of Texas attempted to create and provide for formal places of learning. Unfortunately, education was not the main priority of the people living the harsh and often isolated environment of Texas, and none of these efforts were really successful on a large scale until the late nineteenth century. Texas did not even effectively implement compulsory school attendance until 1915, lagging behind most other states, in some cases by more than sixty years. Despite these delays in formal public education, there was a tradition of private schooling that included and even supported women's education.

The Spanish were responsible for the earliest efforts to establish schools in the region in the form of missions concerned with converting the indigenous peoples. Females were a part of these mission schools, the most famous being a woman called Angelina, who was one of the leaders of the East Texas Caddo Indians around 1700.² The blend of the Roman Catholic Church and state under Spanish control presented a different religious atmosphere

¹ Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), 51.

² Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Women and Education" in the Handbook of Texas Online, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/WW/khwku.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

than that of Puritan New England, one less concerned with the literacy of the common people or with establishing a school system. Any Spanish endeavor for education in Texas also faced the isolated, harsh terrain, poverty, and sparse populations with few people capable of teaching others.³ Any signs of a system of formal education had faded by the end of the Spanish era.⁴

Beginning in 1821, the state constitution of Coahuila y Texas under the Mexican government made the first official provisions for more education in Texas. The constitution laid out a plan for the establishment of primary schools alongside a series of land grants made for public schools in order to increase educational facilities.⁵ But, again, the lack of funding, widespread poverty, inability to get school supplies like books and teachers, and native raids ensured that the plan would never be realized.⁶ During this same era, the new Anglo settlers in Texas, though, had better luck with their educational efforts as well as progress in the realm of women's education. Rather than rely on Mexican authorities for schools, American settlers began forming their own private schools. These schools admitted girls as well as boys but usually kept them separate in different departments.⁷ In 1834, Frances Trask Thompson, a teacher from Boston, began the first girls' school at the settlement that would become the town of Independence.⁸ At the same location, two years later in 1836, Lydia Ann McHenry and Ann Ayers opened Independence Academy, the first boarding school for girls established in Texas. The new republic government officially

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³ Eby, *Education in Texas*, 64.

⁴Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Women and Education" in the *Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/WW/khwku.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

⁵ Cottrell, "Women and Education."

⁶ Eby, *Education in Texas*, 74.

⁷ Cottrell, "Women and Education."

⁸ Eby, *Education in Texas*, 76.

chartered the school in 1837. Independence Academy was the precursor to the Female Department of Baylor University, Baylor Female College, and ultimately Mary Hardin-Baylor College, the only women's college to have operated in Texas since the days of the Republic.⁹

Over the course of the Republic and antebellum period, an increasing number of schools opened across Texas. The number of private academies for women, some affiliated with men's schools, continued to grow and, as in other areas of the United States, they were the main avenue for women's education. More efforts in 1839 to establish a public school system failed, and in 1850, there had still been no successful movement to create the state school system that was laid out in the constitution. 10 As widespread public education had not yet taken hold in Texas, private or home schooling remained the only option for those who could not afford to send their children to other states for an education. 11 Even though there was a relatively large number of private women's schools in Texas, they were not necessarily all of the best educational quality, and, in 1850, the state was still in need of a school "of high order" for women. ¹² During the Civil War, any public schooling that was operating in Texas ceased to function. Virtually all of the funding for the school system was lost during the war, and essentially an entirely new system had to be created in the next decades. 13 Colleges also suffered during this period. The founding of schools slowed, and many schools closed as male students and teachers left for the war. Establishment of colleges did not resume until the next decade, with the most notable addition of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical

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⁹ Cottrell, "Women and Education."

¹⁰ Eby, *Education in Texas*, 114.

¹¹ Cottrell, "Women and Education."

¹² Cottrell, "Women and Education."

¹³ Eby, *Education in Texas*, 150.

University made possible when Texas officially reentered the United States in 1870 and finally gained access to the benefits of the Morrill Land Grant Act.¹⁴

In Texas, the Civil War, as it did in the rest of the nation, marked a new era for women's education, especially in conjunction with that of men. Coeducation had been part of primary education in Texas, ¹⁵ but prior to the 1860s, the sexes remained separated in academies and the female departments of Texas colleges. Thus, with a very few exceptions, direct coeducation did not exist in Texas schools of higher learning. ¹⁶ The only college to award a bachelor's degree to a woman before the Civil War was Gonzales College, and even then, the female students had completed a degree program different from the one required of male students. ¹⁷ General adoption of collegiate coeducation did not prevail for nearly two decades after the Civil War. ¹⁸ There was major resistance to coeducation, much of it headed by Alexander Hogg, a professor of the new Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Hogg believed that women should receive practical educations separate from those of men, and lobbied to the state and federal governments for his cause until his battle was lost in 1883 and the University of Texas opened its doors as a coeducational institution. ¹⁹

It was in the 1870s, the decade following the Civil War, when the future of coeducation was uncertain in Texas, that the Clarks began their mission to establish an

¹⁴ V. R. Cardozier, "Higher Education" in the Handbook of Texas Online, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/HH/khhxr.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

¹⁵ Wreathy Aiken, *Education of Women in Texas* (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company, 1957), xiv.

¹⁶ Eby, Education in Texas, 147.

¹⁷ Aiken, Women in Texas, 34.

¹⁸ Cottrell, "Women and Education."

¹⁹ Aiken, Women in Texas, 63-64.

institution of higher learning. The Clark family's support of the concept of coeducation was evident from their first efforts to establish a school when they helped to found a male and female seminary in Fort Worth in the years immediately before they founded Add-Ran College. This seminary was only a small part of the Clarks' relationship with the education of women. The origin of Add-Ran College and the men and women who made it a remarkable school during an era of change in women's education are the focus of the next chapter.

²⁰ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God We Made It!: A Family Affair with Education* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1969), 306.

CHAPTER 3

ESTABLISHMENT OF ADD-RAN COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDERS

Add-Ran Male and Female College was established in 1873 at Thorp Spring, Texas¹ by brothers Randolph and Addison Clark.² Contrary to popular belief, the college was not named for the two brothers, but in memory of Addison Clark's eldest son, originally spelled Adran, who had died at the age of three, the year before the college's founding.³ Over the years its name has changed to Add-Ran College, to Add-Ran Christian University, and finally to Texas Christian University, but regardless of the official name, from the beginning of the institution into the twentieth century, it has been a place of exceptional opportunities for women and education. The earliest college catalogs provide evidence that, for a new institution of higher learning in Texas in the first decade after the Civil War, it was remarkable in its combination of student body, coeducational curriculum, location, religious affiliation, and educational goals. Much of this noteworthiness is due to the college's founders, their families and associates, and their insistence on the importance of holding the education of all of the college's students, regardless of sex, to a high standard. The Clark

¹ Thorp Spring has various spellings including Thorp's Spring, Thorp Springs, and Thorp's Springs, the original spelling and the name as it was written in the first Add-Ran catalogue. For the sake of simplicity, I will be using Thorp Spring as it is the name currently listed in the Handbook of Texas.

² There is some discrepancy on whether the first name of the college was AddRan or Add-Ran. The first college catalogue is not hyphenated, but all of the sources referring to the catalogs use the later version of the name. I am using Add-Ran throughout as a way to eliminate confusion.

³ Colby D. Hall. *History of Texas Christian University: A College on the Cattle Frontier* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1947), 36.

brothers, their parents, siblings, and children would all become part of the Add-Ran faculty or staff and play major roles in the operation of Add-Ran College.

The Clarks

Addison and Randolph Clark came from a family that had put a high value on education for generations. Their father, Joseph Addison Clark, was born November 6, 1815 in Shawneetown, Illinois.⁴ He studied law and math at the University of Alabama and spent time teaching school and publishing newspapers in several states and territories, including Texas.⁵ He also owned and operated a newspaper while his children were young, which supplied them with information and ideas beyond their immediate environment.⁶ Joseph Clark's interest in the education of his children first fueled the family's interest in learning. He decided in the years after the birth of his first children that it was important that he create a school that would offer a first-rate education, which, through the help of his family, would one day result in Texas Christian University.⁷

Their mother, Esther "Hettie" D'Spain Clark, received a secondary-level formal education and later became the boys' first teacher as they moved around Texas wherever Joseph Clark could find printing work, leading them in lessons of reading, writing, history,

⁴ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God We Made It!: A Family Affair with Education* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1969), 10.

⁵ Randolph Clark. *Reminiscences: Biographical and Historical* (Wichita Falls, TX: Lee Clark, Publisher, 1919), 9-11.

⁶ Frank Miller Mason, "The Beginnings of Texas Christian University" (master's thesis, Texas Christian University, 1930), 24-25.

⁷ Thomas T. Ewell, *History of Hood County* (Granbury, TX: Frank Gaston, Publisher, 1895), 117.

⁸ Esther Clark's nickname and maiden name sometimes have alternative spellings, "Hetty" and DeSpain, respectively, depending on the source.

arithmetic and geography. She was also apparently a talented musician and painter, exposing her children to variety of subjects. Both parents provided an educationally conducive environment by keeping a private library, impressive in size for the nineteenth century, which contained books on history, biography, natural history, and English literature. 10 Four of the six children of Joseph and Esther Clark, including three sons and one daughter, eventually worked at Add-Ran. Although their initial education came from their mother, Addison and Randolph Clark did both receive formal education through institutions of higher learning themselves. 11 Addison Clark received a year's worth of academy training in his youth and continued to spend years under the tutelage of various teachers while he tried to master all of the subjects they had to offer. 12 Randolph Clark's formal education was more irregular than Addison's in his younger years, but after he and his brother returned after the Civil War from short periods in Texas and Louisiana with the Confederate Army, ¹³ they both decided to devote their lives to teaching and to providing their students with a thorough and useful education.¹⁴ Addison and Randolph's younger brother, Thomas Marshall Clark, also had formal schooling and eventually worked at Add-Ran College in various capacities including as a teacher of music, drama, and languages and as the secretary-treasurer. In 1894, Thomas Clark moved to Corpus Christi Bay, where he founded and operated a school for the next twenty-three years exclusively for girls, known as Bay View College. 15

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⁹ Hall, *History of Texas Christian University*, 23-24.

¹⁰ Mason, "Beginnings," 22.

¹¹ Hall, History of Texas Christian University, 23.

¹² Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences*, 21.

¹³ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 236-39.

¹⁴ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 247.

Wallace R. Clark, "Clark, Thomas Marshall" in the Handbook of Texas Online, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/CC/fcl15.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

Religious beliefs affected the educational ideas of the Clark brothers. The Clarks, Addison and Randolph included, were a religious family. Both brothers were practicing preachers as well as teachers. Their affiliation with the Disciples of Christ, or Christian Church, especially its views on education and the status of women, was a major influence on the operation of Add-Ran College. The Christian Church originated in the early nineteenth century as a reaction against Protestant extremes, especially the notions of predestination and election promoted by Calvinism. It began as separate factions of people in different regions of the country, including significant concentrations in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, who were concerned with eliminating human-made doctrine and returning to the New Testament as their religious authority. In 1832 these factions united and became the group variously known as the Disciples of Christ, Christian Church, or Churches of Christ, depending on the region. As waves of Americans moved in great numbers to the West, so did the Christian Church, and in the 1840s, the Disciples began organizing communities and churches in Texas.

The Disciples as a group did not support radical social change or strict sexual equality, but all but the most conservative Disciples did advocate the practical advancement of women so far as it would help them to be better wives, mothers, and members of their communities. Disciples granted women a broader acceptable social role than other religious groups such as Baptists or Puritans in order to help them accomplish this protection and

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¹⁶ Colby D. Hall, *Texas Disciples* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1953), 23.

¹⁷ Hall, *Texas Disciples*, 27.

¹⁸ Colby D. Hall and Kenneth L. Teegarden, "Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)" in the Handbook of Texas Online, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/CC/idc1.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

improvement of their homes. Unlike these other groups, and even society as a whole, Disciples supported women as voters and preachers because they saw these roles as avenues through which women could promote the safety and morality of their homes and communities. This gave Disciples women an unusual influence over their local politics and religious activity in comparison to other women in the United States.¹⁹

Disciples also viewed education as another way for women to enhance their maternal roles and to provide for their families should they ever find themselves without a husband. Many of the early leaders in the Christian Church movement were highly educated, including graduates from Princeton and Edinburgh University, and education was a prime focus for them.²⁰ Schools founded on Disciples theology had set precedents for equality in male and female education by the middle of the nineteenth century. As the nineteenth century progressed, church leaders saw the academic potential of women as students of higher learning.²¹ Bethany College, founded in Bethany, West Virginia, in 1840 by Alexander Campbell, a prominent figure in the Christian Church, was not a coeducational institution in the beginning but began to accept women on equal terms with men in the subsequent decades. Eureka College, in Eureka, Illinois, was chartered in 1855 as an institution that admitted both men and women under the same curriculum. In fact, Northwestern Christian University in Indiana, later known as Butler University, may have been the first American college to disregard separate academic programs for male and female students and require a

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¹⁹ Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Status of Women in the Disciples of Christ Movement, 1865-1900" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 1979), 266-67.

²⁰ Hall, *Texas Disciples*, 28.

²¹ Bailey, "Status of Women," 177-78.

single curriculum.²² As mentioned in the first chapter, even the renowned Oberlin College admitted women only into special ladies' programs with curricula differing from those of men for several years after the institution's opening.²³

The Clarks' Schools

Given how strongly education was stressed in the Clark family along with the educational tradition of the Christian Church, it is not surprising then that the Clarks decided to open their own schools. The Clarks' first attempt at running an institution of higher learning occurred in Fort Worth, where they had followed their father to a substantial Disciples of Christ community. ²⁴ In 1869, Addison, Randolph, and Joseph Clark opened the Male and Female Seminary of Fort Worth. ²⁵ After a few years of operation, the Clarks deemed the location in Fort Worth, newly announced as a railroad stop, unfit for the education of their young pupils. Saloons, dance halls, and gambling halls sprang up around the school, attracting "human wreckage and debris." ²⁶ Though the seminary venture in Fort Worth was short lived, it was an important stop in Addison and Randolph's educational exploits and an early demonstration of their intention to educate both men and women in any school they administrated. In 1873, the Clarks decided to move, taking their educational efforts with them. They decided to establish a new school in Thorp Spring, a settlement

²² B. B. Tyler, *Concerning the Disciples of Christ* (Cleveland: The Bethany C. E. Company, 1897), 100-102.

²³ Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 17.

²⁴ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 297.

²⁵ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 306.

²⁶ Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences*, 41.

around forty miles southwest of Fort Worth, where Pleasant Thorp, a large landowner had erected a building on his property in hopes of attracting a school.²⁷

Free from the immediate influence of the encroaching railroad, Thorp Spring in Hood County seemed like a fine area to start their new school. Situated near a natural hot spring, Thorp Spring's reputation as a health resort would help attract students to the Clarks' school.²⁸ The location of Thorp Spring in rural Texas may have had an unintended effect in that it provided an environment more accepting of ideas like coeducation. For example, it was an area relatively sparsely settled and, judging from some of the financial difficulties the Clarks had in the early years of Add-Ran College, incapable of supporting two college-level schools. Also, the area contained no higher level schools, and thus, no institutional tradition of separate-sex education.²⁹

The Women of Add-Ran

The circumstances that led to a school with foundations friendly to women and equitable conditions for female students owed in part to women who influenced and helped to found Add-Ran College and its subsequent developments. Women not only attended Add-Ran College but also helped lay the foundations on which the college would grow and succeed. Women taught the students of Add-Ran, and influenced the men of the school.

²⁷ Randolph Clark, interviewed by Frank Miller Mason, 83.

²⁸ Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences*, 44.

²⁹ Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation," in *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia*, eds. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), 111.

Some female students aided their professors³⁰ and became integral parts of the college on the individual level.

As previously mentioned, Esther D'Spain Clark, wife of Joseph Addison Clark, was the first teacher of her children, including her eldest sons, Addison and Randolph Clark, making her an important influence on their educational experience. Esther Clark was also the source of religious emphasis within the Clark family. Before Joseph Clark met Esther D'Spain, he had no religious affiliation. Their relationship created the strong ties to the Disciples of Christ that affected the decisions of Joseph Clark and their children, especially in the area of education. Esther Clark played important roles in the early years of Add-Ran College as well. While Joseph Clark was listed as the proprietor and general business manager of Add-Ran in its first session, Esther Clark was the listed as the first matron of the school, in charge of all of the young women in attendance, a role which she filled for several years during the early terms of the college. Ida Clark, her daughter and sister of Addison and Randolph, was a teacher at both the Male and Female Seminary run by the Clarks and later at Add-Ran College.

The wives of the Clark brothers were also crucial to the survival of the college, especially in its early years, although they neither taught nor worked as part of the official staff on the campus. Both women supported education and the efforts of the Clark family. Sallie McQuigg Clark was the wife of Addison and mother of the young boy for whom Add-Ran was named. She supported the educational efforts of her husband and pushed for the

³⁰ C. W. Howard, interviewed by Frank Miller Mason, 112.

³¹ Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences*, 17.

³² Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences*, 12-13.

³³ Hall, *History of Texas Christian University*, 36.

³⁴ June Rayfield Welch, *The Colleges of Texas* (Dallas, TX: GLA Press, 1981), 32.

education of her children at the college.³⁵ Ella Lee Clark, wife of Randolph, in particular, proved to be an invaluable asset to the college. In the early years when Add-Ran College was without the aid of an endowment, she provided financial help that kept the college going. After the value of the school property in Fort Worth dropped, Ella Clark agreed to sell her and Addison's first home as well as the house and the surrounding land left to her by her mother where she lived as a child in order to pay for expenses of the Thorp Spring property. She also agreed to board male students from the college in their home, taking on all of the responsibilities of feeding them and caring for them. Whatever payment Ella Clark collected from these boarders, she donated to the college to help its operation.³⁶ Once, one of her male boarder's parents sent her a horse as a show of appreciation for the hospitality she had shown their son. Rather than keep the animal for herself, she donated it to the cause of the college as well.³⁷

While the Clark women were valuable figures, especially in the first years of the college's operation, not all of the leading women of Add-Ran belonged to their family. One woman who was fundamental to the evolution and endurance of Add-Ran College was Ida Van Zandt Jarvis. Referred to as both a "heroine" and a "sort of patron saint of Add-Ran," Ida Jarvis was a notable figure in the development of Add-Ran College. The daughter of Isaac Van Zandt, the minister of the Republic of Texas to the United States appointed by Sam Houston, Ida Van Zandt was born in Washington, D.C., in 1844. She

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³⁵ Mason, "Beginnings," 29.

³⁶ Randolph Clark, interview, 87-88.

³⁷ Randolph Clark, interview, 92.

³⁸ Ida Van Zandt Jarvis, interviewed by Frank Miller Mason, 116.

Franklin G. Jones, interviewed by Frank Miller Mason, 130.

⁴⁰ E. B. Bynum, *These Carried the Torch: Pioneers of Christian Education in Texas* (Dallas, TX: Walter F. Clark Company, 1946), 43-46.

graduated from the Masonic Female Institute as the age of sixteen and in 1872 came to Fort Worth with her husband, Major James J. Jarvis, who would serve as president of the board of trustees of Add-Ran Christian University from 1890 to 1895. 41 Ida Jarvis championed a number of causes, many of which benefited women and education. She was active in civic and religious work and was the superintendent of the suffrage department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union when "it was very unpopular in the South." Ida Jarvis took in four girls who attended the Clarks' Male and Female Seminary, creating and running what Frank Miller Mason calls the first girls' dormitory in Fort Worth. 43 In her lifetime, she and her husband donated more than \$100,000 in money and property to education, much of which went to the educational endeavors of the Clarks and to the foundation of a college for African Americans in Hawkins, Texas. 44

Jarvis was extremely popular among the students of Add-Ran largely due to an incident that occurred during her visit to the school in 1882. A young man from Add-Ran had walked home with a girl who lived in town, which was against the school's rules. When Addison Clark learned of the incident, he asked that the boy who broke the rule be expelled. The students thought this ruling was unfair, given that the two young people were to be married in the next two weeks. They tried to petition the college so the young man could stay in school but were rejected. When Jarvis saw the chaos running through campus, she decided the situation had gone far enough. A white handkerchief tied to her umbrella, she went to find Addison and Randolph Clark on the school grounds. She basically told them how ridiculous the situation had become and advised them the only thing to do was to "take

⁴¹ Mason, "Beginnings," 27. ⁴² Bynum, *These Carried the Torch*, 22.

⁴³ Mason, "Beginnings," 26.

⁴⁴ Bynum, These Carried the Torch, 22.

back what you have said and forgive them." Addison Clark paused and then agreed to do just that, even going so far as to give the students expanded privileges for the rest of the week. Three years later, Jarvis became superintendent of the Girls' Home at Thorp Spring, the new dormitory built for the female students of Add-Ran College. And in 1890, Jarvis wrote the school's new charter when it became Add-Ran Christian University. In 1928, she was also the first women appointed to the Add-Ran Board of Trustees, where she served for the next eleven years until her death.

In addition to the position of matron, who was responsible for the care and discipline of the female students, at Add-Ran many women held positions in the staff and faculty. Over the first two decades of the college's operation women taught the subjects of modern languages, music, and art. Women also ran the primary department and the preparatory school for much of this era. From the opening of Add-Ran College until 1910, women made up 40 percent of the faculty. Some of these women were counted as favorites among their students. Former students fondly remembered Mollie Allen, assistant of the primary department from 1881 to 1887, and Ola Thompson, principal of the art department from 1882 to 1889, for their teaching skills and interactions with the students. Not only were these faculty members popular with students, they were the best that the Clarks could find. The faculty selection process at Add-Ran College was an important matter held to the highest standards possible, especially to Addison Clark. Addison Clark personally interviewed all

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⁴⁵ Ida Van Zandt Jarvis, interview, 114-16.

⁴⁶ Mason, "Beginnings," 73.

⁴⁷ Mason, "Beginnings," 63.

⁴⁸ Mason, "Beginnings," 27

⁴⁹ Hall, *History of Texas Christian University*, 343-57. See Appendix for complete list of female faculty members from 1873-1910.

⁵⁰ Mr. and Mrs. Byron C. Rhome, interviewed by Frank Miller Mason, 131.

prospective faculty members and consulted each applicant's instructors or previous employers in order to ensure they had the proper training. He also encouraged further study for the instructors themselves so that they could continue their own educations. The Clarks quickly replaced any members who did not live up to the faculty expectations of Add-Ran College.⁵¹

The fact that Add-Ran College became such a successful place for women's education is not a coincidence, given the background and character of the figures responsible for the school. The Clarks' commitment to education and their insistence on high-quality personnel illustrate their endeavors to give the school reputability and integrity. The Clark men, though, did not accomplish this all on their own. Clark women and female staff and faculty members were a significant force, in number and value, in this institution as well. The catalogs from the earliest sessions of Add-Ran College serve as excellent sources for the details of the college's operation and intention, especially toward women.

⁵¹ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 398.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY YEARS OF ADD-RAN COLLEGE

For Add-Ran College, as with any new school, the first sessions were critical to its success. Much of this success rested on the potential students and their families being aware of the school and its advantages. Addison, Randolph, and Joseph Addison Clark spent a great deal of time between sessions and on weekends, traveling as far as eighty miles a trip, by horse and buggy, advertising and promoting Add-Ran College. The schools catalogs, published each session, were another way that the Clarks got information about Add-Ran College out to the people of Texas. The catalogs explicitly outlined the educational intentions and offerings of the school each year. Analysis of the surviving first four Add-Ran College catalogs yields information about Add-Ran College's early years as well as its change over time.

First Catalog: 1873-1874

The catalog for the first 1873-1874 session of Add-Ran Male and Female College, the official name on the charter, provides a wealth of information on the attitudes of Addison Clark, Randolph Clark, and the other officials toward the education of women.² First is the

¹ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God We Made It!: A Family Affair with Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 351.

² Catalogue of the Officers and Students of AddRan College, for the Session Ending June 19, 1874, 12.

very name Add-Ran Male and Female College. With the Clarks coming directly from their Male and Female Seminary of Fort Worth, it is clear that Add-Ran Male and Female College was not merely a first approval of women's education, but a "continued endorsement of coeducation." Add-Ran was situated right in the midst of the coeducational revolution of American colleges. By including both sexes in the official title of the institution, it ensured that anyone who looked into information about the college would know about the makeup of its student body. The word "college" is also quite significant, not because it was unusual for this era, but because Add-Ran lived up to the name. Many schools in this era across the nation, Texas included, used titles like "college" or "university" in their names to gain prominence without any real concern of upholding the level of education associated with them.⁴ Addison Clark hesitated to use the word "college" because he did not want to join the ranks of unfit colleges in the state; he agreed to use the name only if Add-Ran was sure to provide genuine college-level coursework.⁵ The name of the school was not only a testament to the college's commitment to having both male and female students but also providing all of these students with an education of high quality.

The section of the catalog outlining the curriculum of Add-Ran College contains further information of the Clarks' opinions of the education of women. The departments and required texts were listed in the catalog under the heading "Male-Female Curriculum." The curriculum followed the overall trend of other college and university curricula of the

³ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 344.

⁴ Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), 140.

⁵ Colby D. Hall, *History of Texas Christian University: A College of the Cattle Frontier* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1947), 35.

nineteenth century.⁶ It included departments of Ancient Languages, composed of Latin and Greek; English, Mathematics, Physical Science, Mental and Moral Science, Social and Civil History, and Primary Instruction. The fact that there was only one set of coursework intended for all Add-Ran students was exceptional at the time, even for a coeducational college. Though Add-Ran was not the first institution of higher learning in Texas to admit women, it was the first originally established as a coeducational school exclusively employing the most equal kind of coeducation.⁷ As mentioned before, most coeducational schools held men and women to different curricular standards. Unlike other institutions in Texas in the nineteenth century that admitted women, Add-Ran did not have different objectives outlined for female students.⁸ Indeed, Add-Ran did not even endeavor to separate the young men and women in the matriculate list; all students are listed together in a single matriculate section.⁹

The final section of the catalog is entitled "Co-Education." It is an excerpt from collegiate address given by William S. Giltner, president of another Disciples of Christ school, Eminence College in Eminence, Kentucky, from 1858 to 1894, which was "so fully expressive of [Add-Ran's] views that [Add-Ran] take[s] the liberty of adopting it." The speech is a defense of coeducation in American schools. It cites the arguments made by some against young men and women being educated together including the claim that coeducation would cause great social, moral, or religious disturbance. However, no such thing had happened, and the only consequence seemed to be "the superior morality of the

⁶ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. 1* (New York: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929), 411.

⁷ Wreathy Aiken, *Education of Women in Texas* (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company, 1957), 61-62.

⁸ Aiken, Women in Texas, 33.

⁹ Catalogue, 1873-1874, 4-8.

young men and the higher intellectual culture of the young ladies." The success of coeducation appeared undeniable to Giltner. Even universities in old world cities like Vienna, Paris, Moscow, Glasgow, and Cambridge had begun admitting women. He believed that there was no logical reason why women should be denied the opportunities of men or secluded from the rest of society. The sexes depended on each other even in the school setting. Giltner closed his speech with the remark, "The judicious blending of the sexes in school life . . . has now become a well universal principle of acceptance and adoption by the most advanced educators of the day." The Clarks actually followed the spirit of Giltner's words better than his own institution did. While Eminence College admitted both men and women, the sexes were separated by different curricula further emphasizing the distinctiveness of Add-Ran College even among schools in support of coeducation outside the borders of Texas.

The decision to admit women to their college at Thorp Spring at the same level as men was probably the culmination of the Clark brothers' educational upbringing and religious influences as well as a continuation of their educational efforts in Fort Worth.

Further evidence of their commitment to equal coeducation lies in the lack of discussion in surviving sources on whether or not to allow female students into their institution on equal footing. There is no emphasis, in either primary or secondary sources, including the ones written by members of the Clark family, on the coeducation decision. The Clarks seemingly were not even considering an institution of any other kind.

¹⁰ *Catalogue*, 1873-1874, 15-16.

¹¹ Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Status of Women in the Disciples of Christ Movement, 1865-1900" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 1979), 190-91.

Second Catalog: 1874-1875

The second catalog, for the session 1874-1875, was very similar to the first and also contains a good deal of valuable information on women's education at Add-Ran College. The catalog, like its predecessor, still contains many of the same elements, including the important "Male-Female Curriculum." There were a few differences, however. First, the college title is listed as Add-Ran College. It had lost the phrase "Male and Female," but there is no reference to the change. Presumably, the fact that both men and women attended the school no longer needed to be in such a prominent place. According to TCU historian Colby Hall, the "Male and Female" in the college's name was dropped after the first year because the coeducational nature of the school had already been well established. 12

Another difference lies in the matriculate list. In this catalog, the male and female students are separated into two lists, perhaps because of the larger numbers students. In the first session the matriculates were all included in the same list without sex differentiation.

Based on an analysis of the names, one can estimate that there were about forty women in attendance out of the total 123 in the first year. In the second session, there were ninety-one men and seventy-three women, only eighteen more male students than female, nearly doubling the number of women from the previous session while the number of men only went up by ten to fifteen students. This shows that Add-Ran College was indeed part of the national trend of growing women's attendance, increasing at a greater rate than that of men, at coeducational schools mentioned in the previous chapter.

¹² Hall, *History of Texas Christian University*, 36.

¹³ *Catalogue* 1873-1874, 4-8.

¹⁴ Catalogue of the Officers and Students of AddRan College, for the Session Ending June 18, 1875, 8.

Some new sections were also included in this catalog. One was the "Graduation Section." This section states the only difference in overall curriculum: women had the option of foregoing the subject of Ancient Languages if they replaced it with German or French. 15 As previously noted, the ladies' program at Oberlin College omitted Greek and Latin in favor of French and drawing. 16 The exemption of Greek and/or Latin seems to have been the most common difference in women's curricula at coeducational schools. It is significant, however, to point out that at Add-Ran this exemption was not mandatory for female students, nor did it result in graduation with an inferior degree. The only consequence of this omission was the lack of certification in Ancient Languages.

This section also explicitly mentions the college's move away from "ornamental branches" of education such as drawing, painting, and embroidery. The administrators of Add-Ran saw these ornamental subjects as more distracting than useful and feared that they encroach on the time that could be spent on regular, academic lessons. The regular curriculum needed to be finished before devoting time to these other subjects. ¹⁷ These first two catalogs demonstrate how the university wished to support a more academic curriculum and to move women's education to the collegiate nature, as opposed to merely that of a finishing school. 18 This is a major development in women's education. As discussed earlier, most women's institutions of learning up to this point in the nineteenth century had been glorified finishing schools, paying little attention to advanced academics. In 1821, Emma Willard, with her Troy Female Seminary, effectively put into motion the slow shift from the definition of a good education for women being ornamental to academic. Add-Ran College's

¹⁵ *Catalogue*, 1874-1875, 10. ¹⁶ Woody, *Vol. 1*, 233.

¹⁷ Catalogue, 1874-1875, 10.

¹⁸ Hall, History of Texas Christian University, 54.

overt embrace of this notion is additional proof of its positive intentions toward women's education.

A final difference between the first two catalogs lies in the section supporting coeducation. It is no longer a copy of an administrator's speech from another college but written exclusively for Add-Ran. This section uses several of the points made in the previous catalog about the advantages of coeducation, but also asserts the benefits of educating women. It points out that women should be qualified for the "literary walks of life, in which many have shown eminent ability." It also mentions that women had shown great talent as teachers, and an education was essential to their success in the profession. The author's main point for the education of women focuses on their role as mothers. Even though a woman may not play a part in the political arena, as mothers, an education is extremely important. They are the ones in charge of the shaping and education of the minds and characters of their children, and thus the next generation of the Americans and Texans. ¹⁹ This appeal played upon the old tradition of Republican Motherhood, using one of the earliest American justifications for women's education to reaffirm it in the nineteenth century. In support of coeducation, the section stresses that separating boys and girls in school, who have grown up in the same families, is unnatural. This sentiment is an echo of the arguments the early advocates of coeducation who insisted that joint education created a more natural, and therefore healthier, environment for both women and men.²⁰ The section ends with the resolute declaration that "the boy or girl who cannot be taught to respect his or her

¹⁹ *Catalogue*, 1874-1875, 15.

²⁰ Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation," in Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia, eds. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), 108.

schoolmate of the opposite sex, cannot be taught to respect himself . . . and should not be permitted to remain in any school."²¹

Third Catalog: 1875-1876

The format of the third Add-Ran College catalog for the 1875-1876 school year differs slightly from the other two. It includes longer descriptions of the basic sections such as faculty and curriculum along with several new subsections, including one describing the character of students desired by the university and another prescribing a code of conduct for the students. A section, called "Dress &c.," as the name suggests, focuses on student apparel. This catalog explains that all students were expected to follow the same dress code regardless of their sex. All students were to dress plainly and neatly and act with propriety, morality, and decorum.²² Just as in the past Add-Ran documents, none of these catalog sections, old or new, separates the expectations of female students from those of male students.

This catalog does not end in a section on the merits of coeducation. This, like the "Male and Female" in the college's first name, seems to have become commonplace enough to no longer need explanation or defense. Instead, the catalog ends in a motivational speech from one of the Add-Ran faculty members on the duties and labors necessary for a thorough education.²³

Catalogue, 1874-1875, 14-15.
 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of AddRan College, for the Session Ending June 16, 1876, 12-13.

²³ Catalogue, 1875-1876, 14-16.

Fourth Catalog: 1876-1877

By the printing of the fourth catalog for the 1876-1877 session, there was no longer a "Male-Female Curriculum." Instead the classes were listed as "Course of Study of Add-Ran College." Like the earlier areas needing male-female distinctions, the curriculum was now firmly established for all students of both sexes and no longer needed clarification.²⁴ A photograph taken in 1878 depicts further evidence of the equality of men and women at the school. The picture shows all of the men and women of the faculty and student body of Add-Ran College grouped together in front of the main building with no divisions between the

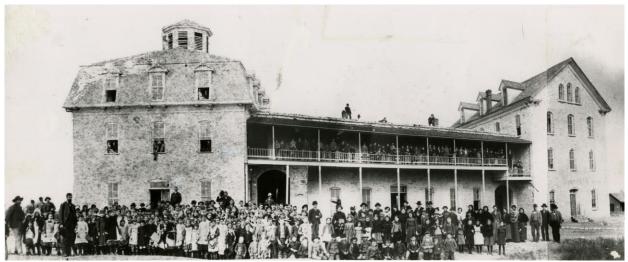


Figure 1. Add-Ran College faculty and student body, Thorp Spring. TCU Special Collections, 228. male and female members of the school (see fig. 1).

A new benefit for female students in the 1876-1877 school year was the addition of a Normal Department for the purpose of "training and qualifying teachers." With the increasing feminization of the profession of teaching, this would have been a collegiate feature attractive to young women looking for a career in education, as more and more

²⁴ Catalogue of the Officers and Students of AddRan College, for the Session Ending May 25, 1877, 11.

²⁵ Catalogue, 1876-1877, 4-5.

women were in the late nineteenth century. The opening of a normal department at Add-Ran College helped to put Texas on track with the rest of country, where female teachers by 1870 were now outnumbering male ones.²⁶

As evidenced by these catalogs, the Clarks' determination to run an equally coeducational institution did not waver through the first years of the college's operation. More and more women attended the school each year from farther regions. The Clarks' printed and verbal accounts of Add-Ran College appeared to have been worthwhile. The school began with small number of students, only thirteen on the first day of classes, but by the end of the first term in 1874, there were more than seventy, and the student body continued to grow each year.²⁷ By the eighth year of its operation, Add-Ran College's student body contained more students from outside Hood County than local ones, which was an impressive feat for the time. In the late nineteenth century, when the primary mode of transportation in rural Hood County was horse and cart, it was time-consuming and expensive to travel to somewhere without the advantage of the railroad, like Thorp Spring. Since so many students seem to have traveled more than forty miles to get to Add-Ran College, its reputation must have been impressive and far-reaching for the rural frontier of Texas.²⁸ The influx of people attending Add-Ran College was the "very making of Thorp Springs," transitioning the settlement from a village into a full-fledged town. In the six years after the school's opening, the number of households tripled, and the town was able to

²⁶ Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Women and Education" in the *Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/WW/khwku.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

²⁷ Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences: Biographical and Historical* (Wichita Falls, TX: Lee Clark, Publisher, 1919), 44-45.

²⁸ Hall, *History of Texas Christian University*, 40.

support multiple dry goods stores, groceries, bakeries, feed stores, hotels, and boarding houses. By 1879, Add-Ran students made up 25 percent of the Thorp Spring population of 688 people.²⁹

After the publication of these first catalogs, other elements of women's academics were advancing at Add-Ran. Literary societies, organized by college students, were marks of academic prestige and were a significant presence on many nineteenth-century campuses. Many coeducational colleges, Oberlin included, did not allow mixing of the sexes in literary societies or other organizations.³⁰ Although the Walton Society and the Add-Ran Society, Add-Ran College's literary societies, did not accept women when they began in 1874 and 1877, respectively, there was a separate literary society for the female students. In 1886, the faculty requested that all three societies merge in order to form a single group that would be known as the Walton Society, available to all students, male or female. A female student, Lou Ella Clark Holloway, won one of the four medals given by the society in its early years in recognition for graduates deemed most worthy by the society.³¹ In 1892, the literary society appointed a female student as secretary for their commencement exercises, one of only two available positions, ³² and in 1895, five of the eleven Walton Society officers, including secretary, assistant secretary, first and second critics, and editor, were women.³³ The literary societies demonstrate another way Add-Ran College was noteworthy in its implementation of coeducation but also reveals the initiative taken by members of the college

²⁹ Galveston Daily News, Nov. 1, 1879.

³⁰ Woody, *Vol.* 2, 234.

³¹ Mason, "Beginnings," 43-4.

^{32 &}quot;Thorp's Spring Items," *The Granbury News*, Feb. 11, 1892.

³³ "Add-Ran University" *Galveston Daily News*, Nov. 1, 1895.

to equalize the opportunities for all of its students, women included, as its operation continued.

Another expanding element of women's education at Add-Ran was physical education. A subject gaining momentum in the late nineteenth century, physical education, along with organized sports, was a common part of the young male students' schooling; however, women did not often have the same opportunities or even access to male gymnasiums. Beginning in the 1830s, doctors and authors started publishing literature in favor of more physical activity and outdoor exercise for young women. This idea gained momentum in the following decades, and more works appeared advocating physical education in schools.³⁴ In the 1890s, the "School of Physical Culture" at Add-Ran headed by two instructors—one male and one female—offered classes for men and women encouraging physical activity.³⁵ Also in this decade, a gymnasium opened welcoming both male and female students.³⁶ Although not all of the sports that were offered for men, like baseball or townball, a similar game, were available for women, Add-Ran College did offer organized tennis and croquet for its female students and, because of its rural location, other coeducational outdoor activities and excursions encouraging exercise.³⁷ For female students, this meant that Add-Ran College was not only looking out for their intellectual well-being but their physical health as well.

The number of female students continued to grow, and after the construction of male dormitories in the late 1870s, college officials allocated funds for accommodations for the

³⁴ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. 2* (New York: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929), 98-100.

³⁵ Add-Ran Christian University advertisement, *The Granbury News*, Aug. 23, 1894.

³⁶ "Add-Ran Christian University," *Galveston Daily News*, Oct. 14, 1895.

³⁷ Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 410.

young women in attendance. The dormitory would be known as Add-Ran Girls' Home.³⁸
Before the 1890-1891 session, the college made additional improvements to the Girls' Home at the sizeable expense of several hundred dollars. The administration allocated funds for the construction of water works to provide all parts of the home with the convenience of running water while it was also expanded and refurnished.³⁹ The kitchen and dining hall of the Girls' Home also received renovations that year.⁴⁰ In 1893, further improvements were made by trustee, T. E. Shirley, who had another campus building moved near the Girls' Home and converted into six bathrooms equipped with hot and cold water for the female students' use, an amenity the men's dormitories did not have.⁴¹ The continued allocations of resources to female facilities are yet another example of Add-Ran's ongoing commitment to its female members.

The equitable policies and high standards for women's education of Add-Ran College in its first years of operation were not coincidental or unique to the 1870s. They continued into the next decades and expanded, cementing the role of women at the college. Of the nineteen Add-Ran graduates of 1894, nine were women, showing that women were not only attending Add-Ran but completing their degrees as well. In 1891, both the valedictorian and the salutatorian were women, and in 1895 a female student again gave the salutatorian's address during commencement, demonstrating the academic prowess of female

³⁸ Thomas T. Ewell, *History of Hood County*. Granbury, TX: Frank Gaston, Publisher, 1895), 119.

³⁹Add-Ran Christian University Catalogue, 1890-1891, 34.

⁴⁰ "Add-Ran Notes," *The Granbury News*, Sept. 10, 1891.

⁴¹ Pauline Shirley Haile, interviewed by Frank Miller Mason, 100-101.

⁴² "Commencement Week at Add-Ran Christian University—Lectures by Dr. Lowber" *The Galveston Daily News*, June, 11, 1894.

⁴³ Add-Ran Christian University Commencement Program, 1891.

students at the school.⁴⁴ Further documents show that even into the twentieth century, an era of renewed resistance to coeducation and to higher education for women in general, Add-Ran and the Clarks put more efforts into attracting more female students and providing them with the best education possible.

^{44 &}quot;Add-Ran University," *The Granbury News*, June 13, 1895.

CHAPTER 5

ADD-RAN AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

As the decades passed, many things changed for Add-Ran College, but the education of women at Add-Ran only gained more momentum, and school officials allocated more resources to improvements. In 1890, the school officially began its affiliation with the Christian Church, although Addison and Randolph Clark retained positions of leadership. The name of the school changed to Add-Ran Christian University, and it began operating under the new charter written by Ida Van Zandt Jarvis. The most significant change, however, came in 1895 when the board of trustees purchased a school building in Waco, Texas and proceeded to move Add-Ran Christian University to that city, where it would remain until 1910. The board members hoped to keep the school in view of the public by removing to a more highly populated, urban location. The board members also hoped the newly purchased building, which was considerably more modern than any of the facilities at Thorp Spring, would draw in more students.

2

Not only was this a period of transformation for Add-Ran, it was also a time of further conflict and revolution in coeducation and women's education nationwide. At the turn of the twentieth century, there was a renewed backlash against women attending colleges. Female enrollment was overtaking male enrollment in many institutions across the

¹ Colby D. Hall, *History of Texas Christian University: A College of the Cattle Frontier* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1947), 81-83.

² Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God We Made It!: A Family Affair with Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 443.

country. School officials feared the ramifications of these statistics and began to question women's commitment to being serious students. These women were no longer the first generation to attend colleges and universities—the one who had proven themselves dedicated to academics by excelling in their studies and completing their degrees—and they were accused of using higher education as a social opportunity or merely a way to find a potential husband.³ Some coeducational schools began to restructure their campuses and curricula to keep the sexes separated and to revert women's education back to basic and domestic subjects more appropriate for their place in society.⁴ A way that women combated the social anxieties of the early twentieth century was to modify their appearance to resemble popular culture image of the Gibson Girl. Made popular in the drawing and short stories of the Progressive Era, Gibson Girls were the new "American girl" with upswept hair, high-collared



Figure 2. Women students on steps of Main Building, 1897. TCU Special Collections, 1073.

³ Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation," in *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia*, eds. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), 115-16.

⁴ Rosenberg, "Limits of Access," 118-19.

blouses, and rosy cheeks. This image softened the possible threat of educated women and made the idea of educated women more acceptable. Many college women of the era began to conform to these expectations of appearance, and the students of Add-Ran Christian University, even in semi-rural Texas, were no exception. A photograph of some of the female students of the university taken in 1897 shows that the Gibson Girl trend was beginning to appear, especially in the dress and hairstyles of the women in the back rows (see fig. 2). By the turn of the twentieth century, Add-Ran Christian University, soon to become Texas Christian University in 1902, began to put even more effort into recruiting female students, including the publication of a noteworthy brochure intended for potential female students using illustrations of college women resembling Gibson Girls on its cover (see fig.

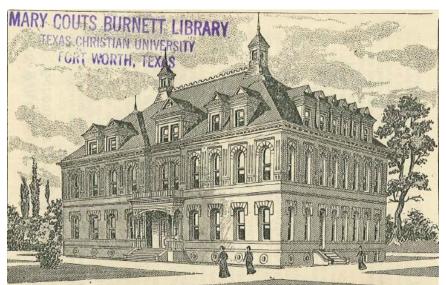


Figure 3. "Add-Ran Christian University as a School for Young Ladies" Brochure Cover, TCU Special Collections.

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⁵ Lynn D. Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer 1987), 211-25.

⁶ "Add-Ran Christian University as a School for Young Ladies," 1.

"Add-Ran Christian University as a School for Young Ladies"

In 1900, the board of trustees carried a motion to allocate funds for the construction of a girls' dormitory at the new Waco location. A brochure was printed sometime in the next year or so with a sketch of the new Girls' Home on the cover, complete with small turn-of-the-century Gibson Girls in the foreground. The brochure was entitled "Add-Ran Christian University as a School for Young Ladies" and laid out twelve detailed reasons that young women should attend the school. The document is straightforward and devoted entirely to drawing more female students.

The initial five points are purely academic. The first point involves the "co-educational" setting and resembled a much abbreviated version of the sections advocating and defending coeducations included in the first Add-Ran catalogs. It affirms that the university sees the admission of women and men to the same schools, as they should be in

their primary education, as
a wise course of action
and "directly in the path of
human evolution." Even
at the turn of the century,
coeducation was still a
widely debated topic, but,
this brochure demonstrates
the continued commitment
of Add-Ran to educating



Figure 4. Spanish class on the Main Building Steps, 1904-05. TCU Special Collections, 1346.

⁷ Hall, *History of Texas Christian University*, 95.

women.⁸ A photograph of the students, male and female, of a university Spanish class on the steps of the main building taken a few years later is an excellent example of the way men and women blended and intermingled in the coeducational environment of the institution (see fig. 4).

Another crucial point in this list is that all students, men and women, do the same coursework. As had been the case since the first term, there was a single curriculum at Add-



Figure 5. Latin Class, 1903. TCU Special Collections, 2420.



Figure 6. Latin Class, 1903. TCU Special Collections, 2421.

Ran so that the degrees earned by young women were equal to those earned by their male classmates, which, as the brochure mentions, is more than most strictly women's colleges or universities of this era could claim.9 Again, photographs of classes in this era prove that men and women worked side by side, doing the same coursework under the same teachers. The students of both sexes shared classrooms, and

even desks, showing an apparent level of comfort with one another (see figures 5, 6, and 7).

⁸ "School for Young Ladies," 2.

⁹ "School for Young Ladies," 2.

Another photograph used in the university pictorial bulletin circa 1903 advertising the university shows young women in the school's chemistry lab, which provides proof that women were following this single curriculum and even taking classes traditionally reserved for men (see fig. 8).

The third item in the brochure discusses the nature of the courses outlined in the

catalog. None are listed for "mere display" but are each taught in such a way as to produce "scholarly university graduates." The fourth point emphasizes the quality of work again by assuring potential students that all of their



Figure 7. Classroom, 1907. TCU Special Collections, 1892.

completed coursework would be accepted at other prominent institutions in Texas and out of state. This point also mentions again that the Texas State Board of Education counts Add-



Figure 8. Chemistry Lab. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

Ran as an institution "of the first class."

These points are a continued affirmation of the quality of Add-Ran classes and education, especially pertaining to women. 10

The final solely academic point is that Add-Ran also provides a teacher's

¹⁰"School for Young Ladies," 2.

course leading to certification, exclusively for those not interested in a full bachelor's degree. The course covered mainly subjects and courses that teachers would be expected to know for the classes they would be potentially teaching. This program was something started at Add-Ran College before even the state began routinely teaching its own similar courses. With the increasing feminization of the teaching profession in public education, this would have been an attractive feature for young women interested in that kind of work. Because of the growing number of primary departments like this, by 1900, female teachers outnumbered

male teacher in

Texas for the first
time, finally
meeting the
nationwide
proportion. 13 AddRan Christian

University seemed

to provide all of the



Figure 9. Girls' Home Parlor. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

improvements and academic benefits of education for women available at the turn of the century all in one institution, and it had been doing so for almost three decades.

The next seven points largely describe the atmosphere of the university. The first of these aspects indicates its convenient, yet healthy, environment. The location of the

¹¹ "School for Young Ladies," 2-3.

¹² Joseph Lynn Clark, *Thank God*, 413.

Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Women and Education" in the *Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/WW/khwku.html (accessed March 17, 2010).

university near the "central city" of Waco, Texas, provides a taste of urban life without the disadvantages of crowdedness, "imperfect ventilation, or contagious disease exposure."

The buildings on campus were also a drawing factor. The main building was large, well-built, and comfortable, but the new girls' dormitory was the most impressive facility. It was up to date, equipped with a furnace for heat and electric lights, and photographs of the interior of the Girls' Home from a university bulletin support the brochure's description of the building as "a model of elegance, comfort and neatness." ¹⁴ Pictures of the reception hall and parlor show ornately patterned carpets, rugs, and wallpaper as well as matching curtains on the many windows (see figures 9 and 10). The furniture in the rooms looks to be in simple wooden styles, but there is seating for around twenty people in the parlor, and several of the chairs have padded seats. The reception hall appears more elaborate with an



Figure 10. Girls' Home Reception Hall. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

ornamental hall tree and thick curtains draped across the entry way. Another photograph shows a view of a student's room in the Girls' Home (see fig. 11). The room contains similar wallpaper and carpet as the other rooms as well as the

same curtains on the two windows. In addition to a white iron double bed, there appears to be a couple of desks and chairs and a mirror. There are trinkets—presumably the possessions

¹⁴ "School for Young Ladies," 3.

of the women who lived there—on the surfaces of the desks and framed pictures on the walls. These details demonstrate how the university obviously went to the trouble of adding functional furniture and decoration to the rooms while still allowing the residents to personalize their space. These rooms are not overly luxurious nor are they sparse; rather, they seem to be designed with simple comfort in mind. The university created an attractive, welcoming environment for their boarding female students, and according to the brochure, women's housing at the new Waco location was the only area where the university lacked in its educational experience for female students. With the dormitory's construction, the university surpassed all others in the state for women's education. ¹⁵

The university also promoted outings and physical activities that were led by "skillful teachers," at no added charge. This inclusion of physical activity demonstrates both the

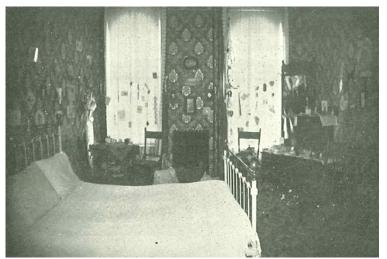


Figure 11. Student's room in Girls' Home, 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

university's interest in the
health of its students as well
as its concern with being up
to date with its
extracurricular offerings.
Also, women had the option
of adding variety to their
curricula without taking

away from their academic accomplishments because art, music, and oratory and elocution were available.¹⁶ Photographs and commencement materials record what the students of these classes were taught. Pictures of the art studio at the university reveal that these women

¹⁵ "School for Young Ladies," 3.

¹⁶ "School for Young Ladies," 3.

learned to work with a variety of subjects, from people and animals to landscapes and still-life objects (see figures 12, 13, and 14). The art studio provided functional space for drawing, painting, sculpting, and creating ceramics with tables, easels, and ample light as well as decorative space for the display of the students' creations. Often at commencement ceremonies, the students of the music and oratory departments, women included, would perform what they had been learning. They performed vocally and with instruments the various works of classic famous composers like Beethoven as well as more contemporaneous artists such as Guido Papini showing great variety in their lessons. ¹⁷ In art as well as music and oratory, the female students were able to display what they had learned in prominent ways, and the university seemed proud of their accomplishments.



Figure 12. Art Studio. TCU Special Collections, 482.

¹⁷ "Add-Ran University," *The Granbury News*, June 13, 1895; "Texas Christian University," *The Dallas Morning News*, May 31, 1903; 1904 Commencement; "At Texas Christian University," *Dallas Morning News*, June 7, 1907.



Figure 13. Art Studio. TCU Special Collections, 1007.



Figure 14. Gallery in Art Studio. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

And finally, Add-Ran Christian University had an overall positive atmosphere,

cheerful, moral, and
wholesome. 18 Outside of their
classes, the young women of
Add-Ran seem to have had
opportunities to enjoy their
time at the school. There is
photographic evidence for
various kinds of recreational



Figure 15. Shakespearean Burlesque Scene. TCU Special Collections, 580.

activities involving these women. One portrays an all-female Shakespeare burlesque production showing the women putting their literary education to use (see fig. 15). Another depicts the women living in the dormitory having a "tacky party," in which the guests intentionally wore mismatching clothing and generally tried to appear "tacky" (see fig. 16).



Figure 16. "Tacky Party" at Girls' Home. TCU Special Collections, 1390.

Having discarded fashion and convention for the evening, the young women in the picture are dancing and smiling. Yet another event involving these women at the Girls' Home was a "Man-less Wedding." There are two photographs of this event, one of

¹⁸ "School for Young Ladies," 3-4.





Figure 18. Ball after "Manless Wedding." TCU Special Collections, 1403.

the actual "wedding" and another taken at the ball held afterward (see figures 17 and 18). Apparently, this mock wedding consisted only of female players with women as both the bridal party in dresses and the groom's party dressed like men complete with facial hair. There is only a small amount of literature on the subject of man-less weddings because the phenomenon of theatrical wedding seems to be more common among male students who held "woman-less" weddings. Based on the research that does exist, these staged weddings appear to have been for entertainment for special events, fund-raising, or just plain amusement. Regardless of the function, the man-less wedding and the other events captured in these photographs show that women at the university were able to find ways to have fun while still attending to their studies.

According to the brochure pointed at female students, Add-Ran Christian University essentially offered its female students a reputable, modern education of high quality in safety alongside male students with practical and recreational advantages in the form of superior facilities, potential teacher's certification, convenient location, and a pleasant atmosphere. The fact that the university felt that these points, especially the academic and facility related ones, were grounds for distinctiveness in higher education at the beginning of the twentieth century speaks to the quality of education available to women elsewhere in Texas and the rest of the United States.

After the publication of this brochure advertising Add-Ran as an ideal place for young women, the benefits for women at Add-Ran Christian University/Texas Christian

¹⁹ Catherine Smith and Cynthia Greig, *Women in Pants: Manly Maidens, Cowgirls, and Other Renegades* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 2003), 133-37.

University continued to grow, and more women took advantage of the available opportunities. These advantages came in came in various forms over the course of the school's tenure in Waco. In 1905, for example, the university began to hold normal school sessions during the summer increasing the opportunities for students to earn their teaching credentials, which, as mentioned previously, especially appealed to women.²⁰ Other improvements came in the form of facilities.

In 1902, the year after this brochure was printed, as part of a campus-wide expansion and improvement, the Girls' Home was enlarged to house up to one hundred students at the cost of \$4,500; it was also connected to the newly constructed heating plant to provide better, more efficient heat²¹ (see fig. 19). That same year, the president of the university stated in his report to the trustees that the Girls' Home would need to be further enlarged in the future to accommodate more female students; he also requested additional bathing facilities and water closets for the both the girls' and boys' dormitories.²² By the next year, the Girls' Home almost reached capacity with ninety-seven girls making up more than 43 percent of the



Figure 19. Girls' Home after renovations. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

boarding students at the university.²³ In 1904, the university completed the third floor of the newest building on campus, Townsend Hall, in order to add accommodations for sixteen more boarding female students, and almost all of the rooms—old and new—filled during the school term.²⁴ The development of the Girls' Home shows the university's substantial concern with the housing of its female students. It also reveals the growing number of women interested in attending the university.

The university also remained committed to the physical health of its young women. In 1904, the president appealed to the board of trustees for a gymnasium specifically for the female students. He considered this even more important to the overall physical health of the student body than

facilities for male students because young women did not indulge in the outdoor sports and activities, such as football and baseball, the men did.²⁵ The following year, the



Figure 20. Girls' Tennis Club. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

president again requested a women's gymnasium, citing their greater need for a space appropriate for their physical education.²⁶ Finally, in 1908, through the support of the

²³ Annual Report of the President of Texas Christian University, 1903-1904, 53.

²⁴ Annual Report of the President and Professors of Texas Christian University, 1904-1905, 19.

²⁵ Annual Report, 1903-1904, 12.

²⁶ Annual Report, 1904-1905, 18.

Y.M.C.A., the university built a gymnasium and a natatorium for all of the men and women attending the school to use for "the healthy development of the body and a sensible instruction in the art of preserving and cultivating physical strength." With the addition of the gymnasium, sometime before the next school year, the women were able to form their own competitive tennis club (see fig. 20), which provided even more opportunity for advancement in physical education at Texas Christian University. ²⁸

Academic opportunities for women continued to be important at Texas Christian University as well. The 1904 graduating class contained forty-seven graduates, including twenty women who earned their degrees from the Colleges of Literature, Science, and Arts; the Bible; Music; and Business, in both the bookkeeping and the amanuensis, or secretarial, courses, as well as from the Schools of Oratory and Art. One of these women was one of the two students to earn a master's degree from the College of Literature Science and Arts and wrote a thesis entitled "Coleridge's Criticism of Shakespeare." Four others in the same college wrote academic theses for their degrees with the titles of "Women and Missions," "The Father of English Prose," "Characterization of Richard III," and "The Development of the English Historical Drama."²⁹ The fact that students of this college at Texas Christian University were required to write original academic theses speaks to the high standards of the school. These graduates, especially the ones who composed these theses on literary and religious topics the same as male students, prove once again that women were still attending the university with the intention of demonstrating their scholarly aptitude and earning their degrees, even advanced ones. In 1907 the student body elected a woman as secretary, one of

²⁷ Texas Christian University Bulletin: The Illustrated Number, August 1909, 28.

²⁸ Bulletin, 1909, 47.

²⁹ Texas Christian University Commencement Program, June 2, 1904.

the three student body officers, confirming that the students of the university accepted and respected the place of women in their school.³⁰

Like the female students, women in the faculty of the university also continued to garner respect into the twentieth century. As in Thorp Spring, photographs of the faculty feature the men and women together and show that women continued to make up



Figure 21. 1901-02 TCU Faculty. TCU Special Collections, 1092.



Figure 22. TCU Faculty ca. 1902. TCU Special Collections, 493.

considerable parts of the teaching staff when in 1901 they represented 27 percent and the next year, 42 percent of the total faculty (see figures 21 and 22).

According to a circa 1903

university pictorial bulletin,
there were eleven women in
the twenty-two member
faculty; further information
on these women reveals that
they were qualified,
experienced, and highly
regarded as teachers. Some
of these teachers studied and

taught in places across the United States such as Boston, Cincinnati, Iowa, and Florida, and

³⁰ "Student Body Elects Officers," *Dallas Morning News*, Sept. 25, 1907.

two even studied in London and Berlin. The librarian, Mabel Grey Crosse, who also had a degree in music as well as experience as a teacher, was specially trained for her position and responsible for introducing the Dewey Decimal System of cataloging at the university. Five of the women on staff actually graduated from Texas Christian University, which demonstrates the confidence the school must have had in their education and skills. The photographs of these individual female teachers as well as the faculty group pictures reveal that women faculty, like their female students, embraced the Gibson Girl image too, especially the young, recent graduates (see fig. 23). They are neatly dressed with various

ornaments such as flowers, ribbons, and jewelry, and almost all of them are wearing the fashionable high-necked blouses with their hair swept up on top of their heads. By adopting this look, these female teachers were confirming that their status as educated—and educating—women was proper, making their positions at the university socially acceptable.



Figure 23. Mamie Shaper, A.B. Assistant in Preparatory School. 1903 Pictorial Bulletin.

The developments at Add-Ran Christian

University and Texas Christian University after its move to Waco into the early twentieth century show the extent to which the school was still willing to go for the benefit of its female student decades after its name changed from Add-Ran Male and Female College.

Despite the school's move, or because of it, and the growing nationwide tension surrounding

³¹ Pictorial Presentation of Texas Christian University with Biographical Sketches of Its Faculty, 7-17.

coeducation and female college students, the environment and offerings of the university clearly continued to employ qualified female faculty members and to appeal to young women as their attendance and accomplishments climbed.

CONCLUSION

The meaning of an educated woman has changed much through the centuries, from a woman who possesses the necessary skills to be a good wife and mother, to a woman who has attended and graduated from institutions of higher learning. The Clarks and Add-Ran College were part of this transition to women's involvement in academics. The Clarks held their school to high standards throughout their tenure, and women were included academically. As influential members of the founding group, administration staff and faculty, and as a large portion of the student body, women were important parts of the school's operation and persistence. When the elements of Add-Ran College's first catalogs come together with the brochure advertising Add-Ran as a school for women, with its appeals to every possible aspect of college life for female students, the commitment to women's education over a forty-year period is obvious. The authors of these publications ensured that all would know the accepting, coeducational nature of the school along with the advantages it had to offer all of its students, regardless of sex. In fact, by 1910, coeducation had become such an essential part of Add-Ran, now finally Texas Christian University, that the first line of the first Fort Worth Star-Telegram advertisement for the school read "Thirtyseventh year, Co-educational."² These texts—the catalogs and brochure—preserve details of the experience of women at Add-Ran College and its journey to the established

¹ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. 1* (New York: The Science Press Printing Company, 1929), 273.

² "Texas Christian University Is Leading State Institution" *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* Aug. 7, 1910.

coeducational university it would become in the twentieth century that might otherwise be lost.

The legacy of women's education at Add-Ran College is remarkable given its origins in Texas in the early 1870s. Its coeducational policies, curriculum, course offerings, faculty, and overall educational commitment produced an educational environment favorable to the education of women that was found in few, if any, other institutions as the time. This quotation from the "Add-Ran Christian University as a School for Young Ladies" brochure genuinely describes the school that began as Add-Ran Male and Female College, "Does she not offer to you a rare combination of advantages? In how many schools can you find such a combination or its equivalent duplicated?"

³ "Add-Ran Christian University as a School for Young Ladies," 4.

APPENDIX

ADD-RAN FEMALE FACULTY MEMBERS, 1876-1910

Mollie G. Allen: Primary Dept. Assistant, 1881-87

Edwina Alsop: Primary Dept. Principal, 1890-92

Fannie Ayres: Preparatory Dept. Assistant, 1896-97

Mrs. E. F. Baker: Matron, 1884-87

Effie Boyd: Music Assistant, 1890-91

Mrs. E. C. Boynton: Librarian, 1906-08

Annie Bradley: Music Instructor, 1882-87

Emma Bruhn: German, French, Needlework, Music Teacher, 1877-76

Sallie Cayce: Primary Art Instructor, 1890-96

Theodora Cayce: Elocution Assistant, 1895-96

Alice Clark: Music Adjunct Professor, 1880-82

Hettie Clark: Matron, 1873-83

Jessie Clark: Primary Dept. Principal, 1893-95

Beatrice Davis: Primary Dept. Assistant, 1890-92

Cora D'Spain: Primary School Principal, 1884-87

Ella Findlay: Piano Instructor, 1903-04

Nellie Florence Fox: Elocution Instructor, 1899-1900

Mrs. M. B. M. Gibbons: Librarian, 1904-16

Ida Root Gordon: Oratory Instructor, 1901-02

Mrs. William Hamilton: Academy Assistant, 1908-09

Mrs. A. H. Harle: Drawing and Painting, 1874-1876

Mrs. J. J. Hart, Commercial Assistant, 1908-10

Mrs. C. W. Howard: Primary Dept. Principal, 1892-93

Belle Hunter: English Instructor, 1899-1900

Mrs. W. C. Hunter: Voice Professor, 1906-10

Isabel Ingalls: Voice Instructor, 1901-03

Ida Jacobs: Primary Department Principal, 1875-80

Ida Van Zandt Jarvis: Superintendent, Girls' Home, 1895-97

Cora Lee Jennings: Piano Instructor, 1906-08

Mrs. John W. Kinsey: Academy Instructor, 1909-15

Carrie Fletcher Luck: Music Vocal Assistant, 1893-94

Mrs. R. E. McKnight: Matron, 1887-88

Olive Leaman McClintic: Elocution and Oratory Instructor, 1901-07

Jennie V. McCulloh: Modern Language Instructor, 1908-09

Jessie McQuigg: Preparatory Dept. Teacher, 1880-83

Mabel Annette Miller, Business Administration Instructor, 1902-03

Martha K. Miller: Shorthand Teacher, 1899-1902; Registrar, 1902-11

Bettie Parker: Preparatory Dept. Principal, 1889-94

Stella Pierce: Music School Principal, 1896-97

Eugenia Price: Art Instructor, 1896-97

Blanche Rawlins: Primary Dept. Assistant, 1893-94

Jessie Robinson: Business Administration Assistant, 1907-08

Lucy Rutherford: Modern Language Teacher, 1876-77

Mamie Schafer: Primary Dept. Principal, 1900-03

Mattie Schultz: German and French Instructor, 1888-89

Harriet Frances Smith: Music, Piano Professor, 1905-08

Dessie Pickens Snow: Music Instructor, 1887-93

Mrs. M. Taliaferro: Matron, 1888-91, 1904-05

Annie Taylor: Boys Matron, 1904-05

Ola Thompson: Art Instructor, 1882-89

Fanny Vaden: Primary School Assistant Principal, 1886-87

Gertrude Wade: Music Principal, 1893-96

Mabel Wallace: Piano Instructor, 1908-09

Gussie Ward: Voice Professor, 1905-06

Lottie Watson: Matron, 1908-10

Mrs. M. E. Wideman; Matron, 1891-97

Clara Wilmeth: German and French Instructor, 1881-83

Harriet Woodward: Art Instructor, 1903-04

Henriette J. Siegel: Art Professor, 1904-06

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VITA

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION AT ADD-RAN COLLEGE, 1873-1910

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The rise of women's higher education in the United States began in the late nineteenth century, but in many institutions, especially in Texas, women did not receive the same caliber education as men. However, Add-Ran College, established in Thorp Spring, Texas in 1873 by brothers Addison and Randolph Clark, was a remarkable exception. Coeducational from its beginning, Add-Ran College offered female students the opportunity to follow the same curriculum alongside their male peers, when most other institutions in the country segregated their students by sex, one way or another. Over the next three decades, Add-Ran's policies towards women and coeducation continued to become more liberal, providing a place for women to experience higher education free from many of the constraints of other schools.