

DR. SOFIE HERZOG AND NEW SOUTH BRAZORIA, TEXAS: ^ℓ
GENDER, MEDICINE, AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

THESIS

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

For the Degree

Master of ARTS

By

Amanda J. Brand, B.A.

San Marcos, Texas
May 2000

COPYRIGHT

by

Amanda J. Brand

2000

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although I grew up only eight miles from Sofie Herzog's stomping ground, it took a 200-mile move to San Marcos to understand the potential of this topic. This project has in every sense been a team effort, and I am indebted to many professors, archivists, friends, and family members for their academic and emotional support.

First, I owe a tremendous debt to my thesis advisor, Dr. Victoria Bynum. She introduced me to this topic one year ago and has patiently guided me through the writing and revision process for the last few months. Though deeply involved in her own manuscript, she always made time for my countless questions and encouraged me to reach my highest potential. A true scholar and educator, Dr. Bynum will always be the mark I try to reach in my own career.

I am also indebted to Dr. Gregg Andrews who has offered much advice and useful criticism. His kind words have given me confidence throughout graduate school, and, many times, I used his scholarly works as guides for my own writing. Dr. Andrews has a talent for making characters in history three-dimensional, entertaining readers, and enlightening scholars. It is this gift for writing and conceptualizing history that I have tried to emulate.

Dr. Jesús F. de la Teja also provided much need commentary throughout the process. His graduate Texas History course made me aware of the tremendous work left to be done in the history of Texas women, and his enthusiasm inspired me to continue my studies with an even greater passion. His useful criticisms and advice helped me tremendously throughout the process.

Dr. Bynum, Dr. Andrews, and Dr. de la Teja, in addition to the rest of the faculty at Southwest Texas State University are not only a tremendous collection of scholars, they are a group of people that care genuinely for the interests of students. Dr. Mary Brennan

taught me how to cope with the many challenges encountered in graduate school and offered me reassurance at every step of the way. I also thank Dr. James Wilson who taught me to think on my own at the beginning of my graduate career, and, at the end, offered helpful suggestions for improving my thesis. Dr. Jim Selcraig, an excellent professor, will always be a model for me as I design my own courses, and Dr. Dwight Watson, a new addition to Southwest Texas State University, is a person whose enthusiasm I hope will become a part of my own teaching style.

The basement crew of graduate students also deserve a great deal of appreciation. Fortunately, I entered the graduate program at Southwest with many gifted history students. My colleagues possessed tremendous talent and pushed me to achieve a higher level of scholarship. I feel particularly indebted to Christopher Quinn and Beverly Tomek for being such fierce competitors and keeping the bar raised for others to meet. Beverly also served as an excellent sounding board for many of my ideas for this work and offered resource suggestions during all stages of the writing process. I also would like to thank Mark Samuels. I entered the program with Mark and have appreciated his talents and love for the field. Although we did not always agree on politics, I enjoyed our lengthy conversations and appreciated the many ideas he gave me for improving my thesis. I also thank Stephanie Ulrich whose courage, tenacity, and drive to succeed will always be an inspiration to me. She united many of us in our graduate class and offered me much support throughout my graduate career.

I also owe my gratitude to the many librarians and archivists that I have encountered in the past year. Archivists at the Brazoria County Historical Museum and research librarians at both the Brazoria County Library and the Center for American History offered invaluable assistance. I also thank Dortha Pekar, a true expert on Sofie Herzog, whose years of research and familiarity with available sources have been indispensable to this process. By including me in activities at the Brazoria Community Museum, I made many useful contacts with people who knew Herzog and were willing to

share their stories. I thank Dot Paul, Eulalie Crosland, Clyde Forrest, Elizabeth Vonty, and Malcolm Hoefle whose memories added character to my thesis.

My family also made this research endeavor a fulfilling process. My uncle, Newton Brand, Jr., sent documents collected from his own research, and my aunt, Mary Katherine Lansford, shared memories of people that she knew in the community. In addition, my grandfather, Dr. Victor Driscoll, shared his insight at all stages of the process. He played a very important role in helping me make the transition between high school and college, and the advice he has shared with me throughout graduate school has been invaluable.

My parents, Charles and Mary Brand, have been extremely supportive of this project, and it was through this support, both emotional and monetary, that this study was possible. From the beginning, they have encouraged me to pursue an enjoyable career no matter how small the material benefits or how tight the job market. Through their work as teachers for over sixty-five years combined, my parents have shown many students compassion and given them the guidance they needed to succeed in life. As a student in both of their classrooms, I was fortunate to be one of the many youngsters that they have inspired over the years. I hope they will be as proud of my decision to pursue a career in education as I am of theirs.

Finally, I thank my fiancé Steven Wade Shelton. Through the most difficult stages of this process, Wade has offered reassurance and given me the confidence necessary to reach the final chapter of this work. His patience, tenacity, and optimism I admire and the confidence he has in my ability has encouraged me to succeed in all areas of life.

Emotional support from such wonderful friends and family members and research assistance at all levels have, indeed, made this thesis a group effort. I have been fortunate to work with incredibly gifted individuals, and, more importantly, have gained many lifelong friends in the process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	Page v
INTRODUCTION	1
 Chapter	
I. BEGINNINGS: FROM VIENNA, AUSTRIA TO HOBOKEN, NEW JERSEY	7
II. SOFIE HERZOG AS PHYSICIAN: EARNING COMMUNITY, PROFESSIONAL, AND CORPORATE ACCEPTANCE	22
III. FROM BULLET NECKLACE TO FINE DIAMONDS: BALANCING CAREER AND FAMILY WITH THE CULT OF TRUE WOMANHOOD	44
IV. JUST WHAT THE DOCTOR ORDERED: VISIONS OF NEW SOUTH PROSPERITY, SMALL-TOWN BOOSTERS, AND SOFIE HERZOG THE ENTREPRENEUR	69
V. CONCLUSION: DECONSTRUCTING A LOCAL LEGEND	91
SOURCES CONSULTED	97

INTRODUCTION

Residents of Brazoria, Texas, still remember the colorful Dr. Sofie Herzog, an Austrian woman who established a medical practice in their small town in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Known as "Dr. Sofie" to contemporaries, she represented modern forces that swept over their community at the turn of the century. Current generations of Brazorians, however, tend to romanticize, even glorify, the life she led. Many of them envision Herzog as an early feminist, a pioneer for women in medicine who managed to balance family responsibility with the hectic schedule of her profession. This study attempts to separate the myths from the facts of Herzog's life. Only then can we understand how such a unique individual carved out a niche in a small Texas town and became a local legend who has enchanted residents for more than a century.

Although no scholarly work exists that covers Herzog, the Austrian doctor was by no means timid and enjoyed being the focus of attention. When interviewed by a *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* reporter, the seventy-year-old surgeon said she did not "believe in this humbuggery of saying that doctors don't want their names in the paper." Indeed, Herzog made headlines after her death and as the years passed, her adventures in Brazoria grew in proportion among county residents.¹

In 1936, Flora Humphries wrote that "when flames leap in Brazoria fireplaces . . . someone is sure to tell a story of the amazing woman of Vienna who came to practice medicine in the Brazos Bottoms."² That story has been one of a woman who fought

¹"Woman Surgeon, 70, Owns Necklace of Extracted Bullets," *Texas Medical Journal* 31 (October 1915): 163-164.

²Humphries, "South Texas' Most Noted," 8.

alligators to reach the helpless, and who pumped handcars to treat a grateful railroad laborer. According to Mary Beth Rogers, ". . . [railroad] workers sang her praises and had complete confidence in this brave woman doctor." One cartoonist illustrated Herzog's struggle to be a railroad surgeon by drawing Herzog with long hair and a beautiful face, clearly juxtaposing her femininity against the masculine task of railroad surgeon.³

By 1986, the perspective on Herzog had changed. Her femininity did not make her a delicate, nurturing healer as Red had described, but rather a feminist. Local journalist Vivienne Heines called her "a woman after Gloria Steinem's own heart . . . a women's libber before the phrase was invented."⁴ When discussing her role in the business community, Elizabeth Silverthorne and Geneva Fulgham call her a "respected business entrepreneur."⁵ Most historians concur that Herzog earned ready admiration from all residents in addition to the immediate respect of colleagues. At the same time, she was a good mother, grandmother, and wife and the antecedent to the feminist movement.

The stories of Herzog and women like her have undergone revision at the hands of academics in the latter half of the twentieth century. Due to the rise of Social History in the 1960s that focused on the history of all classes in society, women became central to American history. Prior to this period, historians tended to believe that women's roles had no real political impact and thus lacked historical significance. As a result, most scholarship ignored such "insignificant figures" and allowed local legend to grow. With the

³Mary Beth Rogers, Sherry A. Smith, and Janelle D. Scott, *We Can Fly: Stories of Katherine Stinson and Other Gutsy Texas Women* (Austin: Ellen C. Temple, 1983), 44.

⁴Vivienne Heines, "A Career Woman Before Her Time," *The Brazosport Facts*, 27 July 1986, Section 8, Page 5.

⁵Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 77.

interest in studying history from the bottom up, however, women have increasingly been the focus of historical monographs.

Literature on Texas women began to flourish in the 1990s. The surge in scholarship, however, focused on women of the progressive era, plantation women, teachers, labor union organizers, and prominent women politicians, not on female healers.⁶ Much work exists on female physicians, nurses, and folk healers in the United States, but not in Texas.⁷ The first history of professional Texas doctors was George Plunkett Red's

⁶See, for example, Fane Downs, "Texas Women: History at the Edges," in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, ed. Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 81-101.

⁷Sandra L. Chaff, et al., eds., *Women in Medicine: A Bibliography of Literature on Women Physicians* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977). Regina Morantz-Sanchez, professor at the University of Kansas, is the most prolific writer in this field and spends the majority of her research efforts documenting the philosophical motivations of women who entered the medical field. Morantz-Sanchez also joined Carol Fenichel in conducting an oral history project that concentrates on women physicians who earned their degree in the early twentieth century. General biographies of women like Blackwell and Jacobi and broad texts of women in medicine across the United States are, in fact, common. Geoffrey Mark and William Beatty, *Women in White* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), as well as Kate Campbell Hurd-Mead, *A History of Women in Medicine* (Haddam, Conn.: Haddam Press, 1938), provide excellent background information on the evolution of female participation in the medical field. More recent trends in historiography focus on a female doctor's interaction with her surrounding environment during a particular period. The community history thus becomes as central to the story as the doctor's history. Gloria Moldow portrays social characteristics of late-nineteenth century Washington, D.C. as well as discusses the presence of its community of women doctors in *Women Doctors in Gilded-Age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Other scholarship leans toward the integration of women's experiences into general texts on the history of science and the history of medicine. Instead of separating women's activities from the general medical history milieu, scholars like Yale sociologist Paul Starr explore the professional world of both male and female doctors from the beginnings of the profession to the present. Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (Basic Books, 1982). Unfortunately, none of these histories in addition to the hundreds of others which exist, look to Texas for new examples.

The Medicine Man in Texas (1930). Although he mentioned women physicians in a section entitled "petticoat medicine," he portrayed them not as professionals, but as delicate female healers. Red, like other men in the 1930s, was unable to see women as professionals.⁸ The only revision to appear on Texas women doctors is a broad overview of the topic by Elizabeth Silverthorne and Geneva Fulgham. This work offers a brief discussion of the history of women in medicine and provides representative samples of female practitioners from each period in Texas history.⁹

Related scholarship on women healers has also recently appeared. Leslie and Cecilia Hunter investigate the folk medicine practices of Mercedes Peña Lane, a curandera, or Mexican folk healer. Their description of "Mother Lane's" style of medicine, the success of her unusual techniques among faithful patients, and the attacks she endured from the medical community, show the resilience of this gifted woman and the loyalty of her patients.¹⁰ While the Hunters and Silverthorne provide valuable material, sociologist Ruth Schaffer's research indicates that much more work in this field is possible. Her article, published in *Rural Sociology*, provides statistics on black midwives who worked in the Texas Brazos Bottom between 1920 and 1985. In addition to providing a statistical profile of black midwives, Schaffer briefly explains their role in the community and the reasons for the profession's demise during the 1980s. She thus encourages historians to

⁸George Plunkett Red, *The Medicine Man in Texas* (Houston: Standard Printing and Lithographing Co., 1930), 106.

⁹Elizabeth Silverthorne and Geneva Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1997).

¹⁰Leslie Gene and Cecilia Aros Hunter, "'Mother Lane' and the 'New Mooners': An Expression of Curanderismo," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 99 (January 1996): 290-324.

develop her data into a much needed history of the black woman's role in Texas medicine.¹¹

An excellent place to begin rectifying the historical neglect of professional women is with a study of Sofie Dalia Herzog. Silverthorne and Fulgham cover Herzog briefly, but their account touches only on part of her life and does not rely on primary sources. There are some factual mistakes, and the portrayal does not delve deeply into many key issues. The same holds true for Cindi Myers' brief biographical sketch of Sofie Herzog in *Mystic Healers and Medicine Shows*, which relies principally on anecdotes. While both Silverthorne and Myers' scholarship are much needed revisions of George Plunkett Red's 1930 antiquated publication, their shortcomings indicate a need for further study.¹²

Though a full biography is warranted, this thesis can only begin the process of explaining Sofie Herzog's life in Brazoria, Texas. Primary sources, including newspapers from the Brazoria area, memoirs, oral histories, deed records, personal writings, wills, and census reports illuminate much of her Texas life. Unfortunately, many documents were lost or destroyed when the county courthouse was moved from Brazoria to Angleton in October 1896. In a controversial October election and subsequent relocation, records were lost and animosity between the two communities grew. The only newspaper in the area that existed at the time of Herzog's arrival was located in Angleton, a community that, in light of community tensions, was not eager to publish much about activities in Brazoria.¹³

¹¹Ruth Schaffer, "The Health and Social Functions of Black Midwives on the Texas Brazos Bottom, 1920-1985," *Rural Sociology* 56 (1991): 89-105.

¹²Cindi Myers, "Daring Dr. Sofie," *Mystic Healers and Medicine Shows: Blazing Trails to Wellness in the Old West and Beyond*, ed. Gene Fowler (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1997).

¹³James Creighton, *A Narrative History of Brazoria County* (Waco: Brazoria County Historical Commission, 1975), 299.

Despite these obstacles, enough evidence exists to reconstruct Sofie Herzog's experiences as a Texas surgeon. The work of nineteenth-century women pioneers to create opportunities for women in professional medicine will be the subject of chapter one. Chapter two will focus on Sofie Herzog's work as a physician in Brazoria. This section will reveal the obstacles she was able to overcome as a woman, views of Brazoria society toward women professionals and immigrants, and a violent, unstable New South community's need for a physician.

As in many societies in the New South, the idea that Herzog could combine a public career with responsibilities of the domestic sphere was not thought possible. Herzog's ability to defy traditional conventions will thus be the subject of chapter three. It will focus on how Brazoria society viewed women's role in the domestic sphere, the ways in which Herzog combined both career and family to the satisfaction of the community, and the degree to which her actions furthered feminist goals.

Herzog never compromised her upper-class position by encouraging other women to challenge the existing power structure. Nevertheless, she established her own autonomy in Brazoria. Chapter four examines how Herzog expanded her professional sphere by becoming a business woman. Reactions to her desire to bring "progress" to Brazoria will be evaluated within the context of New South boosterism, community authority of physicians, and women's work as entrepreneurs.

While Herzog's experiences are central to this thesis, the underlying theme throughout is the degree to which Brazorians accepted her and the degree to which she assimilated the values of the Brazoria community. By continuing to allow anecdotes to drive the story, historians have transformed the diverse population of Brazoria into a homogeneous body devoid of all class, race and gender divisions. More careful analysis reveals a different side of "Dr. Sofie" from that of the eccentric, skilled professional. This study proves that Herzog was a woman who espoused the values and prejudices of the elite

class of Brazoria residents, and thus provides a deeper understanding of issues of gender, ethnicity, and class at both the individual and community level.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS: FROM VIENNA, AUSTRIA, TO HOBOKEN, NEW JERSEY

Herzog began life in a world far removed both geographically and socially from the small town of Brazoria. Born Sofie Dalia on February 4, 1846, to a wealthy Viennese surgeon, she enjoyed status and privilege among the elite of Austria. At the time of her birth, Vienna contained over 300,000 people and ranked second in size only to London and Paris among major European cities. The elegant, nineteenth-century European metropolis was renowned as the world capital for medical research and for having educated some of the leading physicians and surgeons of the period. In fact, as early as 1730, young American men of means had studied at Austrian schools because of their advancements in medical science. These men were impressed with the European sense of professionalism that did not exist in America. The presence of guilds, societies, publications, and hospitals gave Americans ideas about how to build their own medical structure.¹

The superior status of Austria's medical establishment attracted many in the Dalia family. Eighteen members of Herzog's family were Viennese-trained physicians. It thus

¹Arthur J. May, *Vienna in the Age of Franz Josef* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 11. For other descriptions of Vienna in the nineteenth century, see Mark Francis, *The Viennese Enlightenment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985); and Paul Hoffman, *The Viennese: Splendor, Twilight, and Exile* (New York: Anchor Press, 1998). For information on United States interest in Austrian educational institutions and professional life, see Regina Markell Morantz, Cynthia Stodola Pomerlau, and Carol Hansen Fenichel, *In Her Own Words: Oral Histories of Women Physicians* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), 5.

seemed only natural that she, too, would become a professional healer. Because she was a woman, however, all Austrian medical schools prohibited her entrance into professional programs. During this period, Austrian physicians were vehemently opposed to allowing women to join their ranks. In 1872, University of Vienna medical professor Joseph Spaeth argued that women were physically and mentally incapable of joining men in professional educational endeavors. Claiming that women's lower brain weight, lack of intellect, and maternal nature made them unable to engage in profound thought, Spaeth urged females to pursue an education that would make them better suited to care for their offspring. He and other European educators argued that women were predestined to procreate, not to attend courses that might cause physical stress to their delicate bodies. Even specializing in gynecology was prohibited because of women's supposed inability to preserve patient confidentiality. Despite the admittance of women to medical schools in England, Switzerland, and Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century, German and Austrian physicians such as Spaeth would continue to bar women from their prestigious programs into the twentieth century.² With little prospect of future medical training and the pressures of traditional womanhood, Sofie Dalia chose at age fourteen to marry August Herzog, the surgeon and chief physician at a Vienna hospital.³

²Joseph Spaeth, ["Medical Studies and Women"] *Wiener Medizinische Presse* 13 (1872): 1109-1118.

³For biographical sketches of Sofie Herzog's early life, see Marie Beth Jones, "Dr. Sofie Herzog," *Brazosport Facts*, 18 January 1962; Cindi Myers, "Daring Dr. Sophie," *True West* 41 (July 1994): 45-47; idem, "Daring Dr. Sophie," *Mystic Healers and Medicine Shows: Blazing Trails to Wellness in the Old West and Beyond*, ed. Gene Fowler (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1997); Holly Linford, "Extraordinary Dr. Sophie," *Image* (Winter 1998): 10-12; Dortha Pekar, *Papers Regarding Sofie Herzog*, Special Collections, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; Red, *Medicine Man*; and Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 136-139. Viennese medical schools were slower than the United States to admit women; progress occurred long after Sofie Herzog left Austria. In the late 1890s, women began making headway due largely to a few men who championed their cause. Leopold von Schroetter, for instance, was noted for his objective assessment of women physicians and his defense of females attending medical

After producing fifteen children, including three sets of twins, the couple emigrated to Hoboken, New Jersey, where August took a position at the United States Naval Hospital. The move put the Herzogs within easy reach of New York City's cosmopolitan attractions. Living in such proximity to the large cosmopolitan city afforded Sofie luxuries similar to those she possessed in Austria. Furthermore, Hoboken resembled a "foreign territory" steeped in German culture because of its German book stores, restaurants, and sizable German-speaking population.⁴

In addition to providing familiar cultural surroundings, Hoboken and the United States in general offered Sofie the opportunity to work toward a professional career. By 1881, she had earned her medical degree from New York Eclectic Medical School and soon after established a private practice in Hoboken, New Jersey.⁵ Women's entry into

schools. See Gisela Lion-Mietner, ["Leopold von Schroetter and Women in Higher Education"] *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 6 (1937): 163-164. In March 1896, Austria permitted women to practice medicine who had received a foreign medical diploma and by 1897, a few cracked the formidable male wall of the Viennese medical school and attended some universities in Vienna. See Robert Hofstatter, ["On Higher Education for Women in Austria with Special Consideration of Medical Studies,"] *Archiv fuer Frauenkunde und Konstitutions Forschung* (1929): 301-319. On 15 September 1900 the Ministry of Education in Austria officially allowed women to work toward a doctorate in general medical science as well as pharmacy. Only women of substantial financial means, however, were able to attend and in 1901, the University of Graz reported only two women medical students. See Albert Eulenburg, ["Women Medical Students in German Universities during the Summer Semester of 1901"] *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* (11 July 1901): 472.

⁴Christopher Morley, *Seacoast of Bohemia* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), 10. See also Thomas Fleming, *New Jersey: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1977), and Morris Schonbach, *Radicals and Visionaries: A History of Dissent in New Jersey* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1964).

⁵New York Eclectic Medical School was founded in 1865 in New York City. The prerequisite for admission was a Regent's Medical Student Certificate or the equivalent of a four-year, high school education. In addition to this minimal entrance requirement, New York Eclectic Medical School charged a low tuition rate as compared to other institutions. Because of inadequate clinical facilities and antiquated books, however, it did not measure

medical schools of the United States, however, was a long arduous process that proceeded unevenly, state-by-state. Though faster than Austria in admitting women, medical programs in the United States would practice similar forms of discrimination.

In 1849, the first medical degree was granted to a woman by the Geneva Medical School in New York. Graduating at the head of her class, Elizabeth Blackwell became the pioneer for women in medicine.⁶ Her success served as a catalyst for the rapid increase in the number of women in the medical profession, as well as the formation of women's educational institutions. In October 1850, Philadelphia's Female Medical College of Pennsylvania opened its doors, and became the first women's medical school in the world. By May of 1857, Elizabeth Blackwell, her sister Emily, the first female graduate of Cleveland Medical College, and Dr. Marie Zakrzewska opened the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. Both the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania and the New York Infirmary trained women to be nurses, and future female physicians were instructed in the appropriate bedside manner. Blackwell's institution continued to operate for more than thirty years. It educated 364 women doctors, and, along with the Pennsylvania Medical School, led to the formation of many other women's educational institutions. Female physicians thrived during this period at both all-female and co-educational medical

up to the rest of the city's educational facilities. Abraham Flexner, an American physician who practiced medicine at the turn of the century, claimed that New York's hospital and university resources made it the "Berlin or Vienna of the continent," while New York Eclectic Medical School lacked "substantial foundation of any sort." As a woman, Herzog's choices were limited, which explained her decision to attend this institution. On the New York Eclectic Medical School, see Abraham Flexner, *The Flexner Report on Medical Education in the United States and Canada, 1910* (New York City: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910), 271-277.

⁶Harriot Hunt tried at an earlier date to enter Harvard medical school. Oliver Wendell Holmes, dean of Harvard, sponsored her application. While the faculty admitted that nothing in their rules barred women from attending medical school, male students reacted so violently against her admission that Harriot Hunt withdrew her application. Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, xx.

schools. In 1858, Lydia Folger Fowler, descendant of Benjamin Franklin and cousin to Lucretia Mott, became the first American-born woman to receive her medical degree. After her graduation from the Central Medical College of New York, Fowler became the first female to hold a professorship in an authorized American medical school, the New York State Eclectic Medical Society.⁷

Despite this Northeastern surge of women doctors, female matriculation in the South was almost stagnant. It was not until the late 1860s that Graffenburg Institute in Dadeville, Alabama, granted a medical degree to a woman.⁸ Progress for women professionals in Dadeville, however, was not matched in Texas. Though Texas medical schools did not officially deny admission based on sex, they voiced objections to female doctors. In May 1896, one year after Herzog came to Texas to practice medicine and forty-six years after Blackwell earned the first medical degree, Dr. Leslie Waggener, president of the University of Texas Medical School, informed the Texas Woman's Press Association that females had no future as medical doctors. While he admitted that he felt no personal animosity toward the few women practitioners who existed "even in the South," he did not approve of the example they set. Despite his objections, Marie Delalondre Dietzel became the first female graduate of the University of Texas Medical School in 1897, and women continued to make headway in state medical associations.⁹

Even though Dietzel is listed as the first University of Texas Medical School female graduate and Elizabeth Blackwell will always be remembered as the first female doctor,

⁷The Woman's Medical School of Pennsylvania was the only all-female school to remain after other medical schools became co-educational. By 1971, this school also became co-educational. Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, xx-xxv.

⁸Bill L. Weaver and James A. Thompson, "Women in Medicine and the Issue in Late Nineteenth-Century Alabama," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Winter 1981): 313.

⁹Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, xxvi.

American women had been working more than a century as non-professional healers. In colonial America women served as nurses, midwives, and practitioners of folk medicine. According to Paul Starr, most medical care prior to the nineteenth century was overwhelmingly in the hands of women.¹⁰ Midwifery was so deemed a woman's responsibility in the colonies that when a man, Francis Rayns, tried to serve in that position in 1646, he was fined by a court in present-day Maine. In addition to midwifery, women served as nurses. These medical assistants gained a reputation for their skills in healing, and, during the American Revolution as well as the Civil War, women were employed to tend the wounded.¹¹

Despite women's rich history as health care providers, nineteenth-century male physicians in the United States believed that women were physically and mentally incapable of becoming medical professionals. When Dr. Ann Preston of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania took a group of thirty-five female students to teaching clinics at the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, male students whistled, groaned, and stamped their feet in protest. Some even threw stones at the group. Although violence was not common, outright hostility toward women could be sensed in any group of male medical practitioners.¹²

Such disdain for female doctors stemmed from the belief of male physicians that a large number of American women were in some sense ill. Between 1840 and 1900, books written by physicians focused on the poor health of the weaker sex. By emphasizing women's defects, practitioners were able to argue that their activities should be confined to

¹⁰Starr, *Social Transformation*, 50.

¹¹Regina Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 12.

¹²*Ibid.*, 9.

the kitchen and bedroom. The most vocal opponent of female higher education was Edward Clarke, a professor at Harvard Medical School. In his 1873 treatise, entitled "Sex in Education: A Fair Chance for the Girls," Clarke argued that stress on the female brain would lead to the degeneration of reproductive organs. In fact, the Harvard professor claimed that if the proliferation of women in all-male medical schools continued, "wives who are to be mothers in our republic must be drawn from trans-Atlantic homes."¹³

As was the case in Europe, doctors agreed that society would decline if women were allowed to become doctors. One physician argued that woman held "to her bosom the embryo race, the pledge of mutual love." She should not pursue science, but rather should "rear the offspring and ever fan the flame of piety, patriotism, and love upon the sacred altar of her home."¹⁴ Most worried that women would abandon their "natural sphere" in pursuit of learning and forget their duties as wives and mothers. Furthermore, if a woman became a doctor, they believed that her moral principles would be compromised and that psychological weakness would cloud her judgment. As a result, abortions would increase significantly because women would be sympathetic to other women in need. Sexual relationships between men and women would decrease after having to engage in professional competition. Gender warfare would lead to hatred, and thus harmony between the sexes would dissolve. Even worse, some physicians portrayed female college students and professionals as lesbians and thus degenerate.¹⁵

¹³Ann Douglas Wood, "'The Fashionable Diseases': Women's Complaints and Their Treatment in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, (Summer 1973): 28; Also see Virginia G. Drachman, "The Limits of Progress: The Professional Lives of Women Doctors, 1881-1926," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, (Spring 1986): 63. Margaret Gibson, "The Masculine Degenerate: American Doctors' Portrayals of the Lesbian Intellect, 1880-1949," *Journal of Women's History* (Winter 1998): 88.

¹⁴Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 51.

¹⁵Weaver, "Women in Medicine," 304, 301. See also Gibson, "The Masculine

Occasionally, male physicians offered hope for women who wanted to pursue a career in medicine. Dr. J. Stainback Wilson, for instance, argued that females could be of assistance in the fields of obstetrics and gynecology, the two "most disagreeable and irksome branches" for men. Because of male disgust with this specialization, women would be allowed to fill these positions. Dr. Wilson, however, limited the parameters for women in medicine to gynecology and obstetrics only and reserved the power to revoke licenses if such "prescribed limits should be transcended."¹⁶

Opposition to female physicians was equally strong in Texas. In 1853, for example, one journalist imagined the scenario of an ill bachelor who sent for a doctor. When a beautiful, young woman doctor arrives, he forgets about his illness altogether and is unable to allow the doctor to examine him. She leaves and the symptoms of his illness immediately return. Women thus could not be professional doctors because of their sexual allure. The journalist insisted that society should only accept "prescriptions written by a masculine hand," vowing that "[I] shan't submit my pulse to any thing that wears a bonnet!" Women doctors, living in a society that feared the blurring of sexual spheres, and thus were often isolated in the communities in which they practiced.¹⁷

Despite unfavorable public and professional opinion, women such as Elizabeth Blackwell entered the profession and were able to pave the way for future women doctors. According to historian Regina Morantz-Sanchez, the growing number of women in the medical field stemmed from dissatisfaction with medical technology and general distrust of established physicians, Jacksonian antielitism, women's role in antebellum health reform,

Degenerate," 87.

¹⁶J. Stainback Wilson, "Female Medical Education," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* (January 1854): 16.

¹⁷*The Standard*, 26 March 1853, Vol. XVI, 46-47, Medical History of Texas Collection, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

and the subsequent rise of alternative medicine. More than two decades before Elizabeth Blackwell became the first female to earn a medical degree, Americans had grown disenchanted with traditional medical practices. Many felt that doctors were more interested in making money than curing illnesses, and that these professionals sold many ineffectual drugs. Heroic methods of treatment such as bleeding, purging, and puking, were both painful and dangerous. Americans also grew tired of bloodletting and calomel, neither of which seemed to improve medical conditions.¹⁸

Indeed, money more than health care motivated physicians to practice medicine, and such profit-minded individuals undermined the quality of health care. Many private physicians established proprietary medical schools in order to earn more money. These institutions provided an educational program that was far less challenging than the university-affiliated colleges of medicine. To compete for students, universities lowered their standards, and in the antebellum period, it became possible to become a doctor in less than a year. According to Morantz-Sanchez, "scores of young men held a medical degree without having witnessed a single childbirth."¹⁹

Low-grade medical schools and public distrust of physicians coupled with Jacksonian antielitism, made the profession even more unstable. Hostility to professionals became a key feature of American political rhetoric. As a result, most states by 1830 had abolished restrictive licensing legislation, thus opening the doors for more people to become practicing physicians.²⁰

Not only did medical training become more available, so also did unique methods of treating disease emerged. Because of growing dissatisfaction with more traditional

¹⁸Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 29.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 30.

²⁰*Ibid.*

practices, sectarian reformers began to compete with established physicians. According to health reformers, nature should replace artificial drugs in the healing process. Hydropaths, for instance, used water only as their medium, and avoided surgery altogether. The Botanics, later known as Eclectics, substituted chemical and mineral combination for more natural remedies. Homeopaths, on the other hand, used a variety of drugs, but did so on a small-scale basis. They worried that increased dosage might cause harmful effects and prescribed such minuscule doses that the medicines did nothing at all.²¹

Professional institutions emerged that dealt only in sectarian medicine. Such schools welcomed women students where more traditional schools rejected them. Middle-class women thus attended the institution, and the first generation of doctors often received degrees as sectarians. Because of the abandonment of licensing legislation and the proliferation of low-grade traditional medical schools, such sectarian institutions held professional status. Women who achieved a degree from such an institution earned the title of "doctor" like any person from a more traditional background. Women thus achieved professional status before standards were raised once more.

Women not only earned a position in the medical establishment through sectarianism, but also because of their work in the antebellum health-reform movement. Although women were to concern themselves with matters of the home only, the health of the household expanded to include the health of the community. Women health-reformers urged self-help in health matters, public hygiene, temperance, and dietary reform. Sectarianism was very much a part of these reforms as these women promoted hydrotherapy, strict vegetarian diets, and other alternative health remedies. The health-reform

²¹Ibid., 31. For information on these and other medical practices in Texas and the Southwest, see Billy Jones, *Health Seekers of the Southwest, 1817-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), and Gene Fowler, ed., *Mystic Healers and Medicine Shows: Blazing Trails to Wellness in the Old West and Beyond* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1997).

effort converged with other radical concerns, including women's rights and abolitionism. Health reformers also urged traditional physicians to avoid complicated language in journals to allow all classes in society access to knowledge of anatomy. One editor of the *Water-Cure Journal*, in fact, told his readers that "if you cannot understand what an author is writing about, you may reasonably presume he does not know himself."²² The role of women in this health crusade created the impetus that carried women into the established profession. Joined with general distrust of traditional medical practices and antielitism, Blackwell and others found a window of opportunity in the professional world of the antebellum period.

In the aftermath of Civil War, the enormous task of rebuilding a nation existed in microcosm in the medical world. Called by one historian "the culture of professionalism," the late nineteenth and twentieth-century medicine was characterized by scientific objectivity, reason, individualism, and careerism.²³ Women physicians tried to become a part of this world, but were segregated because of their gender. By the turn of the century, women had difficulty both receiving training, and making progress in the realm of medicine. After the Civil War, a two-year medical degree cost between six hundred and seven hundred dollars, meaning that only daughters of the elite could join the ranks of their male colleagues.²⁴ The professional class thus created was largely dominated by white, Anglo-Saxon, native-born, Protestant males working their way competitively toward material and social rewards of a professional career. Women physicians had difficulties

²²Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 34. On the water cure, see Susan E. Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

²³Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1976).

²⁴Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 96.

gaining an equal place in this professional world. Dr. Bertha Van Hoosen, for instance, attended an American Medical Association annual meeting in 1904. Although she was a highly respected surgeon and professor at the all-male College of Physicians and Surgeons in Chicago, Dr. Van Hoosen felt isolated from men at the convention. Claiming that she felt "too timid to make any new acquaintances," she expressed the common fear and inferiority that women physicians experienced when in the presence of male colleagues.²⁵

Women such as Dr. Van Hoosen were faced with the dilemma of assimilating to the medical professional world and simultaneously fulfilling Victorian concepts of womanhood. Women's differing reasons for attending medical school exhibited their inner battle with these conflicting desires. All women physicians agreed that the domestic sphere should not restrain their involvement in public service. Women such as Dr. Blackwell, however, believed that women had a unique contribution to make in medicine. She, and women like her, wanted to bridge the gap between the public and private sphere by specializing in the treatment of women and children, and believed that women's nurturing nature made them especially suitable to be doctors. Like many women's rights advocates, some women believed they could preserve and strengthen female spheres of influence within the profession by sustaining the concept of separatism.²⁶

Other female physicians voiced objections to this philosophy. Mary Putnam Jacobi, a colleague of Blackwell's and professor at the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, wished to see women assimilate as quickly as possible into all-male medical institutions. She and like-minded colleagues, who comprised a minority of female doctors,

²⁵Drachman, "The Limits of Progress," 59.

²⁶Morantz, *In Her Own Words*, 21. Also see Alice S. Rossi, *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to Beauvoir* (New York: Bantam Books, 1973). For a complete look at Blackwell's philosophy, see Elizabeth Blackwell, *Essays in Medical Sociology* (London, Ernest Bell, 1902).

believed that women had equal rights to pursue any medical specialization they desired. Even after women gained full participation in politics, education, and the professional world, their femininity would not be sacrificed. And even if women began to act like men, that, too, would be acceptable, perhaps even favorable.²⁷

Sofie Herzog's career in medicine and her personal philosophy clearly resembled that of Dr. Jacobi. Though she took a few medical courses in Vienna, her medical degree came from New York Eclectic Medical College. This allowed Herzog, like other doctors, to become a professional surgeon with an education in alternative medicine. Although this was a field dominated by men, Dr. Herzog accepted the challenge of integration, and almost dared men to question her authority. She established a private practice in Hoboken, New Jersey, independent from her husband's work at the United States Naval Hospital. It was unheard of for a woman to be a doctor, and her establishment of a private practice was even more shocking. Moreover, after her husband's death, Herzog followed her youngest daughter Elfrieda and Elfrieda's new husband, Randolph Prell, to Brazoria, Texas. In 1895 she opened a practice on the frontier and built a large clientele.²⁸ Despite such bold moves, Herzog was as quiet as Blackwell when it came to supporting an organized women's movement. Although her life experiences exemplified modern views, insatiable ambition, and thus symbolized the feminist ideal, Herzog never became a crusader for women's rights.

The product of a medical dynasty in Austria, a beneficiary of Elizabeth Blackwell's pioneering steps for female physicians, and a mother of fifteen thus became a surgeon

²⁷Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 4.

²⁸Biographical sketches of Sofie Herzog's early life are in Jones, "Dr. Sofie Herzog;" Myers, "Daring Dr. Sophie;" Linford, "Extraordinary Dr. Sophie," 10-12; Pekar, *Papers Regarding Sofie Herzog*, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; Red, *The Medicine Man in Texas*; and Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 136-139.

subject to intense scrutiny. Nothing could have prepared Sofie Herzog for the reaction of Brazoria residents to her arrival. Her remarkable life at the turn of the century made her an object of attention to her peers. When Brazorians realized that a woman doctor would be coming, they were not pleased, but nevertheless, hoped for a gray-haired, rosy-cheeked, elderly woman coming to nurture the sick. Instead, stout, ambitious Sofie Herzog, with her short hair and German accent, stepped out of a carriage, ready to face a new challenge in a new world.

CHAPTER II

SOFIE HERZOG AS PHYSICIAN: EARNING COMMUNITY, PROFESSIONAL, AND CORPORATE ACCEPTANCE

Sofie Herzog's experiences in Vienna and greater New York City did little to prepare her for small-town Brazoria and its prevailing mindset. Certainly, women in the North faced a multitude of obstacles to establishing public careers, but in the South they also faced the disruptive forces that followed in the wake of Reconstruction. The "New South" suffered from deep class divisions and racial strife. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Brazoria, like other southern communities, sought to protect its social structure from the changes threatened by black citizenship and industrial development. Although many residents of the region welcomed the wealth and prosperity that were byproducts of industrialization, others resented the heterogeneous population that also resulted from industrial growth. Most white southerners clung to a security blanket of traditional ideas; they embraced racial segregation to ensure white domination, and continued to relegate women to the private domestic sphere.¹

¹On the New South see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); idem, *Southern Crossing: A History of the American South 1877-1906* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); and George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 1967. On race relations and segregation in the New South, see Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White*

Sofie Herzog's appearance alone challenged many of the core values held by southerners. For instance, after arriving in Brazoria, she immediately ordered a seamstress to divide all of her skirts so she could ride a horse astride like a man. In addition, she tucked her short, curly hair into a man's hat and, according to contemporaries, was "fairly rough in her talk." According to Brazoria resident Adele Perry Caldwell, "the sedate ladies of Brazoria were horrified" when the doctor passed through town riding her horse like a man, an act that caused them to "peep through windows" to catch a glimpse of their unusual neighbor.² Herzog's aggressive behavior also intimidated men such as Henry Krause, who stopped by her office one day. As he stood facing Dr. Herzog at her desk, Mr. Krause noticed that he was standing on a bear-skin rug. Herzog informed him that she had killed the bear beneath his feet and furthermore possessed an extensive collection of guns. It was no surprise that Mr. Krause was reluctant to return.³ Despite gossip about her masculine appearance and demeanor, Herzog never altered her behavior, and, in fact, often seemed amused at the community's interest in her actions. It was even rumored that she bore a hole in her office wall so she could eavesdrop on conversations about her in the waiting room.⁴

Relations in the American South Since Emancipation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), and Allen Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

²Adele Perry Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 2, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Library, Angleton, Texas.

³Elizabeth Vonty, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas. Many sources indicate that Herzog refused to keep a gun of any kind and that Randolph Prell forced her to keep a fireplace poker by her side to protect herself. Current Brazoria residents, however, testify that Herzog not only kept a gun, but boasted of her gun collection to other people in town. Clyde Forrest substantiates Mrs. Vonty's claims. Clyde Forrest, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

⁴Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 2. Although residents who knew Herzog claim that

Considering Herzog's deviation from proper feminine behavior, it seems surprising that she carved a niche for herself, in the process earning the respect of community members, professional colleagues, and the railroad industry. Herzog achieved professional success in a New South community because in 1895, Brazoria, overcome by the spirit of modernity sweeping the South, was ripe for the arrival of a new physician. Herzog's success as a doctor in Texas proved that professional ability, coupled with the needs of a community, could in certain instances overcome New South attitudes toward female professionals.

The story of Herzog's assimilation into the community begins with the history and environment of Brazoria itself. Mired in the palmetto marshes of Southeast Texas along the banks of the Brazos River, the community was far from being a thriving metropolis along the lines of Hoboken or Vienna. Late nineteenth century residents boasted of their town's rich history as one of the first American settlements in Mexican territory. In 1828, Brazoria was the nucleus of Stephen F. Austin's first colony, and Austin's contemporaries predicted that this outpost would become the "commercial depot" of the world. Ravaged by cholera and later eclipsed by Houston as a trading center, however, it would never grow to the epic proportions that Austin envisioned.⁵

this was true, more than likely, this was simply a rumor spread in the wake of the wildfire of gossip surrounding the new doctor.

⁵Stephen F. Austin, "Descriptions of Texas by Stephen F. Austin, 1828," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1924): 107; E.J. Winn, "Points of Interest," 3, Brazoria County Scrapbook, 16 December 1936, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; and Julia Graves O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 14, Folio Brazoria, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas. For more information on the role Brazoria played in the Texas Revolution, see Paul Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History 1835-1836* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1992).

Though its population grew in the latter years of the century, the town had changed very little since Austin's day. The lush landscape sustained clusters of live oaks draped with Spanish moss and tangled wild grapevines. Water moccasins and alligators remained a danger in low lying areas, as did panthers and rattlesnakes farther from the river. Civilization, evidenced by the presence of wooden homes and buildings in the downtown area, had done very little to tame nature in the previous half century. Natural forces often reclaimed these homes and businesses when the waters of the Brazos flowed over its banks and hurricanes ravaged the coast along the Gulf of Mexico.⁶

If Herzog had any misgivings about moving to this part of Texas, she disguised them well. Upon arriving, she immediately established her medical practice, convincing her son-in-law, Randolph, to allow her to set up shop in his family's home.⁷ From the banks of the Brazos, the Prell household thus became Dr. Herzog's base of operation as she responded to summonses from ailing residents. She would ride her horse day and night through the Brazos bottoms, avoiding wild animals, snakes, and alligators.⁸ The small room that Randolph and Elfrieda provided her to treat patients was often crowded with the sick and injured. Eventually, Herzog enlisted her daughter Elfrieda as her surgical assistant to help with the increasing numbers of patients. Randolph, however, was not pleased with the steady stream of sick visitors invading his household, especially after his mother-in-law admitted a small pox patient into his home. Herzog believed that she could cure the patient's disease with a topical ointment before the illness threatened other family

⁶Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 74.

⁷Flora Humphries, "Brazoria Woman Doctor was one of South Texas' Most Noted Characters," *Houston Chronicle*, December 6, 1836, 8.

⁸Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 2.

members. When Randolph discovered what she was up to, he yelled so loudly at her, particularly for endangering the life of his only child, that the patient fled.⁹

Herzog was not intimidated by her son-in-law. After the patient left, she and Randolph shouted so loudly at one another that "dishes rattled on the kitchen shelves." The doctor knew that her medical knowledge was greater than Randolph's, and she refused to compromise her commitment to healing the sick. In fighting to protect her professional authority within the Prell's home, however, she had in fact exposed her grandchild to a deadly disease. In the end, Herzog did not submit to her son-in-law's authority, but instead relocated her practice to preserve what was left of their amicable relationship.¹⁰

Herzog's personal and financial autonomy, two characteristics uncommon among women of this period, afforded her the ability to build a new office and pharmacy in downtown Brazoria. The front half of the building housed her supply of drugs. Her office and examination room, as well as living quarters, were located in the back half of the building. Deer horns, rattlesnake skins, and a variety of stuffed animals adorned the walls of both drugstore and office.¹¹ The economic security brought by her earlier successful practice in Hoboken allowed her to purchase a buggy and a pair of horses. She also hired African American James Watson to keep the horses hitched and ready at all times, and entertained her neighbors by barking orders at him. Neighbors particularly remembered her frequent admonition, "James, be sure not to forget to throw the horses over the fence some hay."¹²

⁹Humphries, "South Texas' Most Noted," 8.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 39; Humphries, "South Texas' Most Noted," 8.

¹²Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 2.

This Viennese woman became a permanent, respected member of the Brazoria community despite her eccentricities, partly because the rural community so needed a doctor. Although the nearby Brazos River did not isolate Brazoria residents from civilization, a substandard road system kept many of them confined to the immediate area. The black sticky soil made travel over the few existing paths impossible after heavy rains, and, in dry weather, wagon drivers were forced to find ruts in the road and stay in them until they reached their destination. Mostly, however, what passed for roads best served those on horseback. The downtown area resembled a boggy avenue, bordered by tall weeds, wooden buildings, and occasional raised boardwalks. Such conditions attracted numbers of hogs, which "ran at large" throughout the community. Even with a hog law passed in September of 1888, the "unclean beasts" could not be kept away from the downtown area.¹³

Despite these facts, residents boasted that Brazoria possessed the most healthful climate and delightful temperature. All "poisonous gasses that cause malaria" were carried to the north by the breeze from the Gulf of Mexico, and Dr. Joseph Graves proclaimed that an "epidemic of health had seized upon the area."¹⁴ In reality, the unsanitary environment led to the prevalence of cholera, yellow fever, tuberculosis, and fatal influenza epidemics. As a result, medical facilities, though not equal to those of larger areas, were numerous in this community, which boasted five physicians and two apothecaries. Dr. Mason Locke Weems and Dr. Joseph Graves, for instance, shuttled back and forth between Columbia and Brazoria, treating humans, dogs, and livestock. Brazoria apothecaries also remained busy dispensing medicine and medical advice. C. J. Thielen and

¹³Helen Queen, interview by Hall Griggs, tape recording, 3 October 1986, Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria; *The Old Capitol* (Columbia, TX), 3 October 1888.

¹⁴*The Old Capitol*, 17 April 1887.

H. Stevens earned such respect from community members for their degree of medical knowledge and success with patients that Brazorians called them both "doctors." In 1895, then, Sofie Herzog was by no means the lone practitioner in the area, but a large number of sick people made her presence a necessity. Even after her arrival, Brazorians welcomed yet another physician, Dr. C.C. Hampil, to the community.¹⁵

Not only did the prevalence of disease make doctors like Sofie Herzog essential, but a high crime rate also necessitated skilled healers. As in every southern state, turbulence marked the end of Reconstruction in Texas. According to Adele Perry Caldwell, the presence of "hoodlumes [sic], drunkards, [and] saloons" led to tragic confrontations.¹⁶ Brazoria resident Julia O'Neal described the last two decades of the nineteenth century as "rough and ready times" when arguments were settled with pistols and petty thievery abounded in a lawless society.¹⁷

Homicide rates among blacks and whites in the South were the highest in the nation in an era in which "guns as well as life were cheap." For only two dollars, white Texans could buy a pistol known to white men as a "nigger killer." Social and racial tensions,

¹⁵O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 132; Creighton, *Narrative History*, 301.

¹⁶Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 1.

¹⁷O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 108. Though there were many violent confrontations, there were also many colorful individuals whose petty crimes kept the local sheriff busy. A certain Mrs. Lightfoot, for instance, occasionally followed her husband to work, waited in the shadows, and ambushed him with a pistol, demanding money. One African-American woman, remembered only as Millie, would frequently wander around the downtown area intoxicated, singing hymns at the top of her voice. Joining Millie were young white men in the community who were frequently reprimanded for disturbing the peace. After drinking excessively on a Sunday morning, several boys wandered through the city singing loudly and interrupting church services. One church supper prompted a dozen young men to "serenade" the ladies with "drunken swearing and whooping like a drove of wild Indians." O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 101, 4; Quotation taken from *The Old Capitol*, 22 September 1888.

when combined with lethal weapons, led to frequent conflicts in barrooms and on the streets as men became engaged in political debates, or became enraged because of some imaginary breach in codes of race and honor.¹⁸ For instance, a shotgun shell settled an argument between Dr. F. A. Tomkins and Randolph Day when Day attempted to move "Old Mott," a black resident of Brazoria, into a home next door to Dr. Tomkins. Tomkins tried to walk away from the argument, but Day shot him in the back, killing him.¹⁹ In the African-American community of the late nineteenth century, crime was equally common. An argument between Meridy Holmes and Zack Harvey led to Harvey's death and Holmes' imprisonment. In a separate case, two black men settled a dispute with a fence rail and butcher knife when a pistol could not be found. On this occasion, Dr. Graves spent the afternoon stitching up the wounds they inflicted on one another.²⁰

The escalating degree of violence after Reconstruction and the scarcity of qualified physicians made Sofie Herzog a necessity, but it took more than her skills to ingratiate her to Brazoria residents. Herzog first had to earn the trust of Brazoria's elite residents, and did so primarily through her association with Randolph Prell, the owner of the local general store and an established citizen of Brazoria. By allowing his mother-in-law to set up shop inside his home, he gave Herzog legitimacy in the eyes of Brazoria residents. Her

¹⁸Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 155.

¹⁹Ethel Pack, interview by Hall Griggs, tape recording, 9 June 1986, Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

²⁰*The Old Capitol*, 29 September 1888. Murderers were rarely threatened by the possibility of capital punishment. On rare occasions when the death penalty was enforced, however, spectators crowded around the outside of the jail. On February 2, 1893, Brazoria exercised the first legal hanging in the county when Frank Holland was executed for the murder of Steve Cravey. Those who could not fit inside the grounds along the perimeter of the jail peered over the eight foot fence to see Holland die for his crimes. Sheriff Bob Yerby, a friend of Holland's, carried out the execution and became the second fatality of the day when he shot himself in the Williamson saloon. Descriptions of executions found in O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 94.

association with him brought a stamp of approval from one of Brazoria's elite and helped to build her reputation when she came to the community.

Just as important to her acceptance, however, was her adoption of prevailing cultural norms, particularly in regard to race. When she first established her practice, the majority of her patients were people who could not afford to go to any other physician. Though Brazoria residents were in need of medical services, Herzog had to establish legitimacy before white, upper-class community members would go to her for medical care. This often meant that she treated African Americans, Mexican Americans, and poor whites. In building her clientele, Herzog displayed no inhibitions about treating persons of color. Nor did she expect low-income patients to provide payment upon delivery of medical services. Joaquin Silva, for instance, owed Herzog almost two hundred dollars in January 1899 for treatments rendered one year earlier.²¹

Although she treated both African and Mexican-American patients, Herzog did not cultivate a relationship with them based on equality. In Brazoria, doing so would mean losing respect among white upper-class residents. This small Texas town was like many in the South at the turn of the century. A system of charity in exchange for racial dominance

²¹O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 124; Memo on Dr. Sofie Herzog's Letterhead dated 26 December 1898 in Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas. The African-American and White population outnumbered the Mexican-American population significantly. On the culture and communities of Mexican Americans in Texas and the Gulf Coast, see Arnoldo De Leon, *The Tejano Community, 1836-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); idem and Kenneth L. Stewart, *Tejanos and the Numbers Game: A Socio-Historical Interpretation of the Federal Censuses, 1850-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); Emilio Zamora, *The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1993); and Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). According to De Leon and Stewart, the number of Mexican Americans living in the area around the Brazos River was far lower because in Brazoria, "a 'deep south' heritage flourished." In fact, blacks outnumbered whites in Brazoria, and the Hispanic population was small. De Leon, *Tejanos and the Numbers Game*, 18.

defined the paternalistic relationship of white and black Brazorians which existed in the 1880s and 1890s. Like other residents, she interacted with African Americans, but certain racial boundaries remained inflexible. One example of her paternalism toward black residents was revealed in her dealings with John Williams, an "intelligent" African-American patient. Perhaps because of Herzog, Williams traveled from Brazoria to attend Tuskegee and took a class taught by Booker T. Washington. At the end of his life, an interviewer approached him about the state of health care in Brazoria at the turn of the century. Williams was reminded of Dr. Herzog, and began to weep. According to the elderly man, she was much more to him than just a doctor. He indicated that because of her wealth, admiration for intelligence, and desire for others to succeed, Herzog extended the encouragement and financial support that enabled Williams to receive his education.²²

At other times, class interests alone allowed Herzog to overlook color. Her daughter Stephanie married Jesús De Silva of a prominent Mexico family, lived in Mexico, and had three children: Jesús, Francisco, and Sofia. Probably because of De Silva's upper-class standing in society, Herzog accepted his ethnicity.²³ For the most part, however, she viewed people of color as her inferiors and did not treat them as equals. At a medical association meeting, she complained that "negroes shoot every chance they have"

²²Dortha Pekar, conversation with author, author's notes, Brazoria Community Historical Museum, Brazoria, Texas, 20 February 1999. For further discussion of the experiences of blacks in the South see Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980); idem, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998); and James Smallwood, *Time of Hope, Time of Despair: Black Texans During Reconstruction* (Port Washington, New York: National University Publications, 1981). The antebellum roots of paternalism are discussed in Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *American Historical Review*, vol. 34 (October 1928); and Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).

²³Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman," 8. The importance of class identity versus color identity explored by David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); and Foley, *White Scourge*.

and, therefore, she was called out frequently to tend to their medical needs.²⁴ Residents remembered her teasing one African American man about being a "black scoundrel" whose laziness would one day cause his death.²⁵

By adopting the prevailing rules of race, Herzog earned the respect of white community members and professional physicians. Many doctors shared similar, paternalistic views about race, and others took an even more radical stance. Ferdinand Daniel, former president of the State Medical Association of Texas and editor of the *Texas Medical Journal*, wrote an article in 1904 that described African Americans as beasts who hated whites and would do anything to rape and mutilate white women. He wrote that blacks were "only partly educated, lazy, often idle and dissipated . . . corrupt and bad, [and] allowed to associate with dissolute white women." Daniels believed that equality of the races was frightening. According to the physician, a black individual with social rights would ignore "torture and certain death staring him in the face" and become "the rape fiend, the negro sadist, [and thus]wreak his vengeance and spite on some innocent child and gratify, in that unnatural manner, his abominable lust."²⁶ In Daniel's professional opinion, the only way to stop the black male rapist was to remove his "witnesses of manhood," i.e., castrate him.²⁷

Herzog never wrote such a racist diatribe, and her relationship with African and Mexican Americans reflected a more paternalistic attitude. Often, southern elites found

²⁴*Southwestern Medical Record*, no date or volume number is given. Dr. Herzog read her speech in December, 1896, so more than likely, this was the first issue published near the end of 1896 or beginning of 1897.

²⁵Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 2.

²⁶Ferdinand E. Daniel, "The Causes and Prevention of Rape," *Texas Medical Journal*, (April 1908): 8.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 11.

themselves caught between two worlds. Some, like Daniels, allowed their emotions to get out of hand, joined lynching parties, and even helped to facilitate acts of violence against blacks as a way to bolster white authority. Others, like Herzog, feared that mob violence and racial brutality would lead to disrespect for the law and result in social chaos and class conflict. Such "emotional justice" undermined the preservation of status among the white elite. Herzog and others like her, though clearly racist, did not resort to fear tactics, but rather paternalism to ensure white domination.²⁸

Even more important than acceptance of racism to earning professional respect, however, was her background. Southern doctors had tremendous admiration for northern medical associations and European medical schools. In 1871, the northern region of the United States had a total of twenty-seven medical journals. In the South, of ten new journals created after the Civil War, only five remained in 1871. Four of the five were inferior to their northern counterparts, causing southern physicians to continue throughout the nineteenth century to patronize northern publication companies because of their long-standing academic reputations.²⁹

Professional medical societies were also scarce in Texas. After the Civil War, physicians organized city, county, regional, and state societies to establish both social authority as credible professionals and to share their expertise. The first was organized in July of 1865 in Galveston. The Galveston Medical Society, as it came to be known, prompted the creation of other county societies across Texas, and minutes of their meetings

²⁸The variety of manifestations of racism in the nineteenth-century South is discussed by Peter W. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 224.

²⁹Records from *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, 19 December 1871, Transcripts Relating to the Medical History of Texas, Vol. XVII, 18, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

were printed in both journals and newspapers. A statewide group did not exist until 1869, when Thomas Jefferson Heard, Greenville S. Dowell, and John H. Webb organized twenty-five other doctors to form the Texas State Medical Association. By 1909, the TSMA had 3,100 members. Southern societies were thus at the preliminary stages of development in a period when northern organizations were thriving.³⁰

Herzog's origins in Vienna and her former practice near New York City gave her credibility in the less developed South and earned her the respect of her peers despite her gender. She knew how important her European roots were to Texas doctors and, as a result, she boasted at medical conferences that she had studied in Vienna. Although she had taken whatever medical courses were available to women in Vienna, she actually graduated from New York Eclectic Medical College. To people in Brazoria, she made that clear, but among medical colleagues, she gave misleading statements about her educational background.³¹

Herzog also won medical respect because she refused to be intimidated by male colleagues. Unlike many other professional women, she was a permanent fixture at many Texas medical association meetings early on. She belonged to at least five professional organizations, including the Texas Medical Association and the South Texas Medical Society. She was also a vocal member of the local Brazoria County Medical Association, and colleagues reported that her "interesting cases . . . provoked general discussion." Herzog proudly displayed buttons from all five societies on the brim of the man's hat she

³⁰"Medical Associations," *Handbook of Texas Online* (accessed 15 September 1999) available from <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/index.html>. Well into the twentieth century, more specialized medical organizations both in the North and South replaced larger, general organizations. The Texas State Medical Association died as a result of such formation of splinter organizations.

³¹"Woman Surgeon, 70, Owns Necklace of Extracted Bullets," *South Texas Medical Journal*, 31 (October 1915), 163.

wore on calls in Brazoria and to medical conventions. Before 1905, she had become the first vice-president of the South Texas Medical Society, and, at one point she even met the famed Charles Mayo of the Mayo Clinic.³²

Herzog's presence alone at these organization meetings was unusual indeed. At the turn of the century, the only women at these medical conferences were physicians' wives. Slowly, doctors entertained the idea of allowing women to join their ranks. In 1915, women medical students at the University of Texas Medical Branch invited all women physicians in the state to an open house at the university. In 1916, *The Texas Medical Journal* reported on the meeting to make other professionals aware of the strides women were making in the field of medicine. Afterwards, the presence of female doctors at medical association meeting became more commonplace.³³

Not only did Herzog attend meetings long before it was considered acceptable for women, but she used these gatherings to voice her objections to corrupt practices in the field without inhibition. For instance, she opposed the law that required medical examinations before one could obtain life insurance. Every time a person was examined for life insurance, they paid a doctor five dollars. When a friend or relative of a doctor was examined, he or she always received a favorable report. The entire system, according to

³²Ibid., 164; Membership form found in Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Houston Academy of Medicine, Texas Medical Center Library, Jesse H. Jones Library Building, Houston, Texas. Membership in the local Brazoria County Medical Association covered in *The Angleton Times*, 18 November 1910; Herzog's introduction to Charles Mayo described by Bobbie Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman for All Seasons," no date given, Brazoria County Museum, Angleton, Texas, 7. Sofie Herzog's acceptance by these medical organizations was unusual indeed. Most women professionals were made to feel unwelcome despite their training. Both male and female folk healers were excluded entirely. Some professional physicians even attacked one *curandera* "Mother Lane" of South Texas. Hunter, "Mother Lane," 290-324.

³³Pat Ireland Nixon, *A History of the Texas Medical Association, 1853-1953* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953).

Herzog, was corrupt and needed to be abolished. Despite support of the policy by male physicians eager to accept any form of monetary compensation, she did not hesitate to condemn the practice.³⁴

Herzog also had no qualms about sharing her medical expertise with colleagues, and male physicians felt confident about her abilities. The editor of the *Texas Medical Journal* printed a complimentary description of Herzog that claimed that few physicians in the state boasted such a large practice as hers.³⁵ Because of his and other male colleagues' respect for her, in December 1896, almost two years after her arrival in Brazoria, she was invited to deliver a paper to the South Texas Medical Association in Galveston on the practice of bullet removal. After living in Brazoria for only twenty-two months, Herzog had removed lead bullets fifteen times and buckshot twice. Her procedure, though unusual, was quite effective, and she claimed that in her lifetime she had failed to find only two bullets. She explained that the principal reason for her success was that she first asked the person where he or she was standing when the bullet entered the body; then she ascertained whether the gun was a Winchester model or a pistol. She would then place her finger in the entrance of the wound in the direction that the bullet had taken, and, most often, found the lead on the first attempt at removal. If this proved unsuccessful, she would wait, and the heavy bullet would eventually gravitate toward the entrance of the wound.³⁶

The unique nature of Herzog's technique was further revealed when she described her method of extracting bullets that had entered the abdomen. She would place her patient in a contraption which hoisted the person off the ground. With the patient in this

³⁴"Woman Surgeon," 164.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Southwestern Medical Record.*

hanging position, his back facing the ceiling, the bullet would be pulled down by gravity. She first tested the procedure on a fourteen-year-old boy who had shot himself in the abdomen with a .22 slug while cleaning his rifle. After another doctor had failed to find the bullet, Herzog closed the wound with cotton, put the patient in a hanging position, two inches above the bed, and administered hypodermic injections of cocaine to numb the skin surrounding the wound. One day later, she removed the cotton with a "*quick pull* [Herzog's italics]" and the bullet fell out with the cotton.³⁷ She then closed the wound with stitches, and applied a bandage. In one week, the boy recovered from his wound. When a twenty-eight year old man was shot only days later, Herzog used the same procedure, and was again successful. To test the procedure yet again, she used what was called a "Feuhrer Probe" on her next patient. Though she could feel the bullet with this probe, when she went to remove the slug, it slipped from her grasp, and she failed to retrieve it. Such probing was not only unsuccessful, but also left behind portions of clothing, gun wadding, and other extraneous material. Herzog thus concluded that her methods were far more successful than traditional practices. According to Herzog, to that day the seventeen men who had undergone her procedure were well and "ready to shoot as well as be shot at any time."³⁸

By wearing a necklace of twenty-four lead plugs, all of which had been taken from patients, Herzog displayed pride in her success at removing bullets. A gold chain

³⁷Herzog's practice of healing bullet wounds was quite a departure from procedures used in earlier days. In the nineteenth century, doctors recommended washing the wound with cold water, binding it with wet cloths, and administering medicine which rendered a perspiration. When inflammation was allayed and the wound was cleansed, a bandage was applied to keep wounds away from the air. Samuel Thompson and H. Hickox, "New Guide to Health or Botanic Family Physician," Athens: 1833 in Transcripts Relating to the Medical History of Texas, Vol. XVII, 28, 72, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

³⁸*Southwestern Medical Record.*

connected these small trophies which she wore at all times for luck. Before her death, she requested that the bullet necklace be buried with her. The item represented her skill as a surgeon and thus was a measure of her success as a female working in a field dominated by men.³⁹

Herzog continually conducted research to improve her knowledge of the human body. She preserved malformed fetuses she had delivered in Brazoria as well as still-born children. She could be found many days examining her collection to add more information to her ever-growing medical knowledge. Research specimens preserved in jars filled with alcohol filled a shelf in her office. Residents of Brazoria found this practice particularly disturbing; it gave community members one more story to tell about the doctor's strange hobbies. After Herzog's death, the people who bought her office immediately removed the jars, and late one night, gave them a proper burial under a large oak tree.⁴⁰

Herzog's acceptance by colleagues and her community extended to the corporate world, particularly the company that built a railroad through Brazoria. The St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railroad Company brought a rail line through Brazoria in 1903, finally establishing a link for Brazoria residents to greater Texas.⁴¹ The tragic byproducts of this connection to the outside world were the injuries and deaths suffered by the laborers

³⁹Jones, "Dr. Sofie Herzog;" Myers, "Daring Dr. Sophie;" Linford, "Extraordinary Dr. Sophie," 10-12; Red, *The Medicine Man in Texas*; and Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 136-139.

⁴⁰Humphries', "South Texas' Most," 8.

⁴¹The St. Louis, Mexico, and Brownsville Railroad Company was founded by Uriah Lott in January 1903 with the purpose of connecting Texas to the Yucatan Peninsula. The company never realized its dream, but, nevertheless, completed three phases of the construction process: the first track connected Brownsville to Corpus Christi; the second connected Robstown and Bay City, a town thirty-five miles west of Brazoria; the third linked Bay City to Houston. This third phase brought the rail line through Brazoria. See J. L. Allhands, *Railroads to the Rio* (Salado, Texas: The Anson Jones Press, 1960), 63.

who laid the tracks. A 1910 annual report of the rail line reported expenditures of \$157,110 on injuries to laborers. For example, William Barry mashed his foot when repairing a pilot bar on an engine cylinder head. While placing a cog wheel on a pile driver during bridge construction, John G. Campbell caught his finger in the contraption which crushed his bones. Estacio Martinez had his foot broken when building tracks, and brakeman Andrew Jackson suffered from burns to the face, hands, body, legs, and feet when a lantern fell to the floor and ignited vapors from empty oil barrels. Jose Matildo faced a similar experience when lighting a fire in the engine of a train; a gas explosion severely burned his face. Often young children were injured or even killed when working for the railway company. Ray Robinson, apprentice in an oil shaft, realized too late that his work clothing became caught in a machine. Unable to free himself, Robinson was wound around a line shaft and killed instantly.⁴²

In the initial stages of construction, the danger posed to laborers along the rail line, though extreme, often escaped the attention of company administrators who had profits in mind. It was not until 1904, when a train de-railed and injured construction supervisor Sam Robertson, that the rail line decided to hire a company physician in order to maintain productivity. When the company official was thus inconvenienced and profits were threatened, the need for a chief surgeon on call became apparent.⁴³

Herzog had already fulfilled this role informally by answering calls from the railway construction site near Brazoria. Railway officials noted the efficiency with which she treated sick and injured workmen. Herzog would ride on handcars, train engines, or use any other form of transportation that gave her speedy access to an injured laborer. Rube Chandler, for instance, had his foot crushed by a passenger train. His foot was in such

⁴²St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railway Company, Annual Report for 1910, Special Collections, Lorenzo De Zavala Library, Austin, Texas, p. 89.

⁴³Allhands, *Railroads*, 63.

poor condition that Herzog had to amputate it.⁴⁴ When in 1907 a position was advertised for the appointment of chief surgeon for the railway, Herzog applied and won the job, despite being the only female applicant.⁴⁵

Although Herzog's new position gained her notoriety, the excitement was short-lived.⁴⁶ When Eastern officials of the railway heard that a woman had been appointed to the post, they asked for her immediate resignation. Despite her medical skills and past experience, conventions of gender prevented her from being treated as a professional surgeon, and the company subsequently deemed her unfit to perform such "masculine" duties.⁴⁷ Undaunted by the company's statement, Herzog held her ground. She insisted that she be given a chance to perform her duties; if railway administrators found her performance unsatisfactory, they could then dismiss her. She also insisted that she be given no special consideration because she was a woman, but demanded equal treatment.

⁴⁴*The Angleton Times*, 10 February 1911.

⁴⁵Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 4; Humphries, "South Texas' Most"; "Only Woman Medic for Big Railroad", Newspaper clipping, no author, date, or title given, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas. The reason Sofie Herzog chose to make these emergency calls is unknown. All sources indicate that she already had a thriving practice and that this may have been simply an expression of her adventurous spirit. Son-in-law Randolph Prell owned the general store and was a respected member of the community. It was Herzog's association with Prell which initially helped gain her legitimacy among community members.

⁴⁶Newspapers throughout Texas listed Sofie as the first woman surgeon in the United States to be employed as a physician by a railroad. This may not have been true. Carrie Lieber-Marwin, an 1881 graduate of a Chicago medical school, became a contract surgeon with a railroad company and treated patients within a two hundred-mile radius shortly after she received her medical degree. Regina Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 149.

⁴⁷Saunders, "Brazoria Woman", 2.

After much debate, railway officials awarded her the position. Herzog proved to be a satisfactory company surgeon, and she remained in that post until her death.⁴⁸

Regional newspapers claimed that the laborers along the rail line adored their new company doctor. After her death, editors wrote that railway workers initiated a movement to build a monument to the memory of Herzog. Claiming that her "professional skill and tenderness endeared her to all the [railway] force," workers from "section hand to 'general super'" wanted to prove her assistance would never be forgotten.⁴⁹

Whether out of posthumous respect, or whether paving the way for a new doctor, these reports were possibly exaggerated. Newspapers were often in the hands of company bosses, and Herzog was likely perceived by many workers as a tool of management.⁵⁰ Traditionally, company doctors were disliked by both laborers and other physicians. Workers resented the payroll deductions that supported such doctors since they felt already underpaid for their work. Furthermore, laborers often preferred to go to physicians of their own choice. When employees were injured at the job site, medical evaluations often determined their compensation award; understandably, they distrusted physicians who were paid by the company. Physicians also looked down upon doctors who chose to be employed by a corporation. Though most professional organizations saw the need for contract practice in remote areas, they regarded most of this work to be a form of

⁴⁸"Memorial to Brazoria," 1, 2, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas; Saunders, "Brazoria Woman," 6, 7.

⁴⁹Newspaper clipping in Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

⁵⁰According to Gregg Andrews, local newspapers were often so deeply absorbed with boosterism, they interpreted industrialization in a way that "robbed . . . workers of their very humanness." By promoting the company and thus company doctors, editors lost sight of problems faced by laborers. Gregg Andrews, *City of Dust: A Cement Company Town in the Land of Tom Sawyer* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996) 73.

exploitation of workers. Alice Hamilton, a physician and toxicologist who played a prominent role in exposing dangerous working conditions in the early years of the twentieth century, once claimed that "for a surgeon or physician to accept a position with a manufacturing company was to earn the contempt of his colleagues."⁵¹

Herzog's position as a company doctor thus presented a barrier to her acceptance by both the Brazoria working class and to some degree her professional colleagues. Some laborers found it difficult to trust her or any person who worked for company bosses. For instance, when Herzog hosted a grand opening celebration for a new hotel in Brazoria, she was met with gunfire. A "demented woman," believed by some community residents to be a certain local resident known as Mrs. Lightfoot, shot at the doctor. Apparently, only days earlier, Herzog had told Mr. Lightfoot that he could not go back to work, and Mrs. Lightfoot, known for ambushing and robbing her husband on previous occasions, reacted violently to the news. The bullet lodged in a wall only inches from Herzog's head, but according to one witness, Julia O'Neal, Herzog never lost her composure and later laughed about the event.⁵²

Dr. Sofie Herzog continued to practice well into her seventies and remained for the most part in good standing with Brazoria's elite, some working-class community members, professional colleagues, and the railroad corporation. In the last few years of her life, she even extended the boundaries of her practice. With the purchase of a Ford Run-About automobile, she was no longer reliant on the services of James Watson and the horse and buggy. In addition, she married a wealthy Brazoria resident, Marion Huntington.

⁵¹Starr, *Social Transformation*, 202-203.

⁵²O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 35; Humphries, "South Texas' Most Noted," 8.

Randolph Prell had to feel some measure of relief knowing that he now had assistance in curbing the ambition and obstinacy that consumed his headstrong mother-in-law.⁵³

Brazoria residents, male medical professionals, and the St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railway Company accepted Sofie Herzog despite the traditional belief that women should remain bound to the domestic sphere. Though many of her experiences represent a deviation from proper feminine behavior, Herzog was by no means an active feminist. Her actions were instead motivated by personal goals. At times, Herzog's elite values alienated both the working-class and minority groups in Brazoria. The need for her skills, her tireless devotion to maintaining the well-being of the community, and her assimilation of the dominant values espoused by that community, however, led the white upper class to overlook what they saw as her eccentricities.

Dr. Sofie Herzog's devotion to patients did not prevent her from succeeding as wife, mother, and grandmother. She successfully combined a public career with the responsibilities of the domestic sphere in an era in which most of her contemporaries thought it impossible to do so. Moreover, although most Brazoria women accepted their domestic role, Herzog attacked the duties of both the domestic and professional spheres with equal passion. At the same time, while she suffered some of the same hardships and pleasures experienced by many other women, her experiences in the realm of domesticity would, like her role as a physician, deviate from the norms of that era.

⁵³*The Angleton Times* (Angleton, TX), 27 June 1919.

CHAPTER III

FROM BULLET NECKLACE TO FINE DIAMONDS: BALANCING CAREER AND FAMILY WITH THE CULT OF TRUE WOMANHOOD

No matter what her accomplishments might be, the nineteenth-century woman was little in the eyes of her peers unless she had successfully raised a family and kept a household. The perfect wife and mother was pure of heart, submissive to her husband, nurtured her children, and never challenged the confines of the domestic sphere. It was this notion of true womanhood, promulgated by men and women, that guided the decisions of women across the United States and Europe well into the twentieth century. Preservation of this ideal home and family became an outright necessity particularly during periods when the existing social hierarchy was threatened by political crisis or industrial change. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Brazoria residents witnessed a campaign to bring new businesses and immigrants to their community, the subjugation of a large African-American population through paternalism, racial segregation, and racial violence, and a loss of political power due to the relocation of the county courthouse. Turn-of-the-century Brazoria thus experienced the highs and lows of modernization. In this unstable environment, preservation of gender values became paramount.¹

¹A number of historians focus on the separate spheres ideology and the Cult of True Womanhood. For a thorough discussion of gender relations in the nineteenth century see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (summer 1996): 151-174; Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); and Idem, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's*

Between medical conventions and housecalls, it would seem that Dr. Sofie Herzog embodied all that society feared: a woman whose reckless pursuit of a public career would weaken the formidable walls of the home and disrupt the entire social structure men had worked so diligently to maintain. Unlike many women of her day, Herzog did not allow the prevailing social mindset to stifle her professional ambitions. She pursued an advanced degree and built a thriving medical practice in both Hoboken, New Jersey, and Brazoria. Although such dedication to a professional career seems impossible to reconcile with traditional values and preconceptions of a woman's proper place, the female doctor did not see her career in the public sphere as being in opposition to these traditional values, but rather at one with respect for the home and family. Herzog maintained a balance between professional and domestic responsibilities and thrived on the authority she wielded in both spheres.

To understand her ability to accomplish this balance, it is necessary to explore the effects of her Austrian background on her concept of womanhood, and the extent to which gender notions in the United States influenced her decisions. Her life as mother, grandmother, and wife, and the extension of her motherly attributes to the community not only illustrate Herzog's experiences in the domestic realm, but also connect the Austrian physician to a philosophy of nurture espoused by many women's organizations interested in social reform. While Herzog's profession and appearance contradicted the image of woman constructed by nineteenth-century society, her occasional submission to this image and Brazoria's need of her medical skills won her the admiration of both men and women in her community.

Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). On the South, see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).

Sofie Herzog was first exposed to the prescribed limits of her sex in Vienna, Austria. Much like in the United States, women in nineteenth-century Austria were considered to be excessively emotional and, as a result, able to fulfill only the roles of wife and mother. Viennese society demanded women's complete subjugation to men's wishes and devotion to family.² As a young girl, Sofie seemed to embody the virtues of this proper Austrian woman, and, at the age of only fourteen, married August Herzog, chief physician at a Vienna hospital. Social acceptability of prospective brides and grooms was imperative for members of the Austrian upper-class, and, therefore, it was essential for Sofie to marry someone of a similar social standing. August Herzog, who had a medical degree and an excellent reputation in the medical community, would be deemed an acceptable suitor by Sofie's father. Likewise, August would find Sofie, a child of a medical dynasty, a suitable mate. This upper-class match thus met all the standards of Austrian propriety.³

Young Sofie would soon learn the enormous responsibilities of married life. As a married woman in Vienna, her political rights existed only through her husband. In nearby Germany, women could not vote, join political parties, or attend public meetings where political issues were discussed. If a woman chose to work outside of the home, sign a contract, or engage in any litigation, she must have a man's permission. Furthermore, children in all marriages were under the full control of the husband, as was all property.

²Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany: 1894-1933* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976), 26.

³In Germany, the economic status of brides was reviewed before soldiers were allowed to marry. In both countries class standing determined the suitability of marriage partners. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 23. Sandra M. Petrovich, "Dr. Sofie, Surgeon: A Woman Overcomes a Man's World," Folio Herzog, May 5, 1992, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

The situation for women in Germany was similar to that of Austria, and Sofie found that she possessed few rights as a woman in any European country.⁴

Before Sofie Herzog came to the United States, however, attempts were made to improve the status of women, although few were successful. For example, John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* reached the German and Austrian audience in 1869. This work demanded equal rights for women and the removal of all legal restraints on their ability to act as free individuals. Despite these demands, Mill's work did little to spark an organized Austrian women's movement.⁵ This area of Europe was not dominated by the middle classes, did not have a parliamentary constitution, and was comprised of government officials who emphasized subservience to the ruling class. In Herzog's society, in which pre-industrial notions of honor, social standards, and moral codes still prevailed, the legal position of women in nineteenth-century Europe had little chance for improvement.⁶

Gender constraints not only prevented women from achieving political equality, but also denied them the opportunity to pursue an advanced education. Women in Austria were refused admittance to all professional schools and only allowed into domestic arts programs in universities. As a result, Herzog may have attended a few courses in midwifery while she lived in Austria, but could not become a physician. Some Austrian women, however, challenged this system by disguising themselves as men and earning

⁴Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 10-12. Compared to other countries of western Europe, the introduction of women's studies in Austria has been particularly slow. See Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, "The State of Women's History in Austria," *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*, Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson, and Jane Rendall, eds., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 279.

⁵Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 2; John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1988).

⁶Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 8.

medical degrees. Herzog never had this option because after her marriage, her near-constant state of pregnancy would have ruined the disguise. Between 1861 and 1875, she gave birth to fifteen children including three sets of twins. With her large family and confinement to the domestic sphere, there was little to differentiate Herzog from other proper Austrian women.⁷

When Herzog came to the United States, she found that women faced many of the same constraints as did women of Austria. The American woman was supposed to be "ever timid, doubtful, and clingingly dependent; a perpetual child" while men were to remain the doers, the movers, and the actors in society. The home was expected to be a cheerful place because a woman would not want her husband or son to have to look elsewhere to find comfort.⁸ If a woman did venture beyond the domestic sphere, her behavior in public was severely restricted. Nineteenth-century etiquette manuals cautioned women to walk slowly "in a modest and measured gait" turning their head neither right nor

⁷U.S. Federal Manuscript Census, 1910, Brazoria, Brazoria County; Names of surviving children found in Bobbie Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman for All Seasons," 8, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas; and Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 1. After Sofie Herzog left Austria, conditions were slow in improving. By 1896, more than fifteen years after she travelled to the United States, women made up thirty-two percent of the labor force, but held no professional positions. Men's work required an education only men could receive while women's work was considered less strenuous, physically and mentally, because it conformed to women's physical capacities and dispositions. John C. Fout, "The Viennese Enquete of 1896 on Working Women," *German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Ruth- Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 47. Ten years later, little had changed. According to Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character*, "feminine" was synonymous to "motherly" and "masculine" meant "creative." Females in Austria remained tied to the domestic sphere, and this separate spheres ideology remained popular well into the twentieth century. In fact, Weininger's work, published in 1904, went through eleven editions in only five years, and its influence was widespread. Information on Otto Weininger found in Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 183.

⁸U.S. Federal Census, 1910, Brazoria, Brazoria County; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 159-160, 163.

left.⁹ Loud talking or laughing in public was deemed unladylike as were casual relationships between women and men. According to the dictates of proper middle class society, such familiarity led to "disrespect, disrespect to vulgarity, vulgarity to indecency to vice, and vice to misery."¹⁰

The legacy of such antebellum propriety clouded the 1880 United States into which Sofie Herzog arrived. Her experiences in Austria prepared her for these gender constraints, and, in many ways, she still believed that her role as wife and mother came before all else. There were differences in America, however, and one of these was the fact that a woman could attend a medical school and receive a formal education. According to the cult of true womanhood, a woman's gentle touch and unending patience made her instinctively skilled to perform the function of nurse to her family.¹¹ Women such as Elizabeth Blackwell and Mary Putnam Jacobi had extended this concept into the public sphere, eventually opening the door for such women as Herzog to pursue professional careers in medicine. Despite these advancements, however, many male physicians were reluctant to accept female graduates into their ranks. In addition, the American public had difficulty accepting women as health care providers. Nor did most Americans believe that women could successfully balance career responsibilities with those of the domestic sphere.¹²

⁹John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 124.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 128.

¹¹Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 163.

¹²On women's struggle to achieve admittance to the professional medical realm, see Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*; Starr, *Social Transformation*, 50; Regina Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*.

When Herzog realized that she could pursue her dream of practicing medicine, she ignored these critics and decided to raise a family and pursue an education simultaneously. Most women could not accomplish this goal because of the high cost of higher education and because pregnancies confined them to the home. Unlike the majority of women, however, Herzog was of the upper class and could afford to hire others to take care of her household while she went to school. Sofie and August hired four Viennese servants and one tutor, whose passage they paid to the United States, to teach and care for their children. It was only because of her wealth that she was able to leave the domestic sphere and enter the professional workforce.¹³

After receiving a degree from New York Eclectic Medical School, Sofie opened a medical practice in Hoboken, relying on the services of private tutors and housekeepers. She was thus able to enjoy her large family and build a thriving practice without jeopardizing either responsibility. Her son Alfred followed in his parents' footsteps and became an eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist as well as a brain surgeon in New York, but the rest of the children moved to various parts of the United States.¹⁴ Sofie's youngest child, Elfrieda, moved to Texas. After Sofie's husband died, she became lonely in Hoboken and lost interest in her medical practice without her family. When Elfrieda announced that she was pregnant and invited Sofie to live with her in Brazoria, Sofie was eager to move to Texas and pursue a new role as a doting *gros mama*.¹⁵

¹³Saunders, "Brazoria Woman," 6.

¹⁴Alfred, in fact, earned quite a reputation in New York City. He became a member of the Medico-Legal Society of New York. Originally established in the 1880s, this society sponsored activities which would make both physicians and lawyers more familiar with medical jurisprudence. The society in New York published the *Medico-Legal Journal* of which Alfred Herzog served as chief editor until his death. Chester R. Burns, "Medical Ethics and Jurisprudence," *The Education of American Physicians: Historical Essays*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 281.

¹⁵Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman," 7.

Turn-of-the-century Brazorians were accustomed to the placing of strict limitations on women, and had witnessed few females who chose to move beyond the role of wife and mother. Bound to the domestic sphere, a woman's duty was to maintain the household and keep her husband satisfied.¹⁶ In fact, one Brazoria man claimed that women had been "petted until [they were] quite spoiled" and thus needed to "pet" men instead.¹⁷ Despite his contention, most women lived according to countless rules enforced by this male-dominated society. For instance, they were instructed not to go shopping before breakfast, but to send their children or husband to pick up any grocery items that they might need. Pregnant women were discouraged from leaving their home altogether. When Julia O'Neal's mother, a turn-of-the-century Brazoria resident, stepped out to visit a friend and her husband discovered her absence, he gathered his friends to search the town for her whereabouts, and scolded her for her dangerous, inconsiderate act after she returned home safely.¹⁸

Women were not only expected to be wholly domestic, but, to be deemed successful, marriages in Brazoria had to produce children. When Annie Terry, a deaf woman, agreed to marry John Smith, several Brazoria residents told John that a woman who could not hear should not be a mother and thus had no right to get married. John succumbed to the pressure and ended the engagement. In light of Brazoria residents'

¹⁶A thorough description of the separate spheres ideology as it pertains to Texas is provided by Evelyn M. Carrington, ed., *Women in Early Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1994).

¹⁷*The Old Capitol*, 7 April 1887.

¹⁸O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 131; *The Old Capitol*, 17 December 1887; 21 April 1888.

expectations of women, it is no surprise that community members were shocked when they found out that their new doctor was female.¹⁹

When Herzog came to Brazoria, her profession alone made her an anomaly, but her attire even further distanced her from society's conventions. Upper-class Brazoria residents believed that women should carry themselves properly, dress in the most fashionable styles, carry calling cards, and play the piano.²⁰ In Brazoria, like the rest of the United States, a woman's appearance symbolized her reputation as a proper lady. In one nineteenth-century case when a young lady expressed admiration for the idea of women wearing bloomers or trousers, a male authority figure quickly admonished her for being so bold. He complained that trousers are "only one of the many manifestations of that wild spirit of socialism and agrarian radicalism." The woman immediately backed down from her argument and preserved her delicacy by continuing to wear a dress.²¹

Brazorians imagined that their new woman doctor would be a rosy-cheeked, elderly lady wearing a bonnet and petticoats who would delight in nursing the sick and delivering babies. Instead, they received a highly skilled surgeon prepared to treat serious illnesses and bullet wounds, and who wore a split skirt, a bullet necklace, and a man's hat pressed down over short curly hair. Even though her wardrobe violated dress codes of the proper woman, Herzog was not completely immune to society's constructs of femininity. When not on emergency medical visits, she seemed to become a different person. Her masculine attire was often replaced by black silk skirts and white blouses when visiting friends. Herzog also enjoyed displaying her wealth by wearing a massive amount of jewelry.

¹⁹O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 94, 12, 177.

²⁰Ibid., 38.

²¹Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 157.

Joining her bullet necklace were large diamonds that glittered on every finger when she walked along Brazoria's mud roads.²²

Even with the occasional appearance of a more feminine Sofie, the female doctor behaved with far too much audacity to gain the immediate acceptance of proper ladies in society. Women were considered delicate creatures and that delicacy was expressed in the language and behavior of Brazoria women around men and around one another.²³

Herzog, on the other hand, enjoyed shocking people, particularly men. For instance, she delighted in teasing Ed Roeller by telling his sister, Louretta, to tell him what a mean person he had been to her, but how she loved him just the same.²⁴ In 1908, Herzog sent Mr. Roeller a series of three postcards stating that she hoped to see him fifty years later with a 65-year-old wife, one dozen children, and two dozen grandchildren.²⁵ In Herzog's eyes, Ed Roeller may have been a potential beau, but judging by her familiarity with many Brazoria men, Roeller may have been just a close friend. For instance, another male friend of hers was Colin Campbell. When Dr. Herzog was called to see a patient at Hawkinsville, Campbell drove her to the scene. On their way back to Brazoria, eight miles from their destination, he passed the reins to Herzog while he rolled a cigarette. Just as Campbell handed her the reins, the front wheel of the cart ran off the edge of the bridge they were crossing and he fell head first into the slough. The cart was not driveable, the sun had

²²O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 38, 39 and Eulalie Crosland, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

²³A thorough description of the separate spheres ideology as it pertains to Texas is provided by Evelyn M. Carrington, ed., *Women in Early Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1994).

²⁴Postcard, 7 August 1898, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

²⁵Postcards, July 15, 1908. Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

gone down, and heavy rain began to fall. Sofie suggested that he fix the wagon, but Colin did not know how, and when Colin suggested they ride, Sofie refused because she was not wearing her usual split skirt. As a result, they began to walk. Sofie led the way with her lantern and heavy satchel of medical instruments while Colin followed leading the horses. Two miles later, they found a cabin where residents helped fix their cart, and they finally arrived in Brazoria at 5:30 AM. Sofie told residents the next day that if Colin had not felt the need to smoke a cigarette after every mile there would not have been a problem at all, and, in turn, Colin Campbell swore that he would never accompany Sofie on another call.²⁶

Colin Campbell and Ed Roeller were only two of Herzog's many male acquaintances, and upper-class Brazoria women were not pleased with the familiarity she was able to develop with their husbands. They imagined that she used terrible language and told bawdy stories to various men. Some people speculated that Herzog in turn had drilled a hole in her office wall to hear what visitors were saying about her.²⁷ Nevertheless, Brazoria women, like Brazoria men, gradually accepted Herzog and welcomed her medical skills. In fact, her entertaining personality won her many female friends. One of these was long-time Brazoria resident Mrs. Gussie Bray. Herzog frequently sent postcards to Mrs. Bray indicating an interest in maintaining their friendship.²⁸ She also corresponded frequently with Louretta Roeller and Ethel Combs, inviting both Velasco women to visit her in Brazoria.²⁹

²⁶"Memorial to Brazoria Woman Doctor Would Be Tribute to Picturesque, Self-Sacrificing and Useful Career," July 29, 1925. Newspaper title not available, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

²⁷O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 38.

²⁸Postcard, August 4, 1910, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

²⁹Postcards to Lauretta Roeller dated January 1, 1908 and March 10, 1909;

Although Herzog did make many female friends, it was apparent that she failed miserably to meet the standards of a proper lady, particularly when it came to submissiveness. Herzog's treatment of a smallpox patient in her son-in-law's home and her subsequent refusal to abide by Randolph's wishes was only one of the many occasions when she refused to be intimidated by men. Not long after her arrival, this obstinate Austrian woman found the Catholic cemetery in a horrible state of neglect, ignored all male authority over the church grounds, and went about making the necessary improvements despite their objections.³⁰ John Albrecht, a Brazoria resident who drove a hack between Brazoria and Columbia, also felt the brunt of one of her attacks. Dr. Herzog claimed that while riding in his hack, she had sustained an injured leg. He insisted she had not, and told residents that Herzog only limped when she saw him in town. To incite her even more, Albrecht also began to limp every time he saw her.³¹

Despite her obstinacy and audacity, Herzog tried to meet the responsibility of being a good mother and grandmother. According to Brazoria residents who knew her beyond the practitioner's office, the Austrian woman had a dual personality.³² She was a doting grandmother who frequently boasted about her nine grandchildren, especially her son

Postcard to Ethel Combs dated March 10, 1907. Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

³⁰Marie Beth Jones, "Brazoria's Lady Doctor-5," *Brazosport Facts*, February 15, 1961.

³¹O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 19. According to Julia Graves O'Neal, Dr. Herzog filed a lawsuit against John Albrecht, but the Brazoria County Courthouse has no record of this case. Judging from Herzog's temperament, a lawsuit was only threatened, for she had no monetary reason to sue and no permanent injuries were sustained.

³²"Memorial to Brazoria Woman Doctor Would Be Tribute to Picturesque, Self-Sacrificing and Useful Career," July 29, 1925, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

Alfred's two children Ramona and Valeska.³³ If listeners ever appeared to be growing anxious in the middle of her story, Herzog would explain that because of her profession she could not be with her family as often as she would like, and, therefore, needed to talk about them. She would then laugh a little and continue with her latest tale despite the impatient looks of her captive audience.³⁴

Brazoria women understood Herzog's obsession with talking about her family. Herzog was not immune to the pain of losing a loved one. Like many women of her period, she had been dealt much tragedy when it came to her children. Eight of her fifteen children had died in infancy, and to add to her grief as a mother, Rene and Raul, her youngest set of twins, died on a trip from Hoboken to Austria and were buried at sea. After many years of living in Brazoria, Sofie nursed Elfrieda as she lay dying of cancer, and buried her daughter not long before her own death. Only four of her fifteen children survived their mother: Eugenie, Nolda, Stephanie, and Alfred.³⁵ Many Brazoria mothers could share Herzog's sorrow. They knew that even though men believed women to be the weaker sex fit only to attend to the needs of the home and children, the numerous responsibilities of the domestic sphere were not for the feeble. Women worked all day and often continued working long after their husbands and children went to sleep. Julia O'Neal complained, for example, that over the years her mother worked so hard that she lost her

³³Her daughter Stephanie married Jesus De Silva of a prominent Mexico family, lived in Mexico, and had three children: Jesus, Francisco, and Sofia. Her daughter Eugenie married, but had no children, and Nolda married and adopted one child. Elfrieda Marie had four children: Randolph, born in 1895, Sofie Christine, Furnis, and Elfrieda Marie; Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman," 8.

³⁴"Memorial to Brazoria Woman Doctor Would Be Tribute to Picturesque, Self-Sacrificing and Useful Career," July 29, 1925. Newspaper title not available, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

³⁵O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 39.

sense of humor. Between the loss of loved ones and the never-ending duties of the home, the tragedies inherent in being a wife and mother made a sense of humor a rare attribute.³⁶

Herzog poured her energy into what remained of her large family. When not treating patients, she kept her hands occupied by crocheting or doing needlework. Her crochet basket remained near the desk in her office, and she always tried to find opportunities during the day to work on afghans, doilies, and shawls for her children and grandchildren.³⁷ Herzog also combined career and family responsibilities by frequently writing to her relatives. She sent letters letting her family know how busy she was and how much she missed their company.³⁸ At times she enlisted friends to help take her Brazoria grandchildren to the latest social function. In one letter, Sofie asked her "dear friend Julia" to take her granddaughter Sofie to Mrs. Ella Ribeau's. Herzog said she was "always busy" and regretted having to miss the trip.³⁹ When her work as a physician interfered with spending time with her family, she often combined the two. On at least one occasion, she took a grandchild with her to a medical convention. Sofie Prell Harang attended one convention with her grandmother, who introduced the young girl to the famed Charles Mayo of the Mayo Clinic.⁴⁰

³⁶*The Old Capitol*, 14 July 1888; O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 12.

³⁷Anastasia Pidd Miller, "Sofie Herzog, M.D.: Lady Railroad Doctor in Texas," Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Houston Medical Center Library, 4; Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 78; Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman," 7.

³⁸Dortha Pekar, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

³⁹Postcard November 11, 1906, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

⁴⁰Saunders, "Brazoria Woman," 7.

Because of her busy days and nights, Herzog seldom left the Gulf Coast region of Texas to visit her children and grandchildren in other parts of the world. On one occasion, Jesús, Francisco, and Sofia came from Mexico with their parents, Jesús and Stephanie De Silva, to visit their grandmother. Herzog had never met these grandchildren and looked forward to their visit. Unfortunately, there was a slight communication barrier when she discovered that the children knew no German or English. The Spanish-speaking children, however, grew close to their grandmother on this visit and were amused by her frequent German tirades.⁴¹

Herzog proved to critics that combining a career and family was possible at a time when many women in Brazoria and elsewhere began to question the boundaries of the domestic sphere. When she arrived in Brazoria, a women's movement had already begun to foment. In the South women used secular and religious organizations to gain power outside of the home.⁴² In Brazoria, ladies of the upper class hosted china-painting socials and sewing parties, and wives of Masonic Lodge members would often attend Eastern Star meetings. More common, however, were the women's associations affiliated with churches in Brazoria. The Methodist Women's Missionary Society sponsored weekly prayer meetings on Thursday afternoons. On Friday nights, the ladies of the Episcopal Church met to discuss fund-raising activities for their church. In all of these organizations, women held leadership positions and made decisions about the future of their institutions.⁴³

⁴¹Marie Beth Jones, "Brazoria's Lady Doctor-5," *Brazosport Facts*, February 15, 1961.

⁴²For a comprehensive analysis of women's work beyond the domestic sphere to promote social reform see Judith McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1819-1918* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998); and Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones, ed. *Women and Texas History* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993).

⁴³O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 125, 56; Creighton, *Narrative History of Brazoria County*, 305-306. On china painting, see Cynthia A. Brandimarte, "Somebody's

Women's organizational meetings served as vehicles for social reform which culminated in the movement to prohibit the consumption of alcohol. As early as 1844, the seeds of temperance had been sown; by the 1880s the ladies of the Episcopal church would make an all out attempt to curb the consumption of alcohol in the community. Even more illustrative of the future of Brazoria women in the realm of temperance reform was the presence of a hotel owned by Carry Nation only eight miles from town. After leaving the area in the 1880s, this hatchet-wielding prohibitionist became a nationwide symbol of the violent crusade against alcohol consumption. Her stepson, Oscar Nation, lived in Brazoria and kept residents informed of her temperance tours. Even with this activity, Brazoria male residents remained unprepared for the prohibitionist sentiment that was soon to threaten their saloons and amplify the voices of women in local affairs.⁴⁴

Nor did Brazoria men support granting women the vote. When *The Old Capitol* newspaper printed an article on women's suffrage, the editor's concluding comment was, "don't they suffer enough now?" Despite this humorous attempt to avoid a subject that was a central political issue by the end of the nineteenth century, Brazoria men recognized that the suffrage movement was a consequence of modernity. *The Old Capitol*, in fact, endorsed the cause of women when female orators expressed the need for social reform in other parts of the country. For instance, *The Old Capitol* printed an article on Mrs. Ashton Wilke from England who represented "advanced women" and spoke at an international women's conference in Washington. The newspaper also reported on Susan B. Anthony's crusade to organize women's suffrage clubs.⁴⁵

Aunt and Nobody's Mother: The American China Painter and Her Work, 1870-1920." *Winterthur Portfolio* 23 (Winter 1988): 203-224.

⁴⁴*The Old Capitol*, 11 August 1888; Creighton, *Narrative History*, 312; Ethel Pack, interview by Hall Griggs, tape recording, 9 June 1986, Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

⁴⁵In many parts of the United States, men combated the idea that a woman was

Although Herzog was an unconventional woman, there is no evidence that she joined the woman suffrage movement. She was unique in Brazoria because of her ethnicity and her profession, and she was an upper-class woman who prided herself on being a good mother and grandmother as well as running a successful medical practice. Herzog's commitments to family and career left her little time to partake in organized movements.⁴⁶ Still, she led a life that symbolized women's demands during this period, and she taught these values to her daughter Elfrieda. Women who abided by the Cult of True

suitable to vote or hold public office by pointing to the experiences of a Kansas town. In 1897, a community there conducted an experiment in which their city government was placed in the hands of women. Within the next year, it was said that the town went bankrupt and its affairs were in such hopeless confusion that at the next election, former councilmen were called in to remedy the situation. John Rouse Larus, *Woman: In All Ages and All Countries* (Philadelphia: Rittenhouse Press, 1907), 380. *The Old Capitol*, 30 June 1888; *The Old Capitol*, 14 April 1888; White men had reason to believe women would not advocate their own political advancement. Many Southern white women were interested in maintaining the social hierarchy and believed suffrage for women would increase rights for African Americans. As a result, they were opposed to the acquisition of political power. The work of anti-suffragists is described by Elna Green, "'Ideals of Government, of Home, and of Women': The Ideology of Southern White Antisuffragism," in *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South*. Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Theda Purdue, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, eds. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994); Also see Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding*. By 1915, a women's movement had begun in Europe as well. While American women pressed for voting rights during this period, the German slogan for the women's movement was "Mutterschutz" ("Protection for Mothers"). According to Kay Goodman, these movements were like two eyes of one face because each possessed an independent perspective, yet combined to yield a common vision: equal rights for women. Kay Goodman, "The Concept and Misuse of Women's Energy, 1895-1905," in *German Women*, Joeres and Maynes eds., 111. *The Old Capitol*, 14 April 1888 and 17 December 1887.

⁴⁶Furthermore, Brazoria like the rest of Texas, was being affected by women's organizational efforts in the rest of the United States. Frances Willard made a temperance tour through Texas as early as 1882, and gradually, women began to form their own organizations to stimulate social reform based on national models. James Ivy, "The Lone Star State Surrenders to a Lone Woman': Frances Willard's Forgotten 1882 Texas Temperance Tour," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 (July 1998): 44-61.

Womanhood believed that they should train their daughters to cook, clean, and be domestic. Subservience to husbands and dedication to the responsibilities of home were essential.⁴⁷ Herzog, however, did not live by these rules, and she taught Elfrieda that she was a separate entity from her husband. In Austria, as in America, property and other possessions were commonly held by the man of the household. When Herzog decided to transfer some of her land to Elfrieda, she charged her daughter only one dollar and put the land in her daughter's name only. In deed records she stipulated that this land was not to be jointly held by Elfrieda and her husband.⁴⁸

Herzog's belief that a woman should not be dependent on her husband was a sentiment many women shared at this time. This sentiment may have been connected to the increasing divorce rate of turn-of-the-century society. In fact, John B. Watson, a psychologist of this period predicted, "In fifty years there will be no such thing as marriage."⁴⁹ Brazoria residents also witnessed many divorces. In court records, Robert Smith claimed that his wife Charlotte left him to search for a younger man. Margaret Edison abandoned her husband Henry because she said that she grew tired of "his cruelties and outrageous mistreatment." Napoleon Phillips never saw his wife again after she left their home following an argument, and Eadie Samble left her husband and moved in with

⁴⁷Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 167. Proponents of the cult of true womanhood believed that "the marriage night was the single great event of a woman's life, when she bestowed her greatest treasure upon her husband, and from that time on was completely dependent upon him, an empty vessel, without legal or emotional existence of her own." Ibid., 155.

⁴⁸FolioPrell, Randolph, Deed Records, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

⁴⁹Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 108.

Shed Barnes. These and countless other marital disputes permeate court records from this period.⁵⁰

Sofie Herzog, however, asserted her independence within her marriage. According to nineteenth-century images, the husband ruled over the home and all economic transactions, and the wife ruled over her husband's emotions.⁵¹ Herzog's marriage defied this norm. First of all, she openly admitted she would marry again only for money. When Marion Huntington, a wealthy Brazoria resident, began to express interest in the 65-year-old Dr. Herzog, she told friends that she would consent to be his bride only if he gave her \$50,000 dollars, a diamond ring, and an automobile.⁵² Others of her generation would gasp at such a bold statement, for they had been taught that women should "choose only the high road of true love and not truckle to the values of a materialistic society." Even though many women married according to class interests, the "proper" woman would never admit to using this as a litmus test for suitable bachelors.⁵³

Herzog may have been joking when she made this statement, but her new husband was one of Brazoria's wealthiest men. Marion Huntington was a widower who had been married to Elizabeth Nancy McNeel, daughter of a wealthy Brazoria resident. After her death, he married Anne Roane, a descendant of Governor Archibald Roane of Tennessee.

⁵⁰Smith divorce case number 9849, tried in January 19, 1910; The Edison case number 9848 was tried in February 1910; Phillips case number 9847 was tried on September 12, 1910; and Samble case number 9830 in 1908. Records obtained through District Clerk's Office, Civil Court Case Minutes, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas.

⁵¹Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 171.

⁵²O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 39.

⁵³Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 171. The idea that women were not to "tarnish the image of marriage by viewing it in pragmatic, economic terms" is also discussed by Gregg Andrews, *Insane Sisters Or, The Price Paid for Challenging a Company Town* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 53, 82.

He and Anne had two daughters and a son, and lived at Ellersley Plantation eight miles from Brazoria.⁵⁴ When he and Herzog married on August 23, 1913, Marion gave his third wife a diamond ring and an automobile just as she had requested. In fact, Dr. Herzog became one of the first people in Brazoria to have one of the Ford Runabouts, and one of the few women to drive. The man who sold her the vehicle taught her how to handle this new piece of modern technology, and soon afterwards, residents spotted her driving back and forth from Ellersley Plantation to Brazoria to treat patients and visit friends.⁵⁵

Herzog's new marriage did not diminish her independence; on the marriage certificate the "Mrs." was crossed out and replaced by "Dr." She made it clear in many other ways as well that she was both a professional and an independent woman.⁵⁶ For instance, she hyphenated her surnames after marriage. If she was ever mentioned in newspapers, it was always as Dr. Herzog-Huntington, and the same held true in 1920

⁵⁴Saunders, "Brazoria's Woman," 7. At one point Ellersley Plantation had been the home of John Grenville McNeel. Elizabeth McNeel had been the daughter of Leander McNeel and in this way the estate had come to Marion Huntington. In antebellum years, it was considered one of the finest homes in Texas and possessed a cotton gin, sugar mill, hospital, blacksmith shop, brick overseer's house, and brick slave cabins. During the late 1890s, fire consumed the main home, and Marion and Anne converted the hospital into a residence. A hurricane destroyed this residence. The family then moved into the former overseer's house which was made into a large, two-storey home. The overseer's house itself made up only the dining room and kitchen of this new structure. It was this home in which Sofie Herzog would spend the rest of her life as Huntington's wife. Allen Platter, "Educational, Social, and Economic Characteristics of the Plantation Culture of Brazoria County, Texas" Dissertation, University of Houston College of Education, August 1961, 110.

⁵⁵Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 4.

⁵⁶Marriage of Marion Huntington and Sofie Herzog, August 23, 1913, Marriage License Record, License #126, vol. 8, p. 63, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas. In fact, even in Herzog's correspondence to friends, she signed letters "With love, Dr. Herzog." Sofie's title was thus very much a part of her identity. Folio Herzog, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

census reports.⁵⁷ When Sofie and Marion sent out Christmas cards to Brazoria friends, they were engraved, "Dr. Sofie Herzog Huntington and Her Sugar wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year."⁵⁸ Even more indicative of Sofie's views of gender is the fact that the couple had a prenuptial agreement drawn up. According to the legal document, all of Sofie's property, including all profits from that property, would remain separate from her husband's accounts.⁵⁹

Herzog's role as wife and mother thus anticipated many reforms advocated by women's organizations. As historian Judith McArthur indicates, women's reform often began with cleaning up the community as well as protecting and educating local youth.⁶⁰ Here, too, Herzog was aligned with the goals of women's organizations. She believed that it was her responsibility to help educate Brazoria youngsters. The only way to do so, she believed, was to continue to add to her own body of knowledge and pass it on to young visitors. Herzog's favorite subjects of research were the wild creatures of the area. According to Adele Caldwell, a Brazoria resident who knew Herzog, the female physician particularly enjoyed studying snakes. African-American men from the community would bring in a variety of snakes which Herzog would skin at a barn near her home. After allowing the skins to dry, she mounted them on red satin ribbons and displayed them in her

⁵⁷The Angleton Times, July 4, 1919, Angleton, Texas; U.S. Federal Manuscript Census, 1920, Brazoria, Brazoria County.

⁵⁸O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 39.

⁵⁹Prenuptial Agreement, 28 August 1912, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas. One year before Sofie's death, Marion Huntington drew up a will which preserved this financial separation. His will stipulated that all land be left to his son, George, and the remainder of his estate to be shared equally between his two daughters, Ruth Huntington DeWalt and Katherine Huntington. Will, Probate Record, No. 2229, State Of Texas, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas.

⁶⁰McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*.

office, which became something of a museum for young residents. The snake she most favored was the rattler, whose rattles she exhibited in her office. Randolph Prell warned Herzog that dealing with snakes was dangerous and advised her to stop this hobby immediately. As was the custom in their relationship, she argued with Randolph and then proceeded to ignore his warnings. One day, however, Herzog developed a rash and swelling that consumed her entire body, and was rushed to Houston on the St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railroad to see a skin specialist. The physician confirmed that excessive handling of poisonous snakes had caused the rash and prescribed an ointment to treat her condition. Herzog survived the ordeal, but it is doubtful that she ever admitted to her son-in-law that he was correct.⁶¹

In addition to her museum of snake skins, Herzog also had quite a collection of alligator skins. Remnants of reptiles adorned her office walls and she frequently carried an alligator handbag. Like its owner, the purse was unique in that Herzog left the feet of the alligator on the handbag. These feet dangled from the side when she carried the interesting accessory.⁶² Unfortunately, this hobby also caused trouble when, on Herzog's request, an African-American man brought a seven-foot alligator into her office. Both she and the person who captured the creature believed that the alligator was dead, because it lay very still in the office. After the man had left, however, the alligator began to move. Herzog crawled up onto her bed, held a shovel and a pistol, and watched the creature until it crawled out an open door.⁶³

⁶¹Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 75; Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 3.

⁶²The alligator handbag is on display as a part of the Sofie Herzog collection at the Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

⁶³Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 3.

Other parts of Herzog's collection were decidedly less dangerous. She had an assortment of stuffed birds and animals as well as a collection of walking canes.⁶⁴ She used her knowledge of her collection to teach youngsters about these many creatures and objects, although, occasionally, she, too, was stumped. One day a young African-American boy by the name of Clem came into her office with a strange creature that neither he nor Herzog had ever seen before. The live creature had a long nose, hard shell, and rodent's tail. She went directly to her collection of books and found that the animal was an armadillo, a fairly recent inhabitant of Southeast Texas.⁶⁵

Like Clem, many Brazoria youngsters felt comfortable approaching the physician with their questions, and Herzog frequently cleared off a stool in her office for inquisitive children. For instance, Clyde Forrest, a young girl who delivered medicine for Herzog, shared many mornings talking to the physician and benefited from her knowledge.⁶⁶ Both children and adults borrowed books from Herzog's extensive collection, which functioned as an informal library for the community. To keep track of her books, she wrote a number in the left corner of each work.⁶⁷

Herzog contributed to the education of Brazoria youths not only with her knowledge, but also with financial support. Adele Caldwell described her as "very kind . . . to the underprivileged," a woman who "gave generously of her time, money, and talent to

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁵Dortha Pekar and Malcolm Hoefle, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

⁶⁶Dortha Pekar and Clyde Forrest, conversation with author, 20 February 1999, author's notes, Brazoria Community Historical Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

⁶⁷Dortha Pekar, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, authors' files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

help her fellow man."⁶⁸ According to her granddaughter, Sofie Prell Harang, Herzog provided many Brazoria youths, like John Williams, with the money necessary to pursue a formal education. Williams, as well as many other young Brazoria residents, were quietly helped by both her guidance and her financial aid.⁶⁹

Herzog was one of the few women who dared to reach for a sense of authority in the masculine world while preserving the ideals of family that she, like other women, held dear. Certainly, she moved beyond what was expected of women who in the nineteenth century were warned "don't trample on the flowers while longing for the stars."⁷⁰ Her pursuit of a career was unique indeed and a product of both her determination and the financial ability to obtain a professional degree. Her undaunted behavior in the Brazoria community was often resented by male and female residents who expected women to remain in their proper role; particularly in Brazoria, many feared that modern changes threatened the existing social structure. Nevertheless, Herzog ignored critics and continued to balance her work as a physician with her work as mother and grandmother. By both expressing pride as a mother and achieving a degree of independence from the home, Herzog proved that womanhood did not preclude success as a professional.

The Austrian physician was not content, moreover, to occupy only the positions of physician and mother. The authority she gained by saving lives and curing illnesses eventually evolved into an even greater sense of autonomy in the community. Swept up in the tide of town boosterism to help restore Brazoria's antebellum prosperity, Herzog became a part of the industrial forces that were reshaping the community. Her wealth and

⁶⁸Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 5.

⁶⁹Saunders, "Brazoria Woman," 7; Dortha Pekar, conversation with author, 20 February 1999, author's notes, Brazoria Community Historical Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

⁷⁰Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 160.

energy were thus channeled to fledgling businesses as she became a Brazoria entrepreneur. Once again, Herzog began a new chapter in her life. Her role as a small-town businesswoman would place her far beyond society's expectations in regard to a woman's ability to succeed outside the domestic realm.

CHAPTER IV

JUST WHAT THE DOCTOR ORDERED: VISIONS OF NEW SOUTH PROSPERITY, SMALL-TOWN BOOSTERS, AND SOFIE HERZOG THE ENTREPRENEUR

From the time of Sofie Herzog's arrival in Brazoria in 1895 until her death in 1925, the South was torn between cotton field and factory. Atlanta newspaper editor Henry Grady and his "forward-thinking" contemporaries wanted to lead Southerners out of their agricultural past and into the industrial future. Encouraging ex-Confederates to join the commercial and industrial North in achieving economic prosperity, Grady advocated the creation of a "New South" that would offer new economic opportunities for the white man. A large number of people in the United States, particularly in the South, discovered that they could not succeed in this industrial world. Southern Populists claimed that industrialism had brutalized the labor process in the North and had eliminated the simple amenities of life such as hospitality, religion, and family life. Denouncing credit merchants, railroads, trusts, and capitalists, Populists warned fellow southerners to avoid the many temptations of the "New South," and urged them to rely on agriculture as the base of their economy.¹

¹On Grady's vision of the New South, see Ayers, *Southern Crossing*, 15-16. For further explanation of the Populist movement, see Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 27. By 1930, scholars like Frank Owsley and Robert Penn Warren echoed the arguments of populists and socialists, but from a far more conservative political stance. Their agrarian platform is in Donald Davidson, John Gould Fletcher, H. B. Kline, et.al., *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1930). Robert Penn Warren recanted his

It is impossible to know which course Brazoria residents would have taken had they possessed the benefit of hindsight, but, at the turn of the century, Brazoria's elite embraced the "industrial gospel" that Populists so deplored. Since the 1880s, elite Brazoria residents had been in the midst of a campaign to rejuvenate their ravaged, post-Civil War economy. Seeking northern capital to build industry and new settlers to foster community growth, businessmen welcomed Sofie Herzog. As we have seen, Dr. Herzog's medical skills made her an asset. Moreover, the wealth she possessed made her a potential investor in Brazoria's future. The escalating degree of boosterism in Brazoria, coupled with poor conditions in the community, made Herzog's money a much needed commodity. Her purchase of large tracts of land and the establishment of a variety of institutions, including a hotel, church, new office, and library were in line with the spirit of municipal housekeeping and New South rejuvenation. The subsequent failure of Brazoria to achieve economic parity with larger Southern and Northern communities led some to question the value of industrialism altogether, however. Herzog often met opponents who were not sold on her idea of progress. Nevertheless, like Andrew Carnegie, Herzog continued to make money, profit from cheap labor, and seemingly give others the opportunity to pursue the same life through building libraries and other institutions. This industrial world, however, kept lower-class white, black, and Hispanic residents trapped in a subservient position, and limited the opportunities for residents who based their livelihood on agriculture.

agrarian philosophy at the height of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement as evidenced in his book *Who Speaks for the Negro?* (New York: Random House, 1965). Frank Owsley continued to hold the same stance and, in fact, elaborated on his agrarian philosophy in *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949). Not all scholars agreed with the agrarian stance. According to C. Vann Woodward, there were two divergent axes of thought: New South liberal and Old South Agrarian. These two camps Woodward named the Vanderbilt Agrarians vs. Tar Heel Liberals. C. Vann Woodward, *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1986), 18.

At the turn of the century, Brazoria resembled many small, backwater Texas towns. Though there was a sizable merchant class in the heart of the community, the majority of inhabitants based their livelihood on agriculture. Surrounding the town were the remnants of sprawling antebellum plantations and small farms. The average size of farms in the county in 1890 was 324 acres, but the majority of farmers had less than one hundred acres of land under cultivation. Larger farms were mostly composed of the remnants of antebellum plantations, and Sofie Herzog's marriage to Marion Huntington connected her to this group of people. Before the Civil War, eleven thriving plantations had existed in the county, six of which were in the immediate Brazoria area.²

Though shorn of slave labor by 1865, Brazoria planters continued to prosper. Plantation owner J. Calvin McNeill, for instance, rebuilt his ravaged business, and by the 1880s, reclaimed his title as the county's most prosperous cotton producer. Small farmers also survived. Some tended silk worms, and most cultivated corn, wheat, and cotton as well as persimmons, cabbages, tomatoes, and pumpkins. I. J. Allison bragged in 1888 that with the assistance of his wife and four sons, he gathered twenty-seven bales of cotton, 1,600 bushels of corn, and owned twenty head of meat hogs. Continued economic success of both large and small farmers earned Brazoria the distinction of being the "banner sugar producing spot on God's footstool." As the New South took shape, however, some Brazorians displayed pride in their agrarian roots and did not totally approve of industrialization and the different lifestyle it would bring. Populists thus attempted to protect the large and small farmer. The Brazoria County Farmer's Alliance tried to

²The McCormick, John Sweeny, Winston, Levi Jordan, Mims-Fannin, and Ellersley Plantations all existed in Brazoria. For descriptions, see Cynthia Lancaster, "Life Along the San Bernard," *Image* (Spring 1998), 18-26; and Cheryl Wright, "I Heard it Through the Grapevine: Oral Tradition in a Rural African American Community in Brazoria, Texas" (M.A. thesis, University of Houston, 1984).

persuade state legislators to support measures that would boost agricultural production such as the exemption of farm implements and teams from taxation.³

While an agricultural economy flourished in the countryside, within the town merchants found consumers for their wares. Profits from sales of imports made Brazorians aware of the potential of industrialization, and, as more money was made, the number of merchants increased. Dr. Herzog's son-in-law, Randolph Prell, entered into a successful partnership with M. B. Williamson as owner of a dry goods establishment. Six other stores were scattered throughout the area including Melgaard's, Turk's Meat Market, Ahren's, J. S. Mitchell and Son, Gier's, and Smith Brothers. All the merchants benefited from Brazoria's location along a river route, particularly Smith Brothers, whose warehouse backed up to the Brazos River. Other merchants located their businesses along River Road, a major passageway to Columbia, a town eight miles north. Although seven stores certainly offered enough products, peddlers also frequented the town with an assortment of unique items, including large supplies of "folk medicines and miracle drugs."⁴

White upper-class residents of Brazoria searched for an economic boost that would allow them to compete with neighboring communities. Wealthy Brazorians knew that the only way to build an industrial economy was through internal improvements that would attract businesses and white immigrants. Some citizens believed that improved educational standards were key to community development. As a result, residents wrote letters to the state senators and representative to secure an increase in teacher pay.⁵

³ "Census Data from the year 1890," *Harvard Census Data*, (accessed on 18 February 1999), available from <http://fisher.lib.Virginia.EDU/cgi-local/census/bin/census/cen.pl>; *The Old Capitol*, 19 May 1888, 13 October 1888, 14 July 1888. Reports on the Farmer's Alliance can be found in *The Old Capitol*, 20 October 1888.

⁴O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 1; Quote on 143.

⁵*Ibid.*, 16 February 1889.

Many community members, however, realized that Brazoria's isolation was its most critical detriment. Some residents lobbied the state government for funds to build a more favorable road system and continued to urge railroad agents to lay track through the town.⁶ Those interested in transforming Brazoria society into an industrial area suggested harbor improvements that would give the county "the most accessible, safest harbor on the whole coast of Texas."⁷ Plans to develop a port began with elongating the banks of the river by building stone piers. By so doing, the depth of the Brazos in its most shallow area would be twenty-five feet. Those who supported the expensive measure did so because they believed that the port would transform Brazoria into a prosperous trading center. According to the editor of *The Old Capitol*, "biz is going to whiz between Houston and the Brazos docks" if the harbor was completed, and he predicted that this development alone would bring a railroad and white immigrants into the community.⁸ Moreover, as merchants realized the prosperity of the port, Brazoria would become "an opulent city, the metropolis of the southwest."⁹ In fact, community members offered their unanimous support to "deep water at Brazoria" candidate W. H. Crain in his 1888 bid for a seat in the House of Representatives.¹⁰

⁶*The Angleton Times* (Angleton), 27 December 1907. The importance of the railroad to Brazorians is found in *The Independent*, 26 August 1881.

⁷While the "deep water controversy" is discussed in many papers throughout the year 1888, the most comprehensive report is in *The Old Capitol*, 11 August 1888. Quotation taken from *The Old Capitol*, 21 April 1888.

⁸Descriptions of the construction of the harbor found in *The Old Capitol*, 4 August 1888; Quotation from *The Old Capitol*, 24 November 1888.

⁹*The Old Capitol*, 13 October 1888.

¹⁰*The Old Capitol*, 11 August 1888. Brazoria never gained the harbor many residents so desired. The community would be eclipsed by Houston as a commercial center and later in the twentieth century, Freeport would gain the prosperity brought by harbor developments.

The impetus to move from agriculture to industry became more apparent when the town lost its authority in county politics. The court house had stood in Brazoria since 1836, when the community was declared the permanent seat of government. As the county's population grew, residents recognized the need for a centrally located courthouse with better land access and less primitive conditions. In 1891, voters were given the option of moving the seat to Velasco or to Angleton, the geographical center of the county. Both propositions were defeated in August of that year, but the obvious need for a better location to keep up with the changing times led to another contest in October of 1896. At this point, voters chose to move the courthouse to Angleton, a community twenty-four miles from Brazoria.¹¹

Although improvement was essential in this state of decline, Brazoria residents could only attract a railroad industry. The St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railroad Company built a rail line through their community in 1904. This event more than any other generated the energy that sent Brazoria into what one journalist called "townsite fever." This economic boost allowed many, including Sofie Herzog, to test their fledgling wings in business ventures as businessmen sought more settlers to help them build a shining city.¹²

Some upper-class Brazoria residents had been pressing for changes well before the removal of the county seat to Angleton. Brazoria's crusade for modernity was advanced in the 1880s and 90s by businessmen who wanted to benefit from the economic prosperity of industrialization. Ignoring the social ramifications of industrialization, entrepreneurs forged

¹¹When county workers demolished the Brazoria courthouse in the twentieth century, the building materials were used to provide all weather roads through town. This was ironic since lack of transportation in and outside of the city was one of the many arguments for removal. Creighton, *Narrative History*, 299.

¹²Marshall Monroe, *Houston Chronicle*, 27 August 1922.

ahead with campaigns designed to attract visitors who would help make Brazoria "bloom like a green bay tree planted by the side of . . . the Brazos."¹³ The front page of every paper in 1887 and 1888 contained the heading "Brazoria County: God's Own Country and the Immigrant's Paradise." The editor, Victor Rose, often claimed that the banks of the Brazos contained the richest soil in the state and that the farms "smiled at passerbys" in their "fertile glory."¹⁴ Furthermore, residents boasted that Brazoria possessed a most healthful climate and a delightful temperature. All "poisonous gasses that cause malaria" were supposedly carried to the north by the breeze from the Gulf of Mexico, and Dr. Graves claimed that an "epidemic of health had seized upon the area."¹⁵ The newspaper editor reassured his readers that industry would be coming soon and predicted that Brazoria would be like London on the Thames, except even more prosperous. Residents played their part in the development by welcoming prominent strangers such as Dr. Sofie Herzog to their area. According to Rose, actions like these would "burst the spell of lethargy which broods over the land like a settled gloom."¹⁶

The coming of the railroad amplified the voices of boosters even more. In local newspapers, editors urged that community services be improved and commented incessantly on poor conditions in a town that they believed needed attention. They also

¹³*The Old Capitol*, 17 April 1887.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 21 April 1888.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 8 September 1888. This boosterism in terms of the health of the area was common throughout the South. Billy Jones provides other accounts of highly exaggerated health legends in *Health Seekers*. In reality, Brazoria did not have a healthful climate. According to correspondence from a Mr. Leyendecker, "because of the flatness and the great number of mosquitoes, which are a plague for men and animals . . . [the area is] unhealthy and unpleasant, consequently in no way bearable . . ." "Letter from Leyendecker", Cummins Creek, Colorado County Texas, 14 May 1844. This letter in the possession of George Leyendecker, of Shiner, Texas.

¹⁶*The Old Capitol*, 8 September, 25 February 1888.

made it clear that the wealthy class of Brazoria citizens were willing to incur any expense to attract new settlers. In 1908, four years after construction began on the railroad, Charles Phelps, a Stern and Stern land agent, informed residents that in only six months, one hundred families would locate within the city limits. He predicted that even more would come when they realized that in the way of truck raising and shipping, Brazoria was a superior community.¹⁷ By 1910, hopeful businessmen had organized what they called a "commercial club" for the purpose of "boosting and bettering Brazoria" so the "outside world" would be aware of Brazoria's beauty.¹⁸ That same year, Brazoria residents boasted of their enormous amounts of untilled, fertile land. According to one booster, it would take more than four hundred years to secure enough farmers to plow the vast acreage left open to even those people interested in reaping profit from agriculture.¹⁹

Although businessmen throughout the South told everyone who would listen that their region had entered a period of rapid and economically beneficial transformation, they did not expect women to pioneer the industrializing process. The debate between agrarians and industrialists was a man's debate and the future of Brazoria would be left up to those voting men. It was the "city fathers" who were to lead the movement, not the "city mothers." Southern ladies were to remain quiet bystanders who managed households in exchange for husbands' protection. To imagine that women could achieve the level of independence necessary to lead such a movement threatened the entire structure of patriarchy. The designated leaders of this movement were the upper-class white men whose "intelligence" and "foresight" would guide less-educated African Americans,

¹⁷*The Angleton Times*, 8 May 1908.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 24 June 1910.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 7 October 1910; For more information on positive and negative effects of boosterism see Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban South: A History* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990) 83.

Mexican Americans, and women into the twentieth century. Most white women, as well as white men, did not want to disrupt the social order, and agreed that men should lead the way.²⁰

In such an atmosphere, it would seem that Sofie Herzog stood little chance of becoming a land developer and business woman. She was able to succeed in this world because of her wealth, her profession, her personality, and, to some degree, her immigrant status. First of all, the medium needed to build the New South was capital, and Herzog had plenty of that. The diamonds that sparkled on every one of her fingers as she marched along Brazoria's mud streets were an inspiration to New South visionaries, as was the sight of her automobile, the first owned by anyone in Brazoria. Local newspapers reported the trips she made up and down the county roads in her Ford Runabout. In addition, she was one of the first Brazoria residents to own a telephone.²¹

Wealth alone, however, would not have caused male leaders to overlook her gender. Any person, male or female, who hoped to gain authority in the business community had first to establish legitimacy and, second, to become indispensable to the community. Dr. Herzog's profession enabled her to do both. Doctors in general formed close personal relationships with community members because of patients' emotional and

²⁰White working women did become more numerous in the South of the 1880s. Many worked in the sewing trade at home, where they could tend to the needs of the family with little interference. Others worked in domestic service, mill operation, and school teaching, but usually only before marriage. Hotel keeping, nursing, clerking, and stenography also proved suitable vocations for the delicate female body. Ayers, *Southern Crossing*, 44. The fragility of the male ego and women's inability to obtain a living wage in any position outside the domestic sphere are explored by Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 10.

²¹Eulalie Crossland, conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas; *Houston Chronicle*, 6 December 1936, 8.

physical dependency on them. By establishing legitimacy, Herzog may have gained community authority to an extent that superseded gender conventions.²²

In addition to Herzog's wealth and profession, it is also possible that her immigrant status blurred gender lines. White men could overlook her brand of femininity because she was so different from the other women of Brazoria. According to Brazoria resident Ethel Pack, "Immigrants were looked on with interest . . . as if they came from another planet."²³ Yet Herzog's class and education protected her from the nativism that prevailed during this era. At the turn of the century, Americans worried that the old-stock middle class was being overrun by foreigners. While birthrates had decreased among immigrant women, they were still nearly twice that of native-born women. In fact, by 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt expressed fear that white Americans were committing "race suicide." Herzog, however, escaped the stigma of being foreign. First of all, she was the mother-in-law of a long-time Brazoria resident, Randolph Prell. Her connection to Prell validated her presence in Brazoria. Second, she was rich.²⁴

Because of her family connections, wealth, profession, and European background, Herzog was able to challenge the confines of her sphere. She took her first steps in the male business world through land speculation. Between 1900 and 1913, deed records indicate that she bought twenty-three lots of land in Brazoria for a total of \$3, 815 and sold

²²Starr, *Social Transformation*, 15.

²³Ethel Pack, Interviewed by Hall Griggs, Audio Tape, Side A.

²⁴Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 108; Later writers would even glorify Herzog's differences. For instance, Humphries' 1936 article about her emphasizes her differences in personality from other women. For example, when a shot was fired at the grand opening of Herzog's hotel, Humphries claims that other women ran and screamed in terror, while Herzog kept her composure and even laughed about the incident. Humphries, "South Texas' Most Noted."

all for a profit.²⁵ On April 18, 1913, she purchased lot five in block 102 for \$350. In January 1911, Sofie sold this land to her daughter Elfrieda for \$500. She later bought property from Mrs. L. L. Ball for \$125 and sold it for \$800. This \$675 profit certainly made land a nice investment for the physician, but she was not always so successful. In September 1900, she bought lot 1 and 2 in block 52 for \$225. She gave this land to Elfrieda who then sold it to Brazoria Land and Townsite, a land development company. They in turn sold it to M. B. Williamson, from whom Herzog purchased it in 1913 for \$400. It is also not clear that Sofie always had the financial wherewithal or the time to effectively manage her land. County attorney William Burkhart sent Sofie and her husband Marion an apologetic letter reminding them that they owed \$32.65 in delinquent taxes. The typed document threatened the couple with a lawsuit, but a handwritten note indicated that his position as county attorney made this action essential, and that he felt horrible about having to send the letter.²⁶

Whether she profited or not, Herzog saw land speculation as a lucrative activity and encouraged her daughter, Elfrieda, to invest as well. She both gave and sold her daughter tracts of land that she stipulated must be in her name only. Lots 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, of Block 61 went to Elfrieda for \$800.00 and lot 5 of Block 102 for \$500. More often, Herzog gave Elfrieda land at either a nominal fee or no fee at all. For instance, lots 1 and

²⁵Lots 1 and 2, Block 52 (13 September 1900); Lot 5, Block 13 (3 April 1903); Lot 3 and 4, Block 51 (18 December 1905); Lots 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, Block 61 (28 January 1907); Lot 1 and 2, Block 51 (25 May 1909); Lot 2, Block 102 (23 December 1912); Lots 1, 3, 4, and 6, Block 102 (10 March 1913); Lot 5, Block 102, (18 April 1913). Deed records found in Folio Prell, Randolph, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

²⁶Folio Prell, Randolph, Deed Records, Brazoria County Historical Museum. Herzog was clearly the person who was making these land decisions, not Huntington. The typed letter is addressed to Herzog with Huntington's name written beneath hers. The attorney also crossed out the "Dear Sir" in the form letter and replaced it with "Dear Doctor," and the handwritten note is also addressed "Dear Doctor."

2 of block 51 were given to Elfrieda at the price of only \$1.00, and lots 1 through 6 of block 102 and 1 and 2 of block 52 were given as outright gifts in August, 1913. The deed record indicates that Sofie chose to give this land "in consideration of the natural love and affection which I have and bear for my daughter, Elfrieda Prell." "Natural love" may be one explanation for Herzog's gifts, but judging from the wording of many of these deeds, which stipulated Elfrieda's sole ownership, she was also determined to protect her daughter's economic independence. Many women and children faced financial difficulties when their husbands died. Without a source of income, the family could not survive. As a result, widows frequently sold land to obtain cash after their husband's death. For instance, when David Ball died in 31 March 1906, his wife sold his land that had been left to her on 28 January 1907 for \$125 to support herself. Herzog's lesson meant that Elfrieda too would have this economic security.²⁷

Sofie Herzog's investments in real estate were part of a much larger entrepreneurial venture in Brazoria County. According to a 1910 *Angleton Times* newspaper, the entire industrial and commercial base for the South could only be revived from paralysis by skilled land agents. In Angleton the main real estate company was the South Texas Land Company; twenty miles away in Brazoria, it was the Stern and Stern Development Company of Kansas City, Missouri. Businessmen had much faith that this company could sell land that would otherwise lay idle. These investors also praised Stern and Stern for having the foresight to sell to "real home-makers who get right on the ground and right behind the plow" and join in developing Brazoria.²⁸

²⁷Elfrieda learned from her mother and bought even more land on 6 January 1899 she purchased 25 acres from Eli Watson. In September, 1916, Charles and Ezra Honey sold her 100 acres and on 23 September 1916, Zebedee and Amanda Brown sold her Lot 1, Block 5. See Folio Prell, Randolph, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

²⁸*The Angleton Times*, 21 January 1910. The Brazoria Land and Townsite Company also existed in Brazoria, but Stern and Stern received more attention from local

Stern and Stern's alleged foresight may explain why they befriended Sofie Herzog. This land company approached her for assistance in developing Brazoria and, at their insistence, she built a new hotel. It was certainly not uncommon for a woman to either take in boarders or become a hotel owner. In fact, this was one of the few occupations open to most women. A Mrs. Westervelt managed one hotel in Brazoria, as did Mrs. Norris another.²⁹ Moreover, the Phillip's Hotel, also owned by a local woman, was always a center of activity.³⁰ Because increasing numbers of people visited Brazoria after construction of the St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railway, more hotels were needed. Local residents who wanted to attract visitors and build industry viewed this development as a mark of prosperity, and looked forward to future construction. For instance, in nearby Angleton, businessmen were elated when the business section of town was "vastly improved" by the construction of a Mr. Gayle's new hotel.³¹ In Brazoria, in 1912, a 75' x 75', 25-room hotel was also in the final stages of construction. The \$10,000 structure was described by a nearby newspaper as a "big move on the checkerboard of progress."³²

Like many women of her period, Herzog had taken in boarders on occasion.³³ Census reports indicate that in 1900 she had a male boarder from Pennsylvania by the

reporters. Furthermore, Sofie Herzog's business relationships were with Stern and Stern.

²⁹*The Old Capitol*, 24 December 1887

³⁰*The Angleton Times*, 10 January 1910.

³¹*Ibid.*, 18 February 1910.

³²*Ibid.*, 15 July 1912.

³³Women were often the manager's of their family income. As a result, when a family's income was low, this meant that they had to take in boarders to maintain their standard of living. Herzog knew the man from Pennsylvania and boarding was not a necessary means to supplement her income. Her later establishment of a hotel was strictly for business purposes. Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 89.

name of Henry Krauss sharing her home. Under pressure from Stern and Stern, Herzog took being a landlord to the next level. She joined the growing trend and in 1908 built a hotel. Like Stern and Stern, Herzog now had a vested interest in attracting potential settlers. Her hotel gave settlers, mostly from the North, a place to stay while they toured the community and, hopefully, considered buying land from her. Herzog's hotel, called "The Southern," or simply the "Hotel Herzog," was erected across the street from her medical office.³⁴ Opening ceremonies, which included refreshments and music, were held on October 9, 1908. A newspaper reported that the Misters Stern would be present on that night, as would a large crowd of home seekers for whom the opening night had been planned.³⁵ Shortly after the hotel's construction, Stern and Stern built a real estate office that adjoined it. The sixteen by twenty-four foot structure contained four rooms and a gallery that served as the Kansas City Company's Brazoria headquarters.³⁶ "The Hotel Herzog" and its adjoining real estate office became a center for Brazoria's social events, and was often the site of private balls hosted by members of the upper echelons of Brazoria society.³⁷

The lower classes in Brazoria were not so enthused about Herzog's new business ventures. Mrs. Lightfoot, whose husband was denied the right to return to work on the railroad by Dr. Herzog, the company surgeon, fired shots at the physician on the opening

³⁴Caldwell, "Character Sketch," 4; O'Neal, "Memories," 39; and *Houston Chronicle*, 6 December 1936. Holly Linford, "Extraordinary Dr. Sophie," *Image* (Winter 1998): 12; *The Angleton Times*, 5 April 1908.

³⁵Title of Newspaper unknown; Headline reads "To Open New Hotel: Dr. Herzog will Entertain her Friends at Opening of New Hostelry" and is dated 2 October 1908. Folio Brazoria, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

³⁶*The Angleton Times*, April 1908.

³⁷Linford, "Extraordinary Dr. Sofie," 12.

day of the hotel. The bullets missed Herzog by inches and lodged in the wall of the hotel. Dr. Herzog never lost her composure and later, as she told friends about the incident, laughed about her brush with death. The other ladies in Brazoria reportedly screamed and fled from the sight.³⁸

Some residents may have hoped that the bullets from Mrs. Lightfoot's gun would have found their mark and ended Herzog's aggressive behavior. The priest at the Catholic Church in Brazoria was one such resident who was not fond of Dr. Herzog's ideas about progress, at least in regard to maintenance of church property. According to Victor Rose, the 1880s editor of *The Old Capitol* newspaper, "a neat church is a sure sign of an enlightened community," and Brazoria possessed beautiful settings for worship services.³⁹ When Herzog first came to Brazoria, she did not find this to be the case. Herzog was raised a Catholic, and although Randolph and Elfrieda were Episcopalian, she immediately set out to join the Catholic Church.⁴⁰ The size of the Catholic congregation, though not vast, had grown steadily as population increased. In fact, by the end of the nineteenth century, its number justified a "steady priest" and the community's only white cemetery.⁴¹

The disheveled appearance of this cemetery particularly annoyed Herzog, who considered it a disgrace to the community. Weeds grew shoulder high in areas. Picket fences enclosed each family plot, but most of these enclosures leaned, and individual boards were rotten. Always a woman of action, Herzog began a crusade to beautify the

³⁸According to Brazoria resident Julia O'Neal, in later years Bernard Baruch spent the night in The Southern. O'Neal, "Memories of Brazoria," 40; Also it became a common place to stay when other prominent visitors looked for opportunity at the Freeport Sulfur Company. Silverthorne, "Women Pioneers," 77.

³⁹*The Old Capitol*, 31 March 1888.

⁴⁰Caldwell, "Character Sketch 3.

⁴¹*The Old Capitol*, 31 March 1888.

cemetery. First, she bought a fence to run along the perimeter of the grounds. She then prepared to remove all of the individual enclosures. What sounded like a good idea to her, however, was not appreciated by everyone in the Catholic community. Herzog never asked the priest or the congregation if they desired her "improvements" and instead assumed that they would be pleased with her endeavors to beautify the church and attract new visitors to the community. The priest and conservative citizens demanded that the cemetery remain untouched and forbade Herzog from continuing with her new project to beautify Brazoria.⁴²

It was certainly no surprise that Herzog would have no part in an institution that did not allow her the proper authority to carry out what she deemed sensible improvements. After having lived all of her life as a devout Catholic, she transferred her membership to the financially-strapped, local Episcopal Church. The Brazoria Episcopal Church had its beginnings in a small brick building known as the Union Church. Erected in 1856, this institution held a joint Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist weekly service. Protestant ministers traveled from Columbia to Brazoria every Sunday on a rotating basis to preach sermons until 1900, when a hurricane badly damaged the structure. At this point, each denomination had accrued the money for its own makeshift building, and the officers of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches executed a deed giving the original property to the Methodists.⁴³

After observing the church's lack of proper facilities and its short supply of funding, Herzog turned her attention to the administration of this religious body. She used her

⁴²*Houston Chronicle*, 6 December 1936.

⁴³"Brazoria, 1845-1908," 15; "Presbyterian Church in Brazoria County," Church Records, Brazoria County Library, Angleton, Texas; *The Old Capitol*, 13 October 1888, 14 April 1888; A. Wayne Jones, "Recollections of Alice D. Wright," Church Records, Brazoria County Library, Angleton, Texas; Noel Snow, "Baptist Beginnings in Brazoria County" Church Records, Brazoria County Library, Angleton, Texas.

wealth to build Brazoria Episcopalians a new, fully equipped church and on 14 March 1905, Bishop Kinsolving consecrated St. John's, praising the "exertion and liberality" of Dr. Herzog.⁴⁴ The rule in polite southern society was to keep donations quiet and not appear to boast about the money one had given to a particular cause, but because Herzog's endeavor was partly designed to annoy the priest at the Catholic Church and the congregation, she let everyone know that she was responsible for the Episcopalians' good fortune. In June 1912, the Catholic priest announced that the Brazoria people were ready to build a new Catholic Church, and by September of that year, parishioners attended their first mass in their new building. But Herzog never returned. Instead, one week after plans to build a church were announced, she made sure that the newspaper printed an account of her own activities at the Episcopal Church. The newspaper dutifully reported in July, 1912, that Dr. Herzog had spent her day having weeds cut, fences built, and improvements made to the Episcopal Church. As ever, Herzog did not hesitate to exercise her authority over the community and made sure that everyone knew of her work.⁴⁵

Herzog was not content to limit her involvement to real estate and religion; she also attempted to improve Brazoria's higher institutions of learning. The South as a region lagged far behind the North in literacy rates, but Herzog was accustomed to vast Viennese libraries, and she had later enjoyed the many Hoboken book stores. Brazoria had little in the way of libraries to compare. Like churches, educational institutions were few, particularly because of racial segregation and poverty. African-American school teacher Minnie Richards taught children in the black community how to read and write in her

⁴⁴"History of the Episcopal Church in Brazoria County Texas, 1836-1959." From the Journals of the Annual Councils of the Diocese of Texas, especially pertaining to St. John's Brazoria. Brazoria County Church File, Brazoria County Library, Brazoria, Texas.

⁴⁵*The Angleton Times*, 28 June 1912; *Ibid.*, 2 September 1912; *Ibid.*, 5 July 1912.

home, but no formal institution existed for the black community in Brazoria. Secular and religious white schools were more numerous. The Union Church built an interdenominational Union School in 1895, and James A. Miller opened a Catholic school in January of 1896. Despite the existence of these small religious schools, most white residents attended a secular grammar school called the "Brazoria Academy," a two story building near the center of town. Under the supervision of the county superintendent Ross Foster, teachers Nettie Winfield, Jennie Trousdale, Aileen Sharp, and Lucy Dogherty taught courses in geography, spelling, grammar, history, arithmetic and reading. Ethel Pack, a youngster attending classes in the 1890s, called this place a "small country school" where holidays were few and terms were long. Because students had to purchase their school books in order to attend classes, only members of the middle and upper classes enjoyed access to a formal education.⁴⁶

In addition, more affluent residents could travel twenty-three miles to Angleton to seek opportunities in higher education. In 1897, Dr. W. T. Noblett established the University of South Texas. More commonly known as Noblett's College, the school survived only until September, 1900, when it fell victim to a destructive hurricane. Financial means to restore the institution were not forthcoming. At its height, the college employed only four teachers who offered three courses: penmanship in Latin, chemistry, and solid geometry. Thus, Noblett's school, the Brazoria Academy, and several white religious schools provided learning opportunities for some, but also reinforced traditional boundaries of race and class in Brazoria.⁴⁷

Herzog decided to make her own contribution to the welfare of Brazoria's youth. As we have seen, she previously gave financial assistance to various adolescents, both black

⁴⁶Ethel Pack, interview by Hall Griggs, tape recording, 9 June 1986, Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

⁴⁷Creighton, *Narrative History*, 301.

and white, who wanted to pursue advanced academic training. Moreover, she made her vast collection of books available to the community. In July, 1907, she announced her decision to open a free library where citizens could borrow her "late novels." By marking the corner of each volume with a special number, Dr. Herzog kept records of the whereabouts of her collection. Those who borrowed these books would have noticed that certain words were underlined. In order to perfect her English, Sofie probably marked those words that she did not understand so she could find their meaning at a later date.⁴⁸

Herzog made another attempt to beautify the city when she decided to build a new office. In January 1911, she purchased several lots in the heart of Brazoria on which she constructed a new, two-story medical facility and home. She told an Angleton newspaper reporter that she planned to build cement sidewalks around the property and plant shade trees in the front yard. By the end of January, she had a nice barn built on her lot. When it came time to transfer her medical equipment and home furnishings from her former office, she appropriated the necessary labor to complete the task. A prominent resident of Velasco, Mr. D.T. Day, gathered a "force of hands" to move Dr. Herzog to her new location. Through the efforts of forced labor, Herzog was comfortably established by the end of March.⁴⁹

Despite Herzog's land deals, her hotel venture, her church donation, and the informal library she created, Brazoria would never achieve what Sofie and other town

⁴⁸News of official opening of library found in *The Angleton Times*, 12 July 1907; Dr. Herzog's book in the possession of Dortha Pekar and information obtained in conversation with author, author's files, 9 October 1999.

⁴⁹*The Angleton Times*, 20 January 1911; *Ibid.*, 27 January 1911; *Ibid.*, 3 March 1911; *Ibid.*, 24 March 1911. Randolph Prell was also trying to improve the state of his general store. Another physician in Brazoria, Dr. Hampil, used his wealth to build a grocery store in this period of economic development and Dr. Mason Locke Weems made extensive improvements by building what *The Angleton Times* called "several nice buildings." *The Angleton Times*, 15 July 1910.

boosters hoped it might. The building of the railroad inspired Brazorians who wanted to industrialize the community and sparked the intense rebuilding effort of which Herzog became a part. Those who disagreed with Herzog and her contemporaries' efforts to develop the town argued that they were destroying what little remained of Brazoria. Agrarians believed that Brazoria's decline was due to developers' "townsite fever." Marshall Monroe, a newspaper reporter for the *Houston Chronicle*, claimed that the people who had bought up many acres of land around Brazoria and built the new township destroyed "Old Town" Brazoria. "Old Town" was too distant from the railroad to successfully compete with this new town. The reporter likened Herzog and others to "sheep" who eagerly cut away historic oaks in their "mad scramble to [build] . . . the future metropolis of Southwestern Texas." In 1922, Monroe described Brazoria as a town divided that had rapidly degenerated because of industrialization.⁵⁰

Indeed, Herzog and other entrepreneurial residents had hoped to transform Brazoria, but their efforts for the most part failed. The dawn of the twentieth century revealed a rapidly deteriorating community shorn of its power in county politics, and desperate for improvements that would attract capital. Three years before Herzog's death, a reporter compared Brazoria to a "gaunt ghost of the yesterday stand[ing] its lonely vigil on the Brazos, and main street no more than a thoroughfare of unrealized dreams." The old courthouse stood with windows boarded, the streets grown up in weeds. Doors and windows of businesses were nailed shut, sidewalks demolished, and cattle roamed freely through town under drooping awnings.⁵¹

⁵⁰Marshall Monroe, *Houston Chronicle*, 27 August 1922.

⁵¹*Ibid.*; Brazoria was typical of New South communities. Northern-dominated railroad interests imposed unfair regional rate setting systems. The effect of this preferential treatment was to keep the South in a colonial status in relation to the Northeast.

With the community of Brazoria in such decay, it would seem to many that residents steeped in their agricultural past were correct in their assertions. New industry had been attracted to Brazoria but had not brought the economic prosperity envisioned. Moreover, a woman from the North, Sofie Herzog, had been allowed to spearhead this New South movement. Old Town Brazoria was deteriorating, as were traditional southern values of a woman's proper place.

It was not long, however, before the critique of Populism gave way to the hope of prosperity brought by an oil boom. In March 1926, one year after Dr. Herzog's death, residents again predicted that their "sleepy old village" would be transformed into a "progressive, up-to-date, hopeful town" just as soon as the Magnolia Oil Company installed one of its latest and largest tank stations. Hotels were reportedly overflowing, while rail lines diverted side tracks to Brazoria to prepare for the future heavy traffic. Eventually, the entire area around Brazoria would become the industrial powerhouse that Herzog and her business associates had envisioned.⁵²

These visions of grandeur, however, were not profitable for every person in Brazoria. As an entrepreneur in line with other New South boosters, Herzog's actions were both complex and filled with contradictions. Her legacy as a community builder certainly provided many opportunities for Brazoria's middle class and elite community members. At the same time, however, lower-class white, black, and Hispanic residents did not receive the same economic boost from land development and industrialization. In fact, race and class divisions became wider in the wake of industrial developments. By serving the interests of an entrepreneurial class, Herzog thus broke gender barriers while at the

⁵²*The Angleton Times*, 19 March 1926, "Brazoria Taking on New Life; Remarkable Activity"; "Brazoria Looking Forward to High Hopes Pinned On Prospects of Oil and Sulfur Production" *Houston Post-Dispatch*, 10 January no year given. Folio Brazoria, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Brazoria, Texas. Seth Shepard McKay takes a closer look at industrialization brought on by the oil boom in *Texas after Spindletop, 1901-1965* (Austin: Steck-Vaughn Co., 1965).

same time, she helped to erect formidable walls of race and class. By making money and profiting from cheap labor, and by giving others opportunities to advance in society by building libraries and providing financial aid to disadvantaged residents, Herzog was much like Andrew Carnegie. Their generosity was contradicted by the many who suffered in the industrial world they helped to build.

Fulfilling the duties of home while exercising authority in a male world of medicine and community development, Sofie Herzog is one of numerous women who moved beyond the expectations of their sex in the turn-of-the-century United States. Although a mixed one, her legacy remains important to present and future community development in Brazoria. In fact, the intricate nature of social interaction in any location can only be understood by analysis of the mode and extent of class conflict. With a life as colorful as hers, however, it has been easy for local citizens in the twenty-first century to create local legend. It is important to analyze the romanticized narrative and dispel the cloud of obscurity created by Sofie Herzog's mythology.

CONCLUSION

DECONSTRUCTING A LOCAL LEGEND

On July 21, 1925, Sofie Herzog died in a Houston hospital after suffering a stroke. Randolph Prell and his children, Randolph, Sofie, Furnis, and Elfrieda Marie, along with Marion Huntington and other Brazoria residents, laid "Dr. Sofie" and her bullet necklace to rest in the all-white cemetery on the banks of the Brazos River. Her daughter Elfrieda, whom she had followed to Texas thirty years before, had died two years earlier of cancer. For the last months of her life, only Huntington and Prell had the responsibility of curbing the ambition and obstinacy that consumed the headstrong Austrian surgeon until her death.¹

Tales of Herzog's escapades lived on through her survivors and, in fact, grew in proportion as the years passed. When writing the history of an individual as colorful as Herzog, it is easy to let this ready supply of misinformation and anecdotes drive the story. It is, in fact, Herzog's humorous eccentricities that attract visitors to the Brazoria Community Museum where a paper mache likeness of the physician stands vigil.

¹The year and cause of Sofie Herzog's death given in anonymous newspaper (believed to be Houston), "Memorial to Brazoria Woman Would be Tribute to Picturesque, Self-Sacrificing and Useful Career," 19 July 1925, Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas; Embellished stories about the doctor were even created when describing her death. Percival Beacroft claimed that he heard that Herzog was thrown from a wagon on one of her emergency visits and died from the complications of that accident. Percival Beacroft, interview by Hall Griggs, tape recording, 15 June 1986, Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria.

Surrounded by deer horns and snake skins, a stuffed alligator at her feet, this crude mannequin stands as a reminder of Herzog's adventures in Texas. Near the exhibit stands a glass case containing a replica of her famed bullet necklace and also her unusual alligator handbag with its feet still dangling from its sides. From her dangerous encounter with a live alligator to an equally unnerving confrontation with the Catholic priest, Herzog seemed to embark upon a new adventure every day, always giving Brazoria residents something exciting to talk about. Today, she continues to draw curious visitors into the local museum.

The interesting stories about Herzog that Brazoria's white upper and middle-class embellished were not told by the Mexican railway laborer, the African-American field hand, the poor, widowed mother, and certainly not the deranged Mrs. Lightfoot. By continuing to allow such anecdotes to drive the story, historians have transformed the diverse population of Brazoria into a homogeneous body devoid of all class, race and gender divisions. More careful analysis reveals a different side of "Dr. Sofie" from that of the eccentric, skilled professional. She was also a woman who espoused the values and prejudices of the elite class of Brazoria residents.

In any New South community, conventions of gender would have prevented Herzog's ready acceptance. In this era, upper-class women were expected to be only wives and mothers. Initially, the ladies of Brazoria did not trust a woman who wore a split skirt, man's hat, and worked in a masculine profession. Herzog gained acceptance despite these obstacles because she joined elite social circles and assimilated many upper-class values. In addition, she quickly gained entry into the upper echelons of Brazoria society because of her son-in-law, Randolph Prell, a prominent Brazoria resident and owner of a local general store. By allowing Herzog to practice out of his home, he gave her work legitimacy in the eyes of middle and upper-class residents.

Herzog had already been exposed to many rules of high society, particularly the importance of wealth and reputation, as a youth in Vienna. When not working as a

physician in Brazoria, she wore feminine clothing and diamonds on every finger. She married Marion Huntington, one of Brazoria's wealthiest residents and owner of Ellersley Plantation. Herzog, however, was not familiar with the proper protocol for dealing with blacks and Hispanics. In this regard, she quickly adopted many values of the white elite. The sizable African-American population recently freed from the bonds of slavery were feared by the white community, and Herzog experienced racial tensions at a new level. She soon adopted the same paternalistic relationship cultivated by many other Brazoria residents. She treated African-American patients, but did not view them as equals. The charity that she bestowed on blacks and Mexicans served primarily to preserve the status quo.

Herzog's paternalistic ethos also aligned her with other professional physicians in the South, most of whom treated African and Mexican Americans with the same prejudice. These professionals, however, judged women as their inferiors as well, yet Herzog was able to overcome that obstacle. Because Texas physicians had tremendous respect for northern and European medical schools, Herzog continually emphasized her allegiance to these institutions. Her elite education coupled with her interesting procedure for removing ~~Brazoria's~~ bullets earned her respect among most professionals.

Herzog's good reputation among colleagues and the elite of Brazoria placed her in the upper class of Brazoria residents, while her decision to be a railroad surgeon further distanced her from the working class. Contrary to Rogers' claim that workers "sang her praises," Herzog's position as a company doctor meant that the laborers gradually saw her as a tool of management.² Seldom can a physician follow the orders of administrators and simultaneously appeal to workers. Bullets fired from Mrs. Lightfoot's gun were only one symbol of many laborers' disapproval of "company doctors." They resented having

²Rogers, *We Can Fly*, 44.

doctors chosen for them, receiving diagnoses that they felt were dictated by managers obsessed with profits, and having their wages docked to support such physicians. Romantic depictions of workers' love for "Dr. Sofie" fail to address these issues, and reflect the views of the company, not the workers.

The same romantic histories seem correct, however, in portraying Herzog as a successful wife and mother. Though her time was limited, Herzog wrote letters to her grandchildren and children, talked about them incessantly to any person who would listen, and even knitted them clothing during breaks from surgery. She taught her daughter, Elfrieda, that being a good mother was essential, but also that establishing her own independence was equally important. She made sure that her daughter had financial autonomy, apart from her husband, by selling her land at nominal fees and employing her as a surgical assistant in her clinic. Local journalist, Vivienne Heines, however, went too far in describing Herzog as a "woman after Gloria Steinem's own heart."³ There is no indication from sources that Herzog used her profession or authority in society to be a vocal feminist. She never joined an organized women's movement, and seemingly had no desire to be an activist. Driven solely by personal ambition, Herzog did not identify with other women who wanted to obtain some sense of authority. Rather, she was intensely ambitious, pursued her goals whole-heartedly, and refused to see her gender as an obstacle.

Herzog also sought to extend her authority in the business world. As Silverthorne and Fulgham contend, she was a "respected business entrepreneur," but even this statement must be qualified.⁴ She only earned respect among community boosters interested in making Brazoria an industrial powerhouse. To these boosters, she was a "wide-awake

³Heines, "Career Woman."

⁴Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*, 77.

citizen . . . [who had] done a whole lot of good by her vim and push."⁵ Her interest in land development and the building of a new office, library, and church were certainly unique for a woman, but were not everyone's idea of progress. Agrarians, echoing the theme of Populists and Socialists, did not welcome the efforts of small-town boosters like Herzog. When industrialism came to Brazoria, the working class did not benefit, but was exploited by profit-seeking capitalists whose industries rapidly stripped the county of its natural resources. Herzog's assimilation of elite values allied her with this group and made many residents resent her actions. Her desire to establish authority in this town, however, blinded her to their discontent.

When one looks at the heterogeneous nature of the community, the story is no longer that of an eccentric woman physician practicing in an isolated town, but rather an account of a New South community struggling to reconcile traditional values with those of entrepreneurs such as Herzog. Females practicing medicine at the professional level in Texas have received only marginal attention from historians. George Plunkett Red, Elizabeth Silverthorne, and Geneva Fulgham list a few female physicians and provide brief biographical sketches, but they do not analyze these women's experiences in the profession from a gendered perspective. Other early twentieth century physicians such as Frances Allen of Fort Worth, Harriet Earle of Waco, Juliet Marchant of La Porte, and Elva Wright of Houston faced the same obstacles as did Herzog, and their experiences, and public reactions to them, need also to be studied.⁶

The dynamics of class, race, and gender that helped to shape Herzog's identity illustrates both the life of a unique woman practicing medicine as well as the changes sweeping over a turn-of-the-century southern community. Herzog's immigrant status, her

⁵*The Angleton Times*, 20 January 1911.

⁶Names of other women doctors found in Red, *Medicine Man* and Silverthorne, *Women Pioneers*.

audacity, and her ambition, as well as the reaction of residents to her presence, place her among other "New Southerners" who challenged traditional Southern values. Earlier scholarship, in romanticizing Herzog's life, ignored the deeper ramifications of racial strife, gender inequality, and upper-class rule. Nevertheless, Herzog's colorful adventures elicit a tale that will always be a part of Brazoria's rich history. From alligators and rattlesnakes to her bullet necklace and fine diamonds, her adventures will raise eyebrows for years to come.

Sources Consulted

Primary Sources

Manuscript Collections

Adriance, John, Papers, 1832-1903, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Allen, Nathaniel N., Papers, 1859-1917, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Anderson, Lamar S., Papers, 1899-1907, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Brazoria Archives, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

Brazoria Archives, Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

Brazoria County Church Records, Brazoria County Library, Angleton, Texas.

Brazoria County Scrapbook, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Daniel, Ferdinand Eugene, Papers, 1862, 1904-1908, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Herzog, Sofie, Houston Academy of Medicine, Texas Medical Center Library, Jesse H. Jones Library Building, Houston, Texas.

Herzog, Sofie, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Herzog, Sofie, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

Kirkpatrick, Silvanus Bedford, Papers, 1882-1936, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Lanham, Fritz Garland, Papers, 1889-1932, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Leyendecker, John Zirvas, Papers, 1842-1979, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Medical History of Texas Collection, 1760-1942, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Munson, Mordello Stephen, Family Papers, 1825-1978, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Perry, James Franklin and Stephen Samuel, Papers, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.

Census Records

United States Census. *Census Reports*. Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Vol. 12. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1900.

_____. *Census Reports*. Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Vol. 14. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1910.

_____. *Census Reports*. Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920. Vol. 6. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1920.

"Census Data from the year 1890," *Harvard Census Data*, (accessed on 18 February 1999), available from <http://fisher.lib.Virginia.EDU/cgi-local/census/bin/census/cen.pl>.

Legal Records

Civil Court Case Minutes, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas.

Prenuptial Agreement, 28 August 1912, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas.

Marion Huntington, Will, Probate Record No. 2229, Brazoria County Courthouse, Angleton, Texas.

Deed Records, Folio Prell, Randolph, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

Memoirs

O'Neal, Julia Graves. "Memories of Brazoria," Brazoria Archive, Brazoria County Historical Museum, Angleton, Texas.

Caldwell, Adele Perry. "Character Sketch," Folio Herzog, Dr. Sofie, Brazoria County Library, Angleton, Texas.

Newspapers

The Angleton Times

The Brazosport Facts

The Independent

The Old Capitol

The Standard

Houston Chronicle

Houston Post-Dispatch

Oral Histories

Beacroft, Percival. Interview by Hall Griggs, 15 June 1986, Brazoria. Tape recording. Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

Croslan, Eulalie. conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

Forrest, Clyde. conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

Hoefle, Malcolm. conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

Pack, Ethel. Interview by Hall Griggs, 9 June 1986, Brazoria. Tape recording. Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

Queen, Helen. Interview by Hall Griggs, 3 October 1986, West Columbia. Tape recording. Brazoria Community Library, Brazoria, Texas.

Vonty, Elizabeth. conversation with author, 9 October 1999, author's files, Brazoria Community Museum, Brazoria, Texas.

Books

Blackwell, Elizabeth. *Essays in Medical Sociology, Vol. 1 and 2*, London: Ernest Bell, 1902.

Flexner, Abraham. *The Flexner Report on Medical Education in the United States and Canada, 1910*. New York City: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910.

Mill, John Stuart. *The Subjection of Women*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1988.

Articles

Austin, Stephen F. "Descriptions of Texas by Stephen F. Austin, 1828," reproduced in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1924), 107.

"Correspondence from the British Archives Concerning Texas, 1837-1846," reproduced in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 15 (January 1912).

Eulenburg, Albert, ["Women Medical Students in German Universities during the Summer Semester of 1901,"] *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift*, (11 July 1901): 472.

Spaeth, Joseph. ["Medical Studies and Women,"] *Wiener Medizinische Presse* 13 (1872), 1109-1118.

Thompson, Samuel and H. Hickox. "New Guide to Health or Botanic Family Physician," Athens: 1833 in *Transcripts Relating to the Medical History of Texas*, Vol. XVII, Special Collections, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.

"Woman Surgeon, 70, Owns Necklace of Extracted Bullets," *South Texas Medical Journal*, 31 (Oct 1915).

Secondary Sources

Books

Allhands, J. L. *Railroads to the Rio*. Salado, TX: The Anson Jones Press, 1960.

Andrews, Gregg. *City of Dust: A Cement Company Town in the Land of Tom Sawyer*.

- Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996.
- _____. *Insane Sisters Or, the Price Paid for Challenging a Company Town*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999.
- Ayers, Edward L. *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- _____. *Southern Crossing: A History of the American South, 1877-1906*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bardaglio, Peter W. *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Bledstein, Burton J. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1976.
- Burns, Chester R. "Medical Ethics and Jurisprudence." In *The Education of American Physicians: Historical Essays*, edited by Ronald L. Numbers. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Carrington, Evelyn M., ed. *Women in Early Texas*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1994.
- Cayleff, Susan E. *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.
- Chaff, Sandra L., Ruth Haimbach, Carol Fenichel, and Nina B. Woodside, ed. *Women in Medicine: A Bibliography of the Literature on Women Physicians*. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1977.
- Clinton, Catherine. *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*. New York: Pantheon, 1982.
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- _____. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Creighton, James. *A Narrative History of Brazoria County*. Waco: Brazoria County Historical Commission, 1975.

- Davidson, Donald, John Gould Fletcher, H. B. Kline, et al. *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1930.
- De León, Arnoldo. *The Tejano Community, 1836-1900*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- _____ and Kenneth L. Stewart. *Tejanos and the Numbers Game: A Socio-Historical Interpretation from the Federal Censuses, 1850-1900*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1989.
- Downs, Fane and Nancy Baker Jones, ed. *Women and Texas History*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993.
- Eubanks, Cecil L. "Contemporary Southern Politics: Present State and Future Possibilities." In *Contemporary Southern Politics*, edited by James F. Lea. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.
- Evans, Richard J. *The Feminist Movement in Germany, 1894-1933*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.
- Fleming, Thomas. *New Jersey: A Bicentennial History*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1977.
- Fout, John C. "The Viennese Enquete of 1896 on Working Women." In *German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Francis, Mark. *The Viennese Enlightenment*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.
- Foley, Neil. *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Furst, Lilian R., ed. *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.
- Genovese, Eugene. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.
- Goodwyn, Lawrence. *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Gordon, David M., Richard Edwards and Michael Reich. *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- Green, Elna., "Ideals of Government, of Home, and of Women': The Ideology of Southern White Antisuffragism." In *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South*, edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Theda Purdue, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, eds. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994.
- Hoffman, Paul. *The Viennese: Splendor, Twilight, and Exile*. New York: Anchor Press, 1998.
- Hurd-Mead, Kate Campbell. *A History of Women in Medicine*. Haddam, Conn.: Haddam Press, 1938.
- Jones, Billy. *Health Seekers of the Southwest, 1817-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
- Kasson, John F. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Kessler-Harris. *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.
- Lack, Paul. *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History 1835-1836*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1992.
- Larsen, Lawrence H. *The Urban South: A History*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990.
- Larus, John Rouse. *Woman: In All Ages and All Countries*. Philadelphia: Rittenhouse Press, 1907.
- Litwack, Leon F. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.
- _____. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.
- Mark, Geoffrey and William Beatty. *Women in White*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.
- May, Arthur J. *Vienna in the Age of Franz Josef*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

- Mazohl-Wallnig, Brigitte, "The State of Women's History in Austria." In *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*. Edited by Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson, and Jane Rendall, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- McArthur, Judith N. *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1819-1918*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- McKay, Seth Shepard. *Texas After Spindletop, 1901-1965*. Austin: Steck-Vaughn Co., 1965.
- Mintz, Steven and Susan Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: The Free Press, 1988.
- Moldow, Gloria. *Women Doctors in Gilded-Age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Morantz, Regina Markell, Cynthia Stodola Pomerleau, and Carol Hanson Fenichel, eds. *In Her Own Words: Oral Histories of Women Physicians*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- Morantz-Sanchez, Regina Markell. *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Morley, Christopher. *Seacoast of Bohemia*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929.
- Myers, Cindi. "Daring Dr. Sophie." In *Mystic Healers and Medicine Shows: Blazing Trails to Wellness in the Old West and Beyond*, edited by Gene Fowler, pp. 160-165. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1997.
- Nixon, Pat Ireland. *A History of the Texas Medical Association, 1853-1953*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953.
- Owsley, Frank. *Plain Folk of the Old South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949.
- Red, George Plunkett. *The Medicine Man in Texas*. Houston: Standard Printing and Lithographing Co., 1930.
- Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Rossi, Alice S. *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to Beauvoir*. New York: Bantam Books, 1973.

- Schonbach, Morris. *Radicals and Visionaries: A History of Dissent in New Jersey*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1964.
- Silverthorne, Elizabeth, and Geneva Fulgham. *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1997.
- Smallwood, James M. *Time of Hope, Time of Despair: Black Texans During Reconstruction*. Port Washington: National University Publications, 1981.
- Starr, Paul. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.
- Tindall, George B. *The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967.
- Trelease, Allen W. *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Turner, Elizabeth Hayes. *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Warren, Robert Penn. *Who Speaks for the Negro?* New York: Random House, 1965.
- Williamson, Joel. *A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- _____. *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South 1877-1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.
- _____. *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986.
- Zamora, Emilio. *The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1993.

Journal Articles

- Brandimarte, Cynthia A. "Somebody's Aunt and Nobody's Mother: The American China Painter and Her Work, 1870-1920." *Winterthur Portfolio* 23 (Winter 1988): 203-224.

- Drachman, Virginia G. "The Limits of Progress: The Professional Lives of Women Doctors, 1881-1926." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. (Spring 1986): 58-72.
- Gibson, Margaret. "The Masculine Degenerate: American Doctors' Portrayals of the Lesbian Intellect, 1880-1949." *Journal of Women's History*. (Winter 1988): 82-102.
- Hofstatter, Robert. ["On Higher Education for Women in Austria with Special Consideration of Medical Studies"] *Archiv fuer Frauenkunde und Konstitutions Forschung*, (1929): 301-319.
- Hunt, Sylvia. "'Throw Aside the Veil of Helplessness': A Southern Feminist at the 1893 World's Fair." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. 100 (July 1996): 48-62.
- Hunter, Leslie Gene and Cecelia Aros Hunter. "'Mother Lane' and the 'New Mooners': An Expression of Curanderismo." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 99 (January 1996): 290-324.
- Ivy, James D. "'The Lone Star State Surrenders to a Lone Woman': Frances Willard's Forgotten 1882 Texas Temperance Tour." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 (July 1998): 44-61.
- Lancaster, Cynthia. "Life Along the San Bernard," *Image* (Spring 1998), 18-26.
- Linford, Holly. "Extraordinary Dr. Sophie." *Image* (Winter 1998): 10-12.
- Lion-Mietner, Gisela. ["Leopold Von Schroetter and Women in Higher Education"] *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* 6 (1937): 163-164.
- Morantz-Sanchez, Regina Markell. "Feminist Theory and Historical Practice: Rereading Elizabeth Blackwell." *History and Theory* 31 (1992): 51-69.
- Myers, Cindi. "Daring Dr. Sophie." *True West* 41 (July 1994): 45-47.
- Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *American Historical Review* 34 (October 1928).
- Schaffer, Ruth C. "The Health and Social Functions of Black Midwives on the Texas Brazos Bottom, 1920-1985." *Rural Sociology*. 56 (1991): 89-105.
- Weaver, Bill L. and James A. Thompson. "Women in Medicine and the Issue in Late Nineteenth-Century Alabama." *The Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Winter, 1981): 292-321.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860" *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer, 1996): 151-174.

Wood, Ann. "'The Fashionable Diseases': Women's Complaints and Their Treatment in Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (Summer 1973): 25-52.

Theses and Dissertations

Platter, Allen. "Educational, Social and Economic Characteristics of Plantation Culture of Brazoria County, Texas." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Houston College of Education, 1961.

Wright, Cheryl. "I Heard it Through the Grapevine: Oral Tradition in a Rural African American Community in Brazoria, Texas." Master's Thesis, University of Houston, 1984.

VITA

Amanda Jean Brand was born in Wharton, Texas, on March 30, 1975, the daughter of Mary Elinda Driscoll Brand and Charles Farmer Brand. After completing her work at Columbia High School in West Columbia, Texas, she entered Wharton County Junior College in Wharton, Texas. Upon completion of lower division courses, she transferred to the University of Texas at Austin, where she was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History in May, 1997. She entered the Graduate School of Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas, in June, 1997, where she has worked as a teaching assistant and graduate supervisor of the Supplemental Instruction Program. She presented the first second chapter of this thesis at the Southwestern Social Sciences Conference in Galveston, Texas, in March, 2000.

Permanent address: 141 South 13th Street
West Columbia, Texas 77486

This thesis was typed by Amanda Jean Brand.