

TCU and Slavery, 1860-1873

In 1870, the National Bureau of Education concluded that “the darkest field educationally in the United States” was the state of Texas.¹ In 1873, when Addison and Randolph Clark opened Add-Ran Male and Female College, the institution later renamed Texas Christian University (TCU), and even before then, when they founded in 1867 a coeducational seminary in Fort Worth, they operated in an educational milieu unlike any other state in the United States. Texas possessed a paucity of educational institutions. Public schools and universities did not exist. In 1870, Texas spent less than 3% of the tax dollars that the much smaller neighboring states of Arkansas and Louisiana each spent on education.² The educational desert that existed in Texas indicates a long-term hostility among the state’s political and social elite to support with public monies any sort of formal education. Even private schools were rare.

Four major factors entwined to shape the educational landscape for the founding and development of TCU. These are: 1) The long-term history of slavery in Texas; 2) The divisiveness and violence of the Civil War and Confederacy in the 1860s, and the memorialization of those institutions in the postwar years. 3) An unusually long and unchecked history of violence in Texas. 4) The influence of the university’s founders and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) to provide institutes for education-starved Texans.

Slavery and Texas. School children have been taught for generations that slavery was of minimal importance in Texas history, since plantation slavery in Texas paled in comparison to the slaveholding states to the east. In fact, however, historians have increasingly identified the centrality of slavery to Texas. From the sixteenth century to the end of the American Civil War,

the enslavement of people was ubiquitous. The earliest Spanish conquistadors entering Texas from Mexico captured native peoples whom they shipped south to become enslaved laborers.³ For centuries afterward, Texas was a source, as well as a way station, for the continuous shipment of Native Americans from not just Texas, but from the Great Plains and other parts of the Southwest to Mexico.⁴ Eighteenth-century Spanish settlements in Texas conducted slave raids to obtain indigenous captives, and purchased slaves from Native captors. Apaches, in particular, sold native captives to the Spanish until Comanches opened a trade in Apache slaves that dominated the Texas landscape. Thousands of Apaches, for instance, were shipped as slaves to Cuba. As late as the mid-nineteenth century, the busiest trading post in the north-central region of Texas, Torrey's Trading Post, No. 2, just outside of Waco, was a key spot for Comanches and other Indians to bring enslaved Natives and African Americans, the latter mostly stolen from plantations to the east and southeast, who were sold to local Whites.⁵ All of this slaving violence precipitated and perpetuated a culture of intergroup violence that lasted for centuries.⁶

In the early nineteenth century, Anglo immigrants from the United States arrived in Texas with their enslaved Africans, and heightened the slaving violence with and against Hispanic and Native communities. The Anglo slaveholders migrated to Texas for inexpensive lands to produce cotton on slave plantations.⁷ With the rising tide of anti-slavery sentiment in the northern United States, many of these immigrants, particularly after the Anglo rebellion against Mexico that culminated in Texas independence, saw themselves creating, and advertised their new country as, the last slaveholders' republic.⁸ The slaveholding face of Texas was an embarrassment and political problem to the neighboring United States, as many

Americans accepted the existence of slaveholding in their country but believed it sinful to expand the institution to the west as their immigrants to Texas were doing. The United States thus turned down requests from Texans to annex the republic, as adding slaveholding territory to the nation would magnify the country's dangerous political divisions between the forces for and against slavery. The election to the U.S. presidency of James K. Polk on an expansionist platform in 1844, however, led the lame duck president John Tyler to initiate the annexation of Texas through joint declaration of congress.

Slavery and Confederacy in Texas. With the 1860 election of the anti-slavery Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, most of the slaveholding states seceded from the United States. Their main purpose, forcefully expressed in the secession conventions held in Virginia and South Carolina, was to protect the ownership of slaves. The Texas secession document, *DECLARATION OF CAUSES: February 2, 1861: A declaration of the causes which impel the State of Texas to secede from the Federal Union*, details the centrality of slavery and the maintenance of Black inferiority as the predominant reason to leave the United States.⁹ Texas voted overwhelmingly to secede and join the Confederate States of America, though the German immigrants in the Hill Country, and the counties to the north of Dallas and Tarrant Counties, voted firmly against secession. In Texas' northern counties there were few plantations, but enslaved Blacks comprised 10 to 15 percent of the population.¹⁰ Most of the white population strongly supported the maintenance of the social and legal inferiority of Black Americans, even if they did not support secession.

During the Civil War there were no battles in the counties of north Texas, as local conscripted and volunteer soldiers for the Confederacy were sent to the east. Yet the Civil War

indelibly shaped the region. In many borderlands of the South, civilian violence gripped the population. This was especially true in north Texas. Roving bands of raiders pillaged the people. Even more problematic was the massacre of civilians. Confederate sympathizers rounded up and jailed suspected union sympathizers. Before and during the war, slaveholders and their allies created bogeymen of Northern Christian ministers, whom they accused of being secret abolitionists who had entered Texas to organize enslaved Blacks into rebellion.¹¹

Enslaved Blacks, both apparently and in fact, did practice resistance in the northern and central Texas counties at a higher rate than in the plantation areas. This did not rise from instigation by northern agitators, but from the slaves themselves, who sometimes forged alliances with local Mexicans and Native Americans.¹² Fear of dark-skinned populations influenced Southern Whites to great hostility against Blacks, and against Whites who might work in league with Blacks or with the United States government. In October 1862, Confederate sympathizers rounded up alleged northern sympathizers in the north Texas counties, and subjected them to trials by an illegal court on charges of treason. A mob broke into the jail to kill the defendants, and those whom the kangaroo court had declared innocent. Over 40 were executed at Gainesville, Texas, in the largest massacre of civilians by civilians in United States history. The subsequent civilian violence extended into Fort Worth and other areas south of the city. This violence played a leading role in intimidating those in Texas who dissented from the Confederacy, and who favored the U.S. government and anyone who challenged the racial hierarchy that placed Whites at the top, and people of color at the bottom of the social order.¹³

TCU's founders and the Civil War. The Clark and DeSpain families, the families of the parents of TCU's founders, Addison and Randolph Clark, migrated to Texas from Tennessee around 1840. The family frequently moved around Texas (about every 2 years) and by the time of the Civil War, they lived in Collin County in north Texas, and then moved to Grayson County by 1862. Joseph Addison Clark, the father of Addison and Randolph, engaged in many professions, including journalist, surveyor, lawyer, farmer, preacher, and teacher. The frequent movement of migrants in Texas was common. Church congregations were established and disbanded with regularity, which led preachers like Clark into constant travels to preach to temporary fellowships, or to help communities establish new churches.¹⁴

Most agriculture in Collin County involved growing grain and raising livestock: plantations and slavery were relatively uncommon. The county was a top producer of oats, wheat, and wool in the state. In 1860, 11% of the Collin County population were enslaved, compared to 30% enslaved in Texas. Joseph Addison Clark owned an enslaved 13 year old boy in 1850, and then rented a slave, George, for the year 1856 at a cost of \$150. Additionally, he possessed 160 acres (\$1,200), 4 horses, (\$300), and 600 sheep (\$1,800). He also owned a "negro" in 1860 valued at \$1,000. (See artifacts for census and tax records.)

The Clarks' denomination, the Disciples of Christ, generally tried to ignore the issue of slavery to avoid the sectional divisions that had split other denominations in the United States. There was little sign of anti-slavery sentiment among southern followers of the Church.¹⁵ Joseph, following his wife's lead, had joined the Disciples in 1842, and preached throughout his life.¹⁶ Both Addison and Randolph followed in their father's footsteps teaching and preaching. We found no evidence that Joseph Addison or his sons preached on the topic of slavery.

However, sermons were rarely written down and little documentation exists regarding the Church's stance on slavery other than what was published in religious journals. Disciple preachers were typically traveling evangelists who concentrated on personal salvation while infrequently commenting on social matters.¹⁷

It is difficult to assess the actual motives and views of the Clarks toward the Confederacy because we only have reports made decades after the events, which likely colored perspectives. After the election of Lincoln in 1860, Joseph Addison Clark, according to his son Randolph, stood opposed to secession. And he did not think that the "serious questions at issue could be settled in the battlefield." When Texas did secede, "and Lincoln called for volunteers, an act that was interpreted as a prelude to the invasion of the South, factionalism ceased and Texans throughout the state rushed to the defense of the Southern Cause."¹⁸ At age 19, Addison volunteered for the Confederate Army in February 1862 and served for the duration of the war. Randolph later depicted his older brother as anti-war, not for political as much as for religious reasons: "Addison had been taught from childhood that Christians should not go to war.... He *taught* that Christians should not go to war." So why did Addison enlist? Randolph concluded, "It was easier to preach non-resistance than to practice it in the face of an invading army."¹⁹ He enrolled in Grayson County, and was mustered in Collin County, as a 2nd Lieutenant, Co. D. 16th Texas Cavalry. Company D was composed mostly of men who had been boyhood friends in north central Texas. And Addison had company, Randolph reports, from their home church, including "elders" as well as "boys and young men" from "the same congregation." Randolph claimed that their motivation was not pro-slavery but pro-region: "There were young men in the company who had recently come to Texas from the North, and

whose relatives were in the North. They settled no doctrine of state's rights, and were opposed to slavery. The South was their home, it was invaded, they answered the call to defense."²⁰

During the early days of the Civil War, Joseph Addison Clark engaged in commercial enterprises. "He installed a grist mill, procured wagons and teams for hauling, built storage facilities, and began the purchase of grain, meat, sugar, tobacco, and other staple commodities."²¹ He shipped most commodities to the war area but also supplied local retailers. Randolph was able to avoid the draft likely because mill work provided deferment. While there are few records, it appears that Joseph made considerable profits during the war years.

In an undated draft of his memoir, *Reminiscences*, Randolph speculated that his father had been "maneuvering to keep him out of war." By 1864, Randolph decided to enlist, and later claimed to have enrolled in Company D, 16th Regiment, Walker Division of Infantry. Although there is no official record of him ever having served in the Confederate Army, he likely joined his brother in the field.²² In his later years, he reflected, "I learned what war was. Now I consider that year of my life misspent. And believe as mother did then that Christians cannot make war."²³

The family abandoned north Texas in 1863 partly owing to the dangerous situation of deserters and partisan raiders—"mostly thieves and robbers"—making the region unsafe.²⁴ Joseph had earned enough during the war to purchase a farm, a ranch, and 100 horses. In 1864, there is record of a Joseph A. Clark in Hill County who possessed 5 slaves—this might have been him. He apparently bought property in the northeastern corner of Hill County and gained an

interest in a flour/lumber mill in Alvarado, near the property, which he later moved to Cleburne. The slaves would have achieved emancipation by the end of the war.

Violence in Texas. The violence that characterized Texas before and during the war continued in its aftermath and provides important context for the founding of TCU. After the Civil War, no U.S. state experienced as much violence as Texas in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Nothing illustrates so graphically this fact than Texas was the murder capital of the United States in 1870.²⁵ Although the state ranked only 19th of 37 states in population, it more than doubled the number of murders of the next most murderous state. In the period 1865-1868, Texas had over 1,000 murders. (These figures were considered reliable by Texas contemporaries of various stripes.) Yet only 5 people were convicted! In 1870, over 700 people were charged with murder, and over 400 with intent to murder, but very few were convicted.²⁶ In other words, not only had personal violence proliferated on a scale unknown in the other states, but Texas had taken no steps to pursue and punish violent criminals. Texas was a failed society. Not until the passage of the Police Act in 1870 did the state begin to create the means to secure the populace against violent crime.²⁷ Texas also became the first state to create systematic gun and weapons control legislation. Opponents in Texas challenged these laws all-the-way to the United States Supreme Court, which repeatedly sided with Texas' right to regulate weapons.²⁸

The solution to Texas' problems, according to contemporaries, beyond better policing, prosecution of criminals, and weapon's regulation, was to improve education. Addison and Randolph Clark, like many educated Americans of the nineteenth century, believed that education could turn youth into stable, ethical, and productive citizens. Texans would then use

reason to settle their differences and obey the law instead of allowing their violent impulses to range freely.

Education in Texas. In terms of education, the failures of Texas were glaring. By virtually all metrics, in 1870 Texas was an outlier as the only state that displayed virtually no interest in educating youth. As the 19th most populous state, Texas employed fewer teachers than all but the three smallest states. Comparisons with Oregon, which only had been a state since 1859, illustrate Texas' shortcomings. Oregon had 11% of the population of Texas, yet 41% more students. Texas spent 11% of the tax dollars than sparsely populated Oregon spent on education. Texas parents paid private schools in greater total dollars than Oregon, but per capita spending from all sources on all students paled in comparison to Oregon.²⁹ As noted above, Texas also fell far short of its neighboring states in funding education. The overwhelming majority of Texas children received no formal schooling. In 1870, the state had not one "single state-supported school."³⁰ This state of affairs altered slowly over the next half-century. Not until 1915, for instance, did Texas require children to attend school—one of the last states to legislate compulsory education. Texans might have blamed the state's educational failures on the Civil War, but Texas' infrastructure and economy were far less decimated by the war than the southern states to the east.

From where did this educational desert arise? In the Spanish and Mexican eras of Texas history, education of school children was supported by the Catholic Church and through community efforts. In the constitutions of the Texas Republic and the first state constitution of Texas, education received high priority. But both the republic of Texas and the state of Texas failed to follow-up on their constitutional imperatives. The republic got side-tracked by other

issues. Even without tax dollars, the state of Texas possessed a pot of money that the legislature directed should support education. This would comprise the interest earned on money given to Texas by the United States to relinquish land claims in the West. But almost no money was allocated over the coming years except for dribs and drabs to pay tuition at private schools for paupers. Instead, the state lent most of the funds to railroad companies to earn a higher rate of interest and to build railroads in Texas. A “radical” state government after the Civil War, comprised of White Republicans and their freedmen allies, pushed for education and produced detailed plans, but at the end of Reconstruction, the Democrats regained power and scrapped the legislation.

There was a tradition among Southern White elites to oppose public education. In Virginia, for instance, the state legislature denied communities the right to raise their own funds through local taxes to support schools. The ensuing resentment led to the secession of the state’s western counties to create the new state of West Virginia during the Civil War. Southern elites in Virginia and elsewhere feared the common people becoming educated, for then they might have the wherewithal to obtain political power and raise taxes on the elite. By the time of the Civil War many southern state governments had bowed to the pressure of the common people and built public school systems. The Texas elite resisted these forces until the rise of the Populist Party in the 1890s, which united many White and Black farmers and other working people to push for educational reforms, many of which were not enacted until the next century.³¹

The Founding of TCU. Describing the return to their family at Civil War’s end, Randolph characterized himself and Addison as weary from the “hardship of war” but having a

“consciousness of duty done.”³² Addison opened a school in Buchanan in 1866, near Cleburne, which did not last long, then opened another in Alvarado the same year. Months later both brothers enrolled in the newly opened Disciples of Christ’s Carlton College in Kentuckytown.³³ In 1867 that school moved to Bonham. Addison worked as an assistant and eventually Randolph joined him there. That same year, Addison moved to Fort Worth to teach school.

There were no opportunities to build public schools or universities in the state of Texas. (The United States land-grant system did set in motion the creation of land-grant schools of higher learning in Texas in the 1870s. Other states had opened public universities as early as the late eighteenth century.) There existed a long tradition in the United States for Churches to establish private academies, colleges, and universities. The Clarks, after their operation of a coeducational seminary in Fort Worth, transitioned to create a far more comprehensive educational institute, but moved its location away from the “sinful” influences of Fort Worth’s notorious Hell’s Half Acre, which earned infamy for the gambling, drinking, and prostitution that accompanied portions of cowboy culture.

The Clarks were inspired towards education by their father, Joseph, who had taught at a variety of schools, and by other educated church members who migrated to north Texas, and then to Fort Worth, where they opened the first Christian church in the city. Inspired by the Church’s coeducational leanings, the Clarks promoted coeducation in Fort Worth at the seminary, and then again with Add-Ran Male and Female College, later renamed Texas Christian University. Co-ed higher education was rare—females usually attended all-female institutions, or, as in the case of Baylor University, which briefly allowed females for one year, and then not again till the 1880s, males and females took separate classes. Female higher

education was not unheard of but generally frowned upon by the southern elite until the 1870s, and even then resistance remained. Resistance to coed schooling later led to the founding of a Disciples college in the region to compete with TCU, which also opposed TCU's education model for its alleged propensity to expand education down avenues considered non-biblical, such as the use of organ music during church services. This division reflected a national divide in the Disciples Church between the progressive wing that predominated in the northern states and in the influencing of the founders of TCU, and the southern wing, which remained more conservative in many ways.

The forces that brought the Clarks to found an institute of higher learning, generally applied to others who intended to do the same in Texas: they held the belief that education would instill knowledge and civics to civilize youth and turn them into stable and productive citizens. This youth would mostly comprise members of the elite and middle-class, to teach them their duties and responsibilities as Christians and citizens. The Clarks tapped into a strong desire in north Texas: the new college met a great demand for higher education, giving it no trouble attracting students. But the United States financial crisis of 1873 so hurt the Clark family finances that they could not complete payment for the buildings at Thorp Spring, where the College intended permanent residence, and for which they had mortgaged property, and they were forced to move to other accommodations. Addison Clark, it should be added, remained worried about the education of children and eventually turned his attention to those of school age, creating a feeder academy for TCU.³⁴

Conclusion

The long Texas history of slavery and violence, which led the state to join the Confederacy in the Civil War, left a powerful legacy in war's aftermath. The violence of the war years remained intact, and in some ways grew worse, as the state proved unable to curb the lawlessness, some of which stemmed from hostility towards the emancipation of the enslaved, and much of it from an inability to employ government to provide basic safety for all. Criminal activity went unchecked, and the government failed as previous governments had failed at building schools and providing education for the state's children—a failure of proportions unknown in all the other states. The Clark family's drive to create a university was an attempt to fill the educational void. The action of founding an institution of higher learning indicates that the founders of TCU opposed the dominant ethos of many White elites who despised or ignored the societal benefits that education can bring to individuals and to society.

The forces that led the founders to create TCU tell us a bit about their views of slavery, the Civil War, and the Confederacy. We know that the founders' father owned a slave while they were growing up and he likely had purchased others while they were at war. (We found little evidence of TCU trustees owning slaves, largely because many were too young to have done so during the era of slavery.) We know that Addison served in the war and rose to become an officer, and that his brother joined him at the end of the war, though not as an enrolled soldier. Likewise, the head of the Trustees, J.J. Jarvis, served as a Confederate major. Yet it is notable that Jarvis and his wife, Ida Van Zandt, daughter of one of the political leaders of the Texas Republic, together provided over 450 acres for the founding of Jarvis Christian Institute, one of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), which still operates today. And in subsequent generations, Clark children became educators. Randolph Lee Clark,

son of Randolph, promoted bilingual education in the public schools to solve the problem of Spanish speakers being excluded from learning by their lack of English. He also promoted middle school education for Black children.³⁵ Another son of Randolph, Joseph Lynn Clark graduated from TCU in 1906 and became an historian. He was a cofounder and member of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation.³⁶

The direct relationship of TCU to slavery and Confederacy was of a different nature in the 1860s and 1870s than it became subsequently. TCU's founding was a reaction to the decimation wrought by the Civil War, which continued in the wake of the war, but had little direct connection to either slavery or the Confederacy. Enslaved Black labor, for instance, did not contribute substantially to the creation of wealth for the university. Although the brothers' father benefited from slave labor, the two brothers possessed limited financial resources. Both sons sold their homes in Fort Worth, and Randolph's wife Ella, and her sister Callie Lee, sold the family homestead to pay for the classroom building at Thorp Spring. On the other hand, in the coming years, and well into the twentieth century, the influence of slavery and Confederacy did shape TCU and Texas in new and substantial ways. Throughout the South there arose organizations, and a general White culture, that celebrated and memorialized Slavery and the Confederacy. This culture whitewashed the horrors of slavery and deified racism and White Power. TCU students, faculty, and trustees joined in the celebration of these fantasies about the past to maintain White dominance and exclusivity, while institutionalizing the social, political, and economic inferiority of Black Americans in society. This created a "norm" which survives to the present day in which Black needs, desires, experiences, and assertions are

assessed by Whites as “different,” “unnecessary,” and “unwanted,” unless they reflect the White culture’s definitions of what is necessary and proper at TCU, and for the society at large.

Recommendation. It is recommended that we consider how a university founded under difficult circumstances by people ethically engaged in creating a better world through education in Texas, the “darkest field educationally” of all the states, could lose its way in the coming decades by ignoring its calling, and adapting to the dominant ethos of racism in Texas and the United States. How does a university regain and maintain the courage to follow its moral compass. When does the university not treat its people of color as “others” or outliers, but as legitimately American as any other group in the United States?

¹ Bureau report quoted in Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), 157.

² Tax Figures calculated from Table XII A, Statistics of Schools in the United States, in *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (1872).

³ Andrés Reséndez, *A Land So Strange: The Epic Journey of Cabeza de Vaca* (New York: Basic Books, 2007); Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007)

⁴ Paul Barba, *Country of the Cursed and the Driven: Slavery and the Texas Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming 2021). Slavery was illegal in most of Mexico, but still practiced well into the nineteenth century.

⁵ Mark Allen Goldberg, “Comanche Captivity, Black Chattel Slavery, and Empire in Antebellum Central Texas,” *Linking the Histories of Slavery: North America and its Borderlands* (Santa Fe: SAR, 2015), 197-222.

⁶ Paul Conrad, *The Apache Diaspora: Four Centuries of Displacement and Survival* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming, 2021); Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁷ Randolph B. Campbell, *An empire for slavery: The peculiar institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1989).

⁸ Andrew J. Torget, *Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery, and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

⁹ Ernest William Winkler, ed., *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas 1861*. Edited From the Original in the Department of State.... (Austin: Texas Library and Historical Commission, 1912), 61-65.

¹⁰ Figures calculated from the 1860 U.S. Census.

¹¹ The newspapers were filled with these unfounded conspiracies about northern ministers.

¹² William Dean Carrigan, “Slavery on the Frontier: The Peculiar Institution in Central Texas,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 20:2 (1999), 63-96.

¹³ Richard B. McCaslin, “Wheat Growers in the Cotton Confederacy: The Suppression of Dissent in Collin County, Texas, during the Civil War.” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. 96.4 (April 1993): 526-39.

¹⁴ Carter E. Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier* (San Antonio: Naylor Company, 1968).

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- ¹⁵ David Edwin Harrell, *Quest for a Christian America, 1800-1865: A Social History of the Disciples of Christ. Vol. 1* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), concluded that white superiority underlay the thoughts of White participants of the Restoration Movement.
- ¹⁶ Joseph Lynn Clark. *Thank God We Made It!* Austin (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969).
- ¹⁷ For the character of frontier religion in Texas, see Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier*.
- ¹⁸ Clark, *Thank God We Made It*, 233-234. For context on the decision-making process on whether to fight, see, David Charles Grear, *Why Texans Fought in the Civil War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012) and Carl H. Moneyhon, *Texas after the Civil War: The Struggle of Reconstruction* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 2004).
- ¹⁹ Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences: Biographical and Historical* (Wichita Falls: Lee Clark, 1919), 24-25. Emphasis added to the word "taught."
- ²⁰ *Reminiscences*, 25.
- ²¹ *Reminiscences*, 235.
- ²² For the lack of any official record of Randolph's service in the CSA, see the letter "The Adjutant General of the War Department of the United States to the Controller's Department of the State of Texas, September 5, 1928, in "Alabama, Texas and Virginia, U.S, Confederate Pensions, 1884-1958," #43996. The letter stated, "The name Randolph Clark has not been found on the rolls on file in this office of Company D, 16 Texas Cavalry, Confederate States of Army, ... from July & August 1863 to January and February 1864. Nor has any record been found of his service, capture, or parole as of that organization."
- ²³ Randolph Clark undated manuscript draft of *Reminiscences*, transcription page 2, Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, Box 19, Special Collections, Texas Christian University.
- ²⁴ *Reminiscences*, 236-237.
- ²⁵ Crime figures are available in Table XIX, Statistics of Pauperism and Crime in the United States, at the Census of 1870, 1860, and 1850 (By States and Territories), in *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (1872).
- ²⁶ Ann Patton Baenziger, "The Texas State Police during Reconstruction: A Reexamination," *Southwest Historical Quarterly*, April 1969, vol. 72, No. 4, 470-491; William T. Field, Jr., "The Texas State Police, 1870-1873," *Texas Military History* 5 (Fall 1965). Randolph Roth collates the loss of faith in government institutions with the rise of murder in the nineteenth-century United States. See *American Homicide* (Boston: Belknap Press, 2009).
- ²⁷ Baenziger, "The Texas State Police."
- ²⁸ Brennan Gardiner Rivas, *The Deadly Weapon Laws of Texas: Regulating Guns, Knives, and Knuckles in the Lone Star State, 1836-1930* (Phd dissertation, Texas Christian University, 2019), and "An Unequal Right to Bear Arms: State Weapons Laws and White Supremacy in Texas, 1836-1900," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 121 (Jan 2018): 284-303, and "When Texas Was the National Leader in Gun Control: How the Land of Gunslinger Mythology Regulated Weapons to Reduce Violence," *Washington Post*: Made by History Blog (Sept 2019).
- ²⁹ Figures calculated from Tables XII A and B, Statistics of Schools in the United States, in *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (1872).
- ³⁰ Bureau report quoted in Fredrick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), 157.
- ³¹ Gregg Cantrell, *The People's Revolt: Texas Populists and the Roots of American Liberalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).
- ³² *Reminiscences*, 27.
- ³³ *Reminiscences*, 173.
- ³⁴ Addison Randolph to J. J. Jarvis, President of the Board of Trustees, February 18, 1909, in Jarvis Papers, Special Collections, Texas Christian University,
- ³⁵ Biographical entry, Randolph Lee Clark, in Texas State Historical Association, *The Handbook of Texas*.
- ³⁶ Biographical entry, Joseph Lynn Clark, in Texas State Historical Association, *The Handbook of Texas*.

ARTIFACTS

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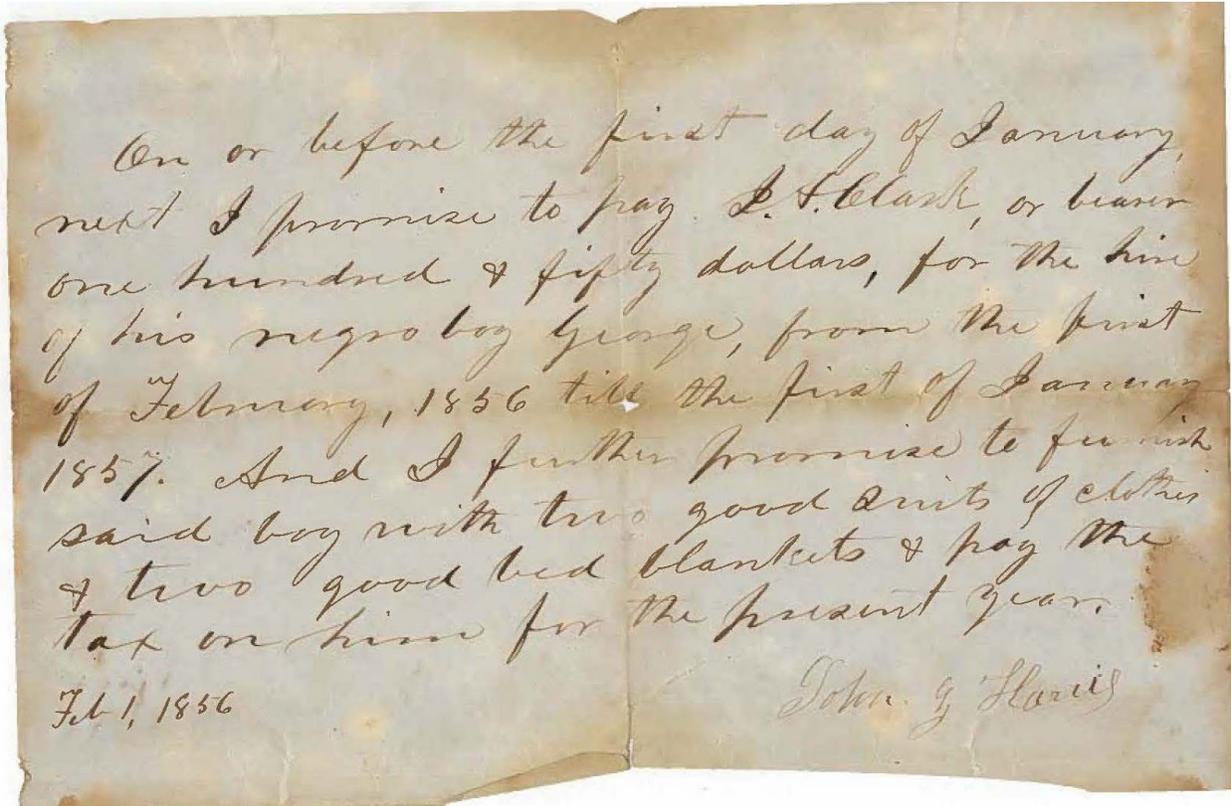
and within the State

SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in *precinct No* Clarke **in the County of** Galveston **State**
of Texas **, enumerated by me, on the** 3rd **day of** May **, 1850.** *W. H. Cleveland* **Ass't Marsh**

1	2	DESCRIPTION.			6	7	8	1	2	DESCRIPTION.			6	7	8	
		Age.	Sex.	Colour.						Age.	Sex.	Colour.				
1	<i>Reghan Henry</i>	1	45	f	B			1	1	<i>C. M. Bates</i>	1	50	m	B		
2		1	17	f	m			2	2		1	20	m	B		
3		1	13	f	m			3	3		1	16	m	B		
4	<i>S^o 6</i>	1	12	m	m			4	4		1	14	m	B		
5		1	8	m	m			5	5	<i>S^o 9</i>	1	17	m	B		
6		1	25	f	B			6	6		1	6	m	B		
7	<i>Allen Bernhard</i>	1	36	f	B			7	7		1	47	f	B		
8		1	25	f	B			8	8		1	16	f	B		
9		1	17	m	B			9	9		1	15	f	B		
10		1	15	f	m			10	10	<i>J. O. Clarke</i>	1	13	m	B		

"United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850 ", database with images, *FamilySearch*
 (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:HRWN-Z5N2 : 20 September 2020), Jos B Clarke in entry
 for MM9.1.1/MVCQ-MJ1:, 1850.

Information on line 10 right side: Jos A Clark, number of slaves 1, age 13, Male, Black



On or before the first day of January,
next I promise to pay J. A. Clark, or bearer
one hundred & fifty dollars, for the hire
of his negro boy George, from the first
of February, 1856 till the first of January
1857. And I further promise to furnish
said boy with two good suits of clothes
& two good bed blankets & pay the
tax on him for the present year.
Feb 1, 1856

John G. Harris

Series II. Clark Family Papers 1751; 1773-1781; 1841-1969; and undated, Box: 36. Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, MS 156. Archives and Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library.

https://archives.tcu.edu/repositories/2/archival_objects/12157

Transcription: On or before the first day of January next I promise to pay J. A. Clark, or [indecipherable] one hundred & fifty dollars, for the hire of his negro boy George, from the first of February, 1856 till the first of January 1857. And I further promise to furnish said boy with two good suits of clothes and two good bed blankets and pay the tax on him for the present year. Feb 1, 1856. (Note signature on bottom right.)

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in Precinct No 8 in the County of Collin State of Texas enumerated by me, on the 15th day of Aug 1860. J W Barnett Ass't Marshal. Post Office Farmersville.

1	2	3	4			7	8		10	11	12	13	14
			Age	Sex	Color		Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate					
1	7179	1230	Joseph Clark	40	m	Stock Raiser	4000	3000	Ill				
2			Hetty "	36	f				Al				
3			Addison "	18	m	" "			Tex	✓			
4			Randolph "	15	m				"	✓			
5			Ida "	10	f				"	✓			
6			Thomas "	4	m				"	✓			
7			Thomas "	4	m				"	✓			
8			Mary "	2	f				"	✓			
9			Rachel DeSpain	75	m				Ky				
10			John Waller	21	m	Stock Herder			Ten				

"United States Census, 1860", database with images, FamilySearch (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MXFX-HBY : 11 November 2020), Joseph Clark, 1860.

Information starting on line 1: Jos A Clark, age 40 (incorrect), Male, Stock Raiser, born in Illinois; Hetty, age 36, Female, born in Alabama; Addison, age 18, Male, born in Texas; Randolph, age 15, Male, born in Texas; Ida, age 10, Female, born in Texas, Thomas, age 4, Male, born in Texas, age 2, female, born in Texas, Rachel DeSpain (Hetty's mother), age 75, born in Kentucky, John Waller, age 21, Male, Stock Herder, born in Tennessee.

Texas, County Tax Rolls, 1837-1910 ▾ Collin county > 1860 > Source Box Attach to Family Tree

Image 9 of 55 Print Download Tools

OWNER	REAL PROPERTY.				PERSONAL PROPERTY.										TOTAL VALUE	TOWN TAX	STATE TAX	COUNTY TAX
	LAND	TOWN LOTS	NEGROES	HOSES	CATTLE	SHEEP	Sw. Prop.	Dolls.	Cts.	Dolls.	Cts.	Dolls.	Cts.					
Clark E	136 White W.	82	412															
	Stovens P M of	30	150															
	777 Wilson of B	21	107															
	573 Ham & B	142	565				10	411						1037	1	555	53011	
" J A	7000 Millions W B	160	1200				1	1000	4	300			100	1000	4500	1	558	50520

"Texas, County Tax Rolls, 1837-1910, Collin County", database with images, FamilySearch (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJ8G-TF4D : 19 November 2020), J A Clark, 1860.

