

TCU and the Confederacy

“[R]orienting one’s understanding of the past takes time and must be a community effort.

*This report is but a beginning.”*¹ [from Elon University’s parallel project]

*“How do we reconcile those elements of our past that are gracious and honorable with those that provoke grief and horror? What responsibilities, if any, rest upon us in the present as inheritors of this mixed legacy?”*² [from Brown University’s parallel project]

TCU’s beginnings emerged in the aftermath of the Civil War. Its founders, Addison and Randolph Clark, had served in the Confederate Army, and their father, Joseph Addison Clark, ran a profitable business during the war that supplied Confederate troops--all details which are reported in various writings by family members. Unacknowledged in those accounts is the fact that Joseph Addison Clark enslaved at least one person, perhaps several.³ Indeed, their personal accounts, typically written decades after the war, are largely silent on the issue of slavery, even while describing themselves as neither pro-secession nor pro-war. The family placed high value on education and religion; the men were both preachers and teachers. After the war, their various memoirs indicate, they sought to establish a school they judged to be consistent with

¹ *Committee on Elon History & Memory: Report and Recommendations Fall 2020* (Elon University, October 2020), 4.

² *Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice* (Brown University, n.d.), 4.

³ See the “Slavery” report for details on documentation of Joseph Addison’s role as enslaver.

their intellectual and spiritual values and their community's needs. In that context, the following narrative describes how the university's history began and the efforts of individuals and groups who shaped its first decades. In doing so, this report engages one of the Race and Reconciliation Initiative's (RRI's) overarching research questions for this period (designated as "The Founding Years" of 1861-1891): **How did the Confederacy affect TCU's identity formation?**

Addressing this query requires confronting cultural memory in several layers. On one level, research for this chapter in TCU's RRI examines questions for which the main records now available are themselves *personally constructed* versions of the past, such as diaries, letters, journals, and published memoirs written years after events occurred.⁴ Readers need to be attentive to potential gaps and erasures and mis-rememberings in such sources. Similarly, some artifacts taken from a specific moment come down only in mediated fashion: for example, what does the presence of a programme from a United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) occasion, pasted on one page of more than 170 scrapbook pages, say about the scrapbook-maker's beliefs,

⁴ On the complex process of reading memoirs of Confederacy service and postwar life among veterans, see Harcourt. Harcourt notes that Tennessee soldier Sam Watkins wrote mainly in the 1880s, at "a time... when the meaning and memory of the Civil War was unfixed, when the ordinary Confederate veteran's place in the South was uncertain, and when the plot lines of a Confederate social memory were first being set down in print and performed through reunions of old soldiers" (15). Edward John Harcourt, "Would to God I could tear the page from these memoirs and from my own memory": *Co.Aytch* and the Confederate Sensibility of Loss," *Southern Cultures* (Winter 2017): 7-28. This report's sources from various Clark papers were produced over an even longer span of time, and by multiple writers.

priorities, and values at that time?⁵ What can be gleaned from a photograph found in an archival folder linked to a TCU history collection, but lacking specific identification for all members of the multi-racial group represented? What efforts at memory-making can be inferred from the fact of the photo being saved in the first place? What duties to future “collective memory”⁶ does the TCU community enact in assembling and interpreting such markers of cultural memory now? As suggested by the quotations above from other universities carrying out similar efforts, the report below is a preliminary step only, drawn from materials whose original meanings can be only partially recovered. Yet, by providing even a partial and preliminary report on how the Confederacy--and different stakeholders’ evolving memories of the Confederacy--shaped TCU’s

⁵ Contrast, in this context, more fully re-traceable histories of sustained and purposeful UDC activism for “Memorialization of the ‘Lost Cause’ and preserving southern heritage” like that analyzed by Adam Chamberlain and Alixandra B. Yanu in “Monuments as Mobilization?” *The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Memorialization of the Lost Cause*, *Social Science Quarterly* 102.1 (January 2021): 125-39; see also Kelly McMichael, “‘Memories are Short but Monuments Lengthen Remembrances’: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Power of Civil War Memory” (95-118) in Cantrell and Hayes Turner, *Lone Star Pasts*, fully cited in note #6 below.

⁶ For an illuminating explanation of how “collective memory” functions, how power relations can disproportionately shape it, and how to view related issues about the politics of memory, including within this crucial period in Texas and TCU history, see the “Foreword” (by W. Fitzhugh Brundage) and “Introduction” (by co-editors Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner) to *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007), xiii-xvi and 1-14.

early history, the records below may support university-connected communities' more informed memory-making going forward.⁷

Texas, the Clark Family, and the Confederacy

Revisiting the pre-Civil-War years, historian Carl Moneyhon writes:

In 1860 and 1861 most of the state's political leaders had warned that a national government dominated by northern politicians and the Republican party meant catastrophe for the South and for Texas. They equated Republicanism with radical abolitionism and predicted that the triumph of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for president of the United States at that time, would produce not only an end to slavery but also economic disaster and social disruption.⁸

When the Civil War erupted, The Clark family (including father Joseph and his two sons, Addison and Randolph) had only recently relocated to North Texas, first to Farmersville in Collin County and then further north to Kentuckytown in Grayson County. Given the lack of plantations and enslaved labor in Collin County, local political leaders encouraged opposition to the Democratic Party's push for secession. While most Texans favored secession, the majority of voters in Collin and Grayson county, including Joseph Addison Clark, did not. However, those who voted against secession or refused to support the Confederacy faced possible attacks associated

⁷ On the urgency of revising memorialization, see Cathy Bergin and Anita Rupprecht, "Reparative histories: tracing narratives of black resistance and white entitlement," *Race & Class* 60, no. 1 (July 2018): 22-37.

⁸ Carl Moneyhon, *Texas After the Civil War: The Struggle of Reconstruction* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 2004), 6.

with a “campaign of violent suppression.”⁹ Once the Confederacy’s authority was established in the state, many felt that it was the duty of citizens to defend the area.¹⁰ The Clark family fit that pattern. Writing years later, Joseph Lynn Clark explained, “When Texas became one of the seceding states..., 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” (*Thank God*, 233-34).¹¹

In his 1919 *Reminiscences* portrait of his brother and TCU co-founder Addison, Randolph Clark offered related retrospective distinctions between different individuals and groups who fought for the Confederacy, and he based these in social class differences. Said Randolph:

In 1860 the storm that had been brewing in the political horizon gave evidence of near approach. The people had been made to think of war till they were willing for it to come. Secession was the subject for orators, debators and political wranglers. There were three classes in Texas in favor of secession. The slave holder on the cotton and sugar plantations, from pecuniary interest; the old Texan, with an almost sacred reverence for the Lone Star, and with memories of the struggles and hardships endured in establishing the Republic of Texas, thought the way out of the political broil was to resume its status as an independent republic; the third party was made up of those tenacious of the doctrine of states’ rights, who feared the tendency toward centralized power, many of whom opposed slavery, but thought it a matter to be settled by each state. Two classes opposed secession. One claimed the states had the right under the constitution, as New England had always contended, to withdraw from the Union, but thought it better policy

⁹ 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), 5.

¹⁰ See McCaslin, “Wheat Growers”; Joseph Lynn Clark. *Thank God We Made It!* Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1969; and Graham Landrum, *Grayson County: An Illustrated History of Grayson County*. Fort Worth, Texas: University Supply & Equipment, 1960. [ark:/67531/metaph846101](https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/clark-joseph-lynn)

¹¹ For a profile of Joseph Lynn Clark (1881-1969) see the Texas State Historical Association’s Handbook of Texas: <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/clark-joseph-lynn>.

to surrender the right than to disrupt the Union. These were mostly from the middle southern states, and held the doctrine of Henry Clay and the old Whig party. Another party was for the Union without regard to sentiment, pecuniary interest, or political rights (*Reminiscences*, 23).

After offering up the broad framework above, Randolph depicted his brother (and by extension himself) as anti-war, not for political so much as for religious reasons, reporting that Addison did volunteer to fight for the Confederacy, but providing this context: "It was easier to preach non-resistance than to practice it in the face of an invading army" (*Reminiscences*, 25). So, at age 19 Addison volunteered and was among the first to arrive at the front; he enrolled in Grayson County, February 20, 1862 and was mustered in Collin County March 10, as a 2nd Lieutenant, Co. D. 16th Texas Cavalry. He served until March 1865. The company was composed mostly of friends and members of the Clarks' home church. Their motivation was not pro-slavery, Randolph's biography of Addison asserted, but pro-region: "The South was their home, it was invaded, they answered the call to defense" (*Reminiscences*, 25).

While Addison was serving in the Confederacy, Joseph Addison Clark engaged in commercial enterprises. Noticing rising prices of food, he decided to go into a lucrative business. "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" (*Thank God*, 235). He shipped most commodities to the war area but also supplied local retailers. Randolph recalled being eager to accompany his brother, but explained that he deferred enlistment due to his father's wishes and reluctance to leave his mother. He looked after milling and shipping, made many trips to collect on sales, and supervised deliveries. While there are no records, it appears that Joseph made considerable profit. Missing from retrospective family reporting are

indications that the labour of enslaved persons might have facilitated the family's financial advancement.

During the war, Joseph Addison Clark moved his family south for the purposes of safety. Randolph wrote in his memoirs, "As the war went on the border counties became infested with deserters from the armies and partisan rangers, as they called themselves, mostly thieves and robbers until it became unsafe" (*Thank God*, 236). Randolph's younger brother, Thomas, wrote in a letter about this period:

Just at the time when startling history was being made, Father moved the family many miles from the scene of action; put us on a farm in a very spars-ly settled country. He wanted to get us as far as possible from public highways, along which were constantly passing run-a-way negroes, white renegades, camp-followers, and the like. It was a long time before we came back into the haunts of men. Not till after Reconstruction days. Things had quieted down, men were going about their separate affairs pretty much as if there had been no war. I knew nothing of the troublous times following the close of the Civil War.¹²

In an undated early draft of his *Reminiscences* manuscript, Randolph speculated that his father was "maneuvering to keep him [Randolph] out of war." However, he wrote, "the time was coming that I would have to go without the privilege of volunteering." He knew that he would soon have to explain why he was not in the army. So, once the family settled in its new location, Randolph found Addison's company and served about a year. Later he wrote, "I consider that year of my life misspent. And believe as mother did... that Christians cannot make war."¹³

¹² Letter from Thomas Marshall Clark to Joseph Lynn Clark, Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, Group 156; Series II; box 41.

¹³ Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, Box 19, Randolph Clark undated manuscript draft of *Reminiscences*, transcription page 2.

The Clarks' Post-War Social Identities and Memories of the Confederacy

Describing the immediate post-war return to their family, Randolph's 1919 memoir characterized himself and Addison as weary from the "hardship of war" but having a "consciousness of duty done" (*Reminiscences*, 27). Randolph depicted their arrival home as marked by Addison's feeling that "Lee's surrender . . . [was] inevitable" (27). Randolph recalled that they were ready to move on, not bound to a lost-cause-type loyalty but to re-building: "There was no time for lingering with the past; life must be begun anew." (*Reminiscences*, 29).

In a pre-publication draft of his *Reminiscences* memoir, Randolph wrote that "Home influences [were] all that kept brother and me from becoming intensely partisan. Father never talked troubles in the home and mother was a guardian angel." Nevertheless, according to his grandson's later writing, Joseph Addison was upset by the difficult conditions throughout the country. "Always informed and concerned about public affairs—but seldom an active participant—J. A. Clark's correspondence with his son during the Southern Reconstruction seldom referred to political conditions" (*Thank God*, 258). However, in 1868, with the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, Joseph Addison Clark wrote the following:

I think there has been a fight in Washington. I have been expecting it. There are breakers ahead, you may be sure. If they get a general fight in the North—and I think they will—I am in favor of Texas raising the Lone Star & making an effort for a separate independent government.... If they get a big fight these Mongrels [carpetbaggers and scalawags?] and negroes will go by the board in short order. What a time it will be. Business of all kinds will be suspended. There will be no government, no paper money. Contributions will be levied everywhere to support troops & guerilla, & bandits will infest the country everywhere there is money or property.... If I knew that this country would be ruled by Mongrels and negroes I would want to go somewhere [else]" (*Thank God*, 259-60).

Randolph would depict himself and his brother Addison as more prone to positive social intervention than to moving Texas--or themselves--away. In describing the situation just after the

war, Randolph wrote in a manuscript draft for his eventual *Reminiscences* publication: “The country was in an indescribable state of anarchy.... The best way for the patriot to serve [was] to gather boys that had not been left on the battlefields and the youth who had been deprived of school during the war, and train for better citizenship and home building.”¹⁴ Thus, the brothers may have felt, founding a school was a way to restore peace and good will. Randolph explained that prior to the Civil War, Texas did not have a public school system, though some prosperous communities maintained academies similar to today’s junior colleges.¹⁵ He stated that he and his brother intended to devote their lives to running a school that was not influenced by church *or* state but instead embraced the purpose of character building, studying the Bible, and training students for a “complete human life, physically intellectually and spiritually,” enabling students to find themselves and choose their life work (manuscript draft, 14).

The brothers’ intention to found a school may also have been influenced by their reverence of General Robert E Lee. Randolph’s son Joseph Lynn wrote later that, “The admiration of the brothers for the beloved leader of the armies of the South was ... greatly enhanced by his acceptance of the presidency of Washington College, at Lexington, Virginia.... [T]he brothers continued to follow the fortunes of their hero in his noble efforts of rehabilitation of the South through the slow process of education” (*Thank God*, 293-94).

¹⁴ Randolph Clark manuscript draft, Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, 50-51.

¹⁵ For more on limits on educational opportunities in Texas, see the “Slavery” report.

Texas State Politics in the 1870s

A description of the historical context of Texas in 1873, the year when the institution that became TCU opened, underscores tensions between the Democrat and Republican parties carrying over from the Civil War and immediate post-Civil War era. After a relatively brief period of influence, Republicans had ceded control of Texas to the Democratic Party.¹⁶ By the time of the 1872 elections in Texas, at the local level all around the state, Democrats made gains, and they took control of both the state house and the state senate. By January of 1873, with the surge of Democratic power still growing, Governor Edmund J. Davis (the first Republican governor of Texas and who served overall from 1869-74) found his leadership resisted at every turn.

When the Thirteenth Legislature gathered at Austin on January 14, 1873, the overwhelming dimensions of the electoral triumph by the Democrats was apparent. In the state house, where the Republicans had held fifty-five seats, they now numbered only twelve. In the state senate the Republican's razor-thin majority Recapturing the legislature marked the end of Radical efforts at constructing a new Texas. Neither the Republican minority nor Governor Davis could further advance the party's program. Instead, Democrats began implementing their own agenda, one that altered the course set by Republicans. Over the next few years, they carried out what amounted to a virtual counterrevolution, even though they could never completely reverse the changes that had taken place during Reconstruction (Moneyhon, 188).

¹⁶ The dominant characteristics and goals of the two parties were quite different than what we might consider to be their identities today. For example, Republicans far more actively supported Black constituencies and cultivated their votes than is typically the case for Texas Republicans today. Generally speaking, the Democratic party in the southern US overall, as well as in Texas, had much stronger affiliation with previous supporters of the Confederacy than did Republicans.

When Texans voted for governor in late 1873, the Democrat candidate Richard Coke crushed Edmund Davis. Black voters, through a concerted campaign of intimidation, stayed away from the polls (Moneyhan, 197). Once firmly in power, the Democrats organized a re-writing of the state constitution that enshrined a low-taxes framework reducing state revenue while “fail[ing] to support education and law enforcement” (Moneyhan, 201). This reduction in state income likely had its biggest impact on “public education, possibly more than any other state institution, for schools cost more than any other of the state’s endeavors” (Moneyhan, 201-02). But, despite keeping most taxes low, the state instituted a poll tax that undermined Black access to the vote.

Meanwhile, these “Redeemer” Democrats also worked “at ensuring the presence of an inexpensive and quiescent workforce for the state’s planters” (e.g., by drastically restricting the rights of tenant farmers), an effort which, along with limited access to education, combined in “restricting of black political power and the relegation of blacks to second-class citizenship” (Moneyhan, 203). In succeeding years of the late nineteenth century on into the twentieth, the “Redeemer” Democrats maintained control of the Party as a whole and thus the state’s social and political culture through racist tactics, including the “use of violence against blacks, as well as whites who would work with them politically” and “appeals for racial solidarity, for whites to remain united under their leadership to prevent a return to the evils of black power during Reconstruction” (Moneyhon, 204).

The Clarks and the Beginnings of the (Future) University

During the time period in which the state provided limited investment in education and suppressed Blacks’ participation in civic life, the Clark brothers began their work as teachers and

institution-builders. Near the end of the Reconstruction period, the Clark family had moved to Fort Worth. By 1870, the Clark brothers had become proprietors of the Male and Female Seminary, laying the “foundation of the college of their dreams” (*Thank God*, 306). However, due to a railroad boom and resulting population growth, Joseph Lynn Clark would report later, the area around the school, otherwise known as “Hell’s Half Acre,” was “surrounded by a most undesirable element, composed of gamblers, drunkards, prostitutes, and such other disreputable characters as respond to loose living and the hope of easy money” (*Thank God*, 322).

A move of the school from Fort Worth to Thorp Spring addressed this problem. Thorp Spring, the first location of what was soon known as Add-Ran Male and Female College, had been established by Pleasant Thorp in 1854. According to one of Pleasant Thorp’s descendants, Barbara Thorp Wilkins, Thorp Spring was near the hunting grounds and campsites for Caddos and Comanches, and an Ioni Indian village. She conveyed that: “With secession came realities of civil war, and frontier conditions deteriorated. Most young men were in the Confederate army. Federal troops that manned a string of forts on the frontier were withdrawn, and their absence was an invitation for escalated Indian attacks.”¹⁷ She continued, “After the war ended, the cutting edge of the frontier crept westward, and a semblance of ‘normalcy’ came to the Brazos Valley.... Pioneers pushed into and past Hood County, as the army finally battled the Indians into submission and onto reservations.” In 1872, Mr. Thorp thought that a school would be a valuable economic asset to the community, so he erected a school building. In 1873, he invited the Clarks

¹⁷ See Barbara Thorp Wilkins, “High Hopes,” <http://www.granburydepot.org/z/biog2/ThorpSpringHistory.htm>

to move their school to Thorp Spring (*Thank God*, 331-32). The Clarks purchased the original building for the school in that location.

The father and sons, plus several friends of the young institution, wanted to expand their enterprise to a college and recognized that, for its financial security and social status, the school should obtain a charter from the state and a name appropriate to the new location. They named it Add-Ran Male and Female College, after Addison's young son who died in 1872. Membership to the first Board of Trustees was restricted to members of the Christian Church, and in 1873 the college was recognized as a school of the Christian Churches in Texas (*Thank God*, 350). On the first letterhead of the school, A. Clark is listed as President, R. Clark as Vice President, and J.A. Clark as Proprietor (*Thank God*, 345). Throughout the school year and in the summer months, each of them preached on Sunday in some community, emphasizing the cause of education and the advantages of learning available at Add-Ran. (*Thank God*, 351). Joseph Lynn Clark would opine later: "For them, preaching was only an extension of their teaching" (*Thank God*, 352).

While in Thorp Spring, the brothers moved the campus and took control of the school as their father relinquished his managerial responsibilities (*Thank God*, 383-84). The money to pay for the new campus came from the sales of Addison's and Randolph's homes in Fort Worth, Randolph's horse, plus Ella and her sister Callie Lee's inherited 5-acre homestead in Fannin County and 320 acres in Grayson County. They were still short of money, but the new building was ready for occupancy by the 1878 spring semester (*Thank God*, 387-89). In its new home, the college thrived and enrollment grew to 445 by 1893. Several more buildings were added,

including one funded “through the generosity and leadership of Major and Mrs. J.J. Jarvis” (*Thank God*, 391).

Emancipated Blacks’ Contributions to TCU’s Early Years

Charlie Thorp, an emancipated Black with ties to the Thorp family, played a significant role in the daily life of the institution during the Thorp Spring years. Charlie’s own personal history was linked to Pleasant Thorp, who had brought young Charlie and his mother to Thorp Spring in about 1855. The 1860 census shows that Mr. Thorp enslaved 2 people, a female, age 37, and a male, aged 7. Those people were most likely Charlie and his mother.¹⁸

Randolph’s son, Joseph Lynn Clark, would later describe Charlie’s services to the school during its Thorp Spring years as follows:

When the Clarks opened the school in the Thorp building Charlie was occasionally employed for janitorial service, as the school developed, gradually accepting wider responsibility for practically every detail, aside from academic activities, not specifically belonging to someone else. He saw that the buildings were kept in repair. He advised on improvements. He repaired frozen water pipes. He made winter fires in the classroom stoves, and filled the oil lamps, and when the duty was not assigned to a reliable student, he rang the big bell which regulated the school’s daily schedule.... He prepared the auditorium for the Sunday services and sounded the bell which called the community to worship.... After arranging the ‘chapel’ for religious services on Sunday, he remained conveniently about the building, usually attentive to the sermon of the hour. [I]f there were suspected infringement of regulations by a sophisticated boy from the city or a former ranch hand who was accustomed to open-range independence, Charley was the ‘FBI’ As ‘fire chief’ of the town, Charlie would take more risks and save more valuable

¹⁸ According to Barbara Thorp Wilkins’ memoir, the people enslaved by Mr. Thorp helped to lay out the town of Thorp Spring and to build a big stone house. In the 1880 census, 27-year old Charlie Thorp (who had taken on the last name of his former enslaver) was shown to be living with Mr. Thorp and was identified as a laborer who could not read or write.

property than anyone--without hope of reward.... " (*Thank God*, 361-63).

Kate Lee, likely the daughter of a woman formerly enslaved by the family of Randolph Clark's wife Ella Lee,¹⁹ accompanied Randolph and Ella to Thorp Spring in 1873. Kate had resided with the Lee family in Bonham upon the request of Kate's mother prior to her death. Joseph Lynn Clark would later describe the relationship between Ella and Kate as close and mutually supportive: "The affectionate relationship between Ella and Kate, formed in their childhood, continued through life and each was always readily responsive to the needs of the other.... The business transactions of the two women were amicable" (*Thank God*, 365). Kate did laundry for Randolph Clark's family, served in the homes of the community as midwife and nurse, and assisted college girls with various tasks (*Thank God*, 364-65). Charlie Thorp married Kate in about 1882; they had several children together, in addition to some from other prior relationships.

While supporting the learning of the college's white students, Kate, Charlie and their children were denied the chance for formal education themselves. Educational opportunities for Blacks in Texas were then quite scarce. According to Joseph Lynn Clark, "The tragic aspect of the situation was that the mores of the white people did not tolerate the attendance of the Negro children at the local school. The nearest school for them was at Granbury and no transportation was officially provided at that time. Consequently, the education of the children of the Negro

¹⁹ In the 1860 census, the Lee family was shown to possess a 28-year-old female enslaved person. Kate, age 10, was listed in the 1870 census as living with the Lee family.

families was neglected, a lamentable situation” (*Thank God*, 365).²⁰ Nevertheless, when the family moved to Dallas (Lancaster town), the 1900 census indicated that while Charlie could not read or write, Kate and her children could do so. Several of the children attended school in Lancaster.

Joseph Lynn Clark concluded that “Charley and Kate Thorp supplied an imperative need in the Thorp Spring community, and contributed to the efficient operation of the educational enterprise. Their services were indispensable and they performed them with loyal devotion as members of the team” (*Thank God*, 365). When Charlie died in 1927, Randolph was shaken. He wrote an article for the *Christian Courier* (found in the JL Clark Papers) about Charlie. An excerpt appears below:

Charlie is Dead!” this came like the breaking of a link that bound us to the far away beginning of the Add-Ran days. Charlie had gone through many hardships for others. When he gave up the fight it was won or lost. Were a house on fire, he was the first to the rescue. He would brave more dangers, take more risks, and save more valuables than any, and with no thought of reward. In [the] typhoid epidemic he was an efficient nurse and was often a lone watcher through weary nights. He watched with one boy 30 nights and when sufficiently recovered to be moved, Charlie took his own team and wagon, provided a comfortable bed, took him 80 miles home, watching him day and night, this without hire..... This is only a small part of the life of like service. He practiced the spirit of Christ in hard service [to] others; but he was not Christian. Why? Charles Thorp was born in slavery and his 78 years was a life of slavery. After emancipation he was told that he was free, but he never realized the freedom. If any difference it was harder work. He was not allowed to get an education; the associations formed did not inspire him to high aims. Charlie was endowed with far more than ordinary intellect. He could have made the equal of Booker Washington, or the successful business men of his

²⁰ Joseph Lynn Clark’s empathy here may be an indication of the positive relationships between the Clarks and formerly enslaved Black persons linked to their family. However, the Clarks did not attempt more progressive efforts such as providing educational opportunities to Blacks.

race, yet he was not allowed to have a vision of that life. Yet he felt that he was out of place in the low, immoral class. Who is responsible for this waste?²¹

Changing Context and Locations

In the 1880s and 1890s the population of Texas increased and more universities were established. “There were other indications that the frontier spirit was receding and a more sophisticated society was emerging. A greater insistence upon the creature comforts of a more cultural civilization was everywhere evident. The face of rural Texas was turned townward. Academies and colleges of formerly thriving communities began to suffer for want of patronage and moral and financial support” (*Thank God*, 393). The Clarks decided to offer the assets, obligations, control, and responsibility for the institution to the Brotherhood of the Christian Churches of Texas. At a meeting of the Texas Christian Missionary Society in 1889, the Brotherhood accepted the Clarks’ offer, secured a new charter, established a permanent board of twelve members, and changed the school’s name to Add-Ran Christian University (*Thank God*, 428). Addison and Randolph transferred to the newly constituted Board of Trustees property that was appraised at \$43,000, as well as a tract of 640 acres of West Texas grazing land and a 160-acre farm in Kaufman County (*Thank God*, 427).

During the years in Thorp Spring, cultural tensions within the Church may have had some impact on the institution in ways this committee has not been able to document fully. After the Civil War, divisions within the Disciples of Christ community reflected the nation’s sectional

²¹ “Charles Thorp” (Thorp, Charlie, 1927-1965), Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, MS 156. Box: 22. Archives and Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library.

https://archives.tcu.edu/repositories/2/archival_objects/72842

divisions. For example, the editors of the *Gospel Advocate* made a “thinly veiled appeal for backing to the supporters of the lost cause” and denounced “brethren of the North who shared in the military defense of the government.” It was not uncommon for church leaders to conflate their “sectional prejudices with their theological convictions.” In the 1890s Thomas Burnett argued that Texas would not have had any “progressive foolishness, had it not been for the invasion of carpetbag pastors of the north.”²² David Harrell concluded that the church fractured along the lines of “conservative and liberal theological positions, Northern and Southern sectional feeling, urban and rural prejudices, and agricultural and middle-class economic views.” Disciples preachers, as a group, represented a mixture of these opposing viewpoints. This divide was illustrated by an “organ incident” in February 1894 on the Thorp Spring campus, in which the Clark brothers sided with the (likely religiously progressive or liberal) students in allowing organ music during the church service, while their father and a group of conservative parishioners vigorously opposed it (*Thank God*, 437-40).

In the mid-1890s an influential group of members of the Central Christian Church of Waco were interested in the development of Waco, the affairs of the church, and the welfare of the school (*Thank God*, 443-44). In 1896, the school moved to Waco, where a large four-story brick building was available. Then, in 1902, after Addison’s tenure as president ended, the name of the

²² David Edwin Harrell, Jr. “The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ.” *The Journal of Southern History* 30, no.3 (August 1964): 261-77. Quotation from 271. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2204834>

school was changed to Texas Christian University and the liberal arts college at the heart of the institution's program was named the AddRan College of Arts and Sciences.²³

Though the Clarks' time as on-site leaders of TCU had come to a close, their names, community activities, and links to the Church continued to associate their identities with the institution. Accordingly, this report will include, in its closing sections below, details from their post-TCU lives, work, and writings as relevant to inquiry into the university community's cultural memory of the Confederacy.

Attitudes toward Confederacy Culture in TCU's Early Years

This team's research identified examples of some students and faculty, during TCU's first decades, as holding positive memories of and attitudes toward the Confederacy and its culture. Relatedly, some artifacts exhibit expressions of racism toward Blacks, articulated in language and action. Sources of these examples include memento artifacts of figures such as Mattie Cooper Harlin (a student who attended in the 1880s-1890) and speech/elocution teacher Olive McClintic, who was an instructor in the early twentieth century. (See discussion of items from McClintic's scrapbook below in the artifacts appendix, including her participation in the program for a Daughters of the Confederacy event in 1905.)

²³ A fire destroyed the main building in 1910 and the school moved back to Fort Worth after the city offered the school a fifty-acre campus and \$200,000 to relocate. See Toups, "History of AddRan College," <https://magazine.tcu.edu/fall-2019/the-history-of-addran-college/>

Evaluating the meaning and implications of such individual texts requires recognizing that specific items are typically part of much larger sets of materials--i.e., an artifact cluster could be a few scattered comments from Mattie's journal or some (not necessarily representative) items saved by McClintic. However, cataloging them here acknowledges their presence as part of the record of TCU's community values and social practices at the time, thereby signaling a theme essential for future investigation of this time and later decades.

Below are two examples from Mattie's diary entries, many of which focus on her social life as a student:

- 3/5/1890: "This evening as one of the little negroes was coming up the steps with a bundle of clothes Daisy knocked them off of her head and they rolled down in the dining room and a lot of the boys were down there...."²⁴
- 3/29/1890: "As we were coming back [from an outing] some little n****s came on behind us we meet some of the boys and they laughed at us for being with the darkeys"

Positive memories of the confederacy and signs of racism at TCU and in the larger Fort Worth community continued to appear well into the 20th century, beyond what was technically the "assigned" time frame of inquiry for this team's examination of the Confederacy's impact on TCU. Archival materials from the early years of that century are crucial to document, however, given their alignment with local and national Jim Crow racism and overt oppression of Black daily

²⁴ Mattie Cooper Harlin Collection, diary. Mary Coats Burnett Library Special Collections. In Mattie's diary entry, the "n****s" word is fully spelled out.

life. (See, for instance, three artifacts below from the scrapbook of TCU instructor Olive McClintic. See also the clipping from Donna Jean Billington's scrapbook: a newspaper article on a KKK gathering.) What does the scrapbook-based saving of such a story--without critical commentary attached--suggest about how TCU community members were interpreting and responding to such events going on in the social spaces just beyond campus?

The Clark's Continued Connections to Confederate Memory

Although no longer leading TCU, the Clarks' longtime bonds with the institution remained a part of their widely recognized social identity, so that tracing any ongoing ties they maintained with Confederate memory culture remains a relevant task. In the early part of the twentieth century, Addison and Randolph Clark showed some signs of continued affiliation with former Confederate soldiers. For instance, Addison Clark's diary reports that he attended the 1903 meeting of the United Confederate Veterans organization in Canyon, Texas.²⁵

Randolph Clark spoke at a meeting of the A.S. Johnston Camp of the United Confederate Veterans in February 1916, paying tribute to the Confederate Soldier as a role model, saying that "he occupied a position unique in the world's history and represented the highest type of manhood." Randolph asserted that the soldiers were not typically secessionists, nor did they have a tendency to favor war or enslave people, but instead were "peaceful home loving people."

²⁵ An email report from Mary Saffell to the committee provided access to this information in the Addison Clark Journal of July 1903-January 1904. Archives and Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library. <https://repository.tcu.edu/handle/116099117/42746?show=full>

He went on to recall that at a meeting of teachers that he attended in Pennsylvania shortly after the war, he tired of hearing the “Yankees on every side ... glorifying in the triumph of the returning armies.” He declared, “Yes it is all right for you to glorify your armies; but our boys have a glory that can never be dimmed by the story of victory. They have no pillaged homes; no homeless widows and orphans, made so by their ruthless hands, to remember. No memory of a land made desolate by them. We fought against invasion of our home land and did not make war on women and children.”²⁶ Later, in 1920, Randolph was invited to attend, and provided the invocation at, the 30th Annual Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans in Houston.²⁷ For both these Clark brothers, whose commitment had been so instrumental in TCU’s early years, their cultural memory of the Confederacy remained a part of their identities.

Recommendations

While the tale of TCU’s beginning often focuses on the actions of the two founding Clark brothers, there is much more to the story. The benefits TCU provides today result from many contributions of resources and labor as well as hardships endured over time. TCU should acknowledge both positive and negative aspects of its history, understanding that doing so may not only evoke a variety of reactions, but also recognizing that denial and indifference to the past inhibit change. The TCU community can maintain its pride and love for the university by facing its

²⁶ “Rev. Randolph Clark Addresses Veterans.” *Stephenville Empire*, Vol. 44, #21, Ed. 1, 2/18/16, p. 8.

²⁷ ““Randolph Clark Will Attend Reunion.” *Stephenville Tribune*. Vol. 28, #39, Ed. 1 9/24/20, p.1.

See also Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, 1920. <https://archive.org/details/MinutesOfTheThirtiethAnnualMeetingAndReunionOfTheUnitedConfederate/>.

complete and complex history and continuously striving to make it a better place for all. In other words, we can pay it forward. In light of this, our research team offers the following recommendations:

- 1) In official histories and in educational programming events, memorialize a more complete story of TCU, commemorating the efforts of individual Blacks and people of underrepresented or marginalized groups who contributed to TCU' development.
- 2) Provide contextual information near the statue of Addison and Randolph Clark about the brothers including details unfamiliar to many stakeholders, such as the complexities of their service to the Confederacy and the fact that their father enslaved at least one person whose labor contributed to the resources that eventually helped to enable the establishment of the university.
- 3) Continue this research beyond the time frame originally set for this committee's investigation. Research documenting the persistent life of Confederacy-associated cultural memory and associated racist attitudes points to the need for further investigation. This step could also reveal related events and trends associated with suppression of multiple underrepresented and marginalized groups (e.g., indigenous, Latinx).
- 4) Confront legacies of a longstanding institutional culture which operate in social spaces outside the formal curriculum as a part of communal values being continually reinforced. Illuminate evidence of pro-Confederacy and racist attitudes and behaviors from the early decades so that echoes in current interactions can be addressed as an educational step toward creating an anti-racist community.

- 5) Include and support individuals and communities who have been marginalized due to the institutions' history of white dominance and actively work to dismantle racism and oppression in university and in the community.

Statement of thanks: The RRI team for this topic included a number of dedicated volunteers who assisted with research for this segment of the larger project. Thank you to Mike Caldwell, Casey Call, Kelli Gill, David Grebel, Mary Lawrence, and Kendal Riddell. Mary Saffell, Senior Archivist in Special Collections at TCU, provided crucial assistance to everyone on this team.

Artifacts with Analysis

Photograph of Add-Ran College when its home was Thorp Spring; c. 1890



This photo appears on a scrapbook page of Mattie Cooper Harlin's, which provides a list of teachers, including "Mr. Addison Clark, President" and "Mr. Randolph Clark, Vice-President," as well as a list of "girls of the boarding house" with 42 names. Note the lone Black woman off to the side and around the corner of the building. Who is she? Why is she not identified in the listing? What questions should we ask about her placement in what seems to have been a posed photograph?

Source: **Mattie Cooper Harlin Collection** (Born 12/14/1873-Died 4/1957 Gordon, TX) autograph book 1885 - Add Ran college friends 1889 (ARC); Mary Couts Burnett Library Special Collections.

Photograph from the Sallie Clark Collection, c. early 1900s



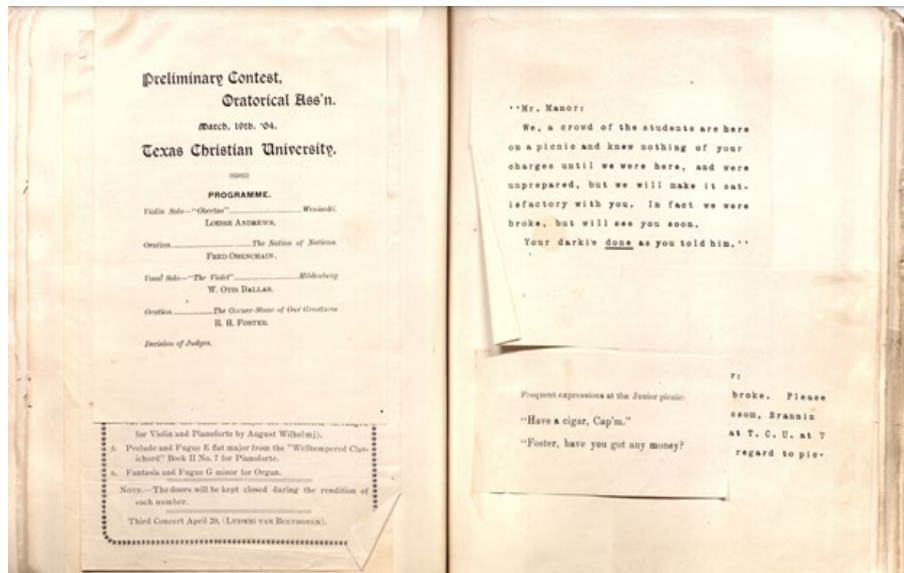
In contrast to the previous photo, in which a lone Black woman is segregated from a posed group of whites affiliated with Add-Ran, this image suggests comfortable familiarity between a TCU-affiliated white woman (probably in the Clark family) and Black associates. Written in pencil on the back of the photograph is this statement: "Old Pack says he doesn't like to have a specimen made of him but he got in the picture just the same." Old Pack may be Charlie Thorp, and if so, the other two Black people in the photo could be Kate (Lee) Thorp and one of their offspring. While the date is not indicated, the image may be from the early 1900s.

Source: From a folder of Sallie Clark's photographs in Box 66, Group 156, Series II, Folder 1-23, Joseph Lynn Clark Papers. Mary Coats Burnett Library, Special Collections.

Three Pages from a TCU Instructor's Scrapbook

Items below were collected/saved by Miss Olive McClintic while she was a TCU speech (elocution) teacher, beginning in 1901. Three items from this scrapbook are presented.

1) Two-page spread with program from an oratorical event on the left and an account of a student activity on the right

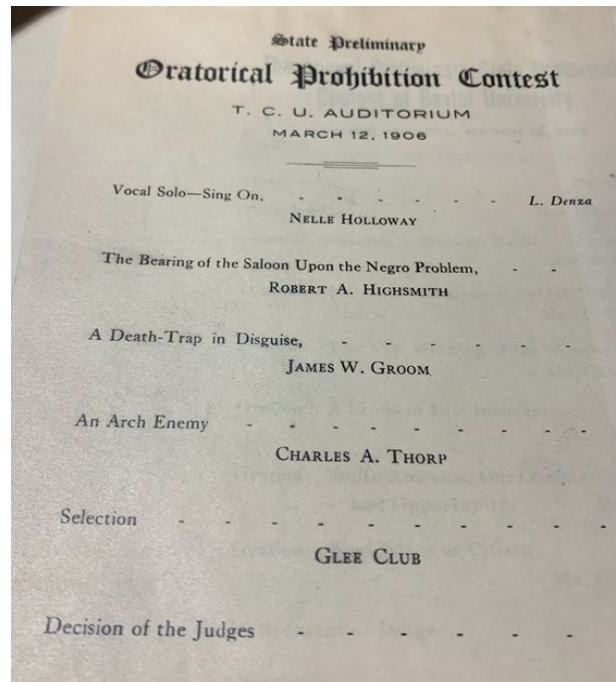


Located on page 50 of 75. The note listed on the top right corner of this page is written to a "Mr. Manor." The scrapbook text seems to refer to a class prank between Juniors and Seniors of that year as described in a *Skiff* student newspaper article dated March 26, 1904, in an issue now available [here](#) in the [TCU Digital Repository](#). The Seniors sent a written message to Juniors with a demand from the purported owner of the land where the younger group was picnicking that they pay a fee for use of the place. Noteworthy in both the article and the excerpt in the scrapbook is the white students' (enforced?) enlistment of a "negro under the employ of the '04 class" in

carrying out the plan of the Seniors against the Juniors. Also notable is the use of the term “darkie” within this text produced by TCU students of that time. Transcription:

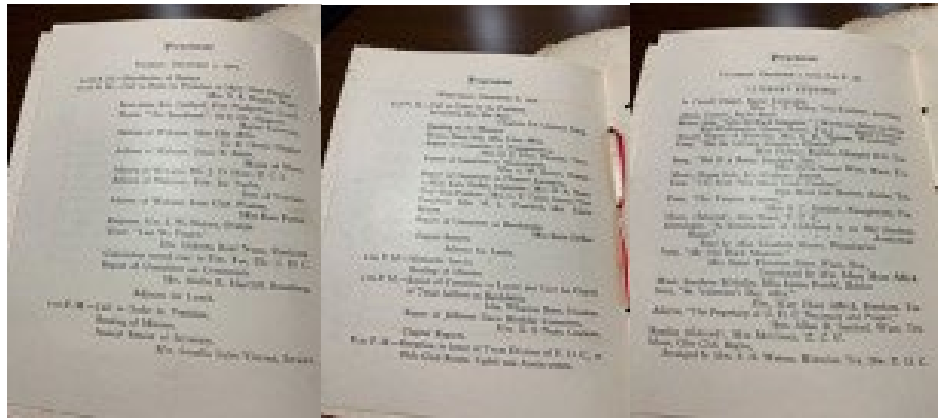
“Mr. Manor: We, a crowd of the students are here on a picnic and knew nothing of your charge until we were here, and were unprepared, but we will make it satisfactory with you. In fact we were broke, but will see you soon. Your darkie done as you told him.”

2) Oratorical contest on “Prohibition” theme: March 12, 1906



Note the program’s implicit linkage of “saloon” and “Negro problem.”

3) Program for a 1905 Multi-Day United Daughters of the Confederacy Event



Program for a multi-day event sponsored by the Texas Division of the **United Daughters of the Confederacy**, in Waco, TX, December 5-8, 1905. See pages from the program, which is saved in complete form in the McClintic scrapbook.

Note: The program contains numerous titles and reference activities that underscore a positive memory of the Confederacy's "lost cause." (See, for example, "Lest We Forget" on page 1 here and page 2's reference to reverential care for Confederate soldiers' graves and other memorial activities.) Details in the program also illustrate the persistence of racist stereotyping (e.g., "My Old Black Mammie," page 3 of the three pages here). TCU faculty member "Miss McClintic" contributes to the program via an individual oratorical/speech performance for the "Literary Evening" event, with her performance coming just after a presentation whose title asserts the need of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to operate "in perpetuity." (See page 3 above.)

Source for the three artifacts above: McClintic, Olive Leaman. Scrapbook. 1898-1906. TCU Scrapbook Collection, Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library, Texas Christian University.
<https://repository.tcu.edu/handle/116099117/4609>

Clipping from a Student Scrapbook, c. 1919



Located on page 126 of 138 of the scrapbook, these clippings from the *Star Telegram* show images of a KKK rally held in Fort Worth at the Y. M. C. A. Park. A hand notation marks the date as February 16, 1922. The student's own assessment of the event is not recorded.

Source: Billington, Donna Jean. Scrapbook. 1920-1926. TCU Scrapbook Collection, Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library, Texas Christian University.

<https://repository.tcu.edu/handle/116099117/4606>