



RACE & RECONCILIATION INITIATIVE

# *First Year Survey Report*

APRIL 21, 2021



**TCU**

**Race & Reconciliation  
Initiative**



Collaborative drawing by students in Drawing II, School of Fine Arts, led by Prof. Dan Jian, Spring 2021.  
TCU's Race & Reconciliation Initiative supports this project.

**Artists**

**Left Panel:** Mason Rosal, Cam Arthur, John Elias, Amaris Gonzales, Caroline Madden, Dan Jian, Romane Mays, Adelynn Strong.

**Right Panel:** Lauren Fleniken, Quin Frazier, Faith Glass, Micah Matherne, Katalina Watson.

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**RRI: FIRST-YEAR SURVEY REPORT**

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



**These Men 'Set the Pace' at TCU**



While the campus was being desegregated in the 1960s, this 1967 photo of TCU's Board of Trustees shows that the campus leadership and faculty had miles to go (1967 Yearbook, page 113).

# Chancellor's Note

Texas Christian University has a history that is nearly 150 years in the making. Today, we share a legacy of meaningful values, and there is much in our past that inspires pride. As an academic institution, it's also important for us to explore, examine and acknowledge the completeness of TCU's story, which began during a time of painful strife, incredible innovation and dynamic growth. Much like today.

In July of 2020, the Board of Trustees announced an initiative to study TCU's experiences with racism, slavery and the Confederacy. Provost Teresa Abi-Nader Dahlberg developed the charge and appointed a 28-member committee to advance the Race & Reconciliation Initiative, chaired by Dr. Frederick W. Gooding, Jr. The committee dove into an intensive academic examination of the University's history, uncovering documents, artifacts, and sharing some of what they learned along the way.

I want to convey my deepest thanks to Dr. Frederick W. Gooding, Jr., and the committee who volunteered innumerable hours and dedicated much to the research and writing of this report. Sincere thanks to TCU's Board of Trustees for their unconditional support of this effort, and also to the thousands who have participated, listened and even shared their own stories.

Our work is not done. We continue to build upon the foundation that will help us thrive for our next 150 years. What follows in these pages is a more complete telling of TCU's history, told humbly and in truth.

Sincerely,



Victor J. Boschini, Jr.  
Chancellor

# Statement of Acknowledgment

TCU acknowledges its ties to slavery, racism, and the Confederacy by virtue of the Clark family's ownership of enslaved persons and by virtue of Addison and Randolph Clark both picking up arms as Confederate soldiers. We remain grateful for the founders' vision in fostering the world-class university with which we are proud to be associated. And yet, acknowledging our founding vision does not require that we agree with every action or belief held by our founders.

Yet, as an institution of education, where truth and knowledge remain our hallowed pursuits, we reserve the right to do better once we have learned better. The stated values of TCU include personal freedom and integrity, the dignity and respect for the individual, a heritage of service in pursuit of the greater good, and active appreciation for the array of human experience and the potential of every human being. While these values are inconsistent with racism in any form, they also do provide a solid foundation upon which to pursue racial healing.

Thus, we resolve to keep moving toward our goal of creating a campus community that fosters growth and development for all, without reservation. In spite of our past, we seek to move forward together in the name of reconciliation.

***Chancellor Victor J. Boschini, Jr.***

## RACE & RECONCILIATION INITIATIVE

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*We respectfully acknowledge all Native American peoples who have lived on this land since time immemorial. TCU especially acknowledges and pays respect to the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, upon whose historical homeland our university is located.*

# Introduction

In July of 2020, the Chancellor and Board of Trustees of Texas Christian University (TCU) jointly issued a charge to create TCU's Race & Reconciliation Initiative (RRI) to study TCU's relationship with slavery, racism and the Confederacy. For its inaugural year, the RRI elected to break up the larger research charge into smaller pieces for the following reasons: 1) having less than nine months to conduct research; 2) studying a time period spanning nearly 150 years; and 3) heavily relying on mostly volunteer labor. This strategy, then, was devised to reduce pressure and manage expectations. By studying three key periods crucial for understanding TCU's relationship with slavery, racism and the Confederacy, we would then share or disseminate those smaller pieces as good faith deposits in the bank of public trust. By way of "Operation: Triangulation," RRI committee members focused on three key periods, or "windows in time," on which to concentrate existing research efforts. The logic was that these three periods would then point us towards the direction for continued research and engagement in subsequent years:

- **EARLY PERIOD** >> *The Founding Years, 1861 - 1891*
- **MIDDLE PERIOD** >> *Transition to Integration, 1941 - 1971*
- **MODERN PERIOD** >> *Recent but Related Histories, 1998 - present*

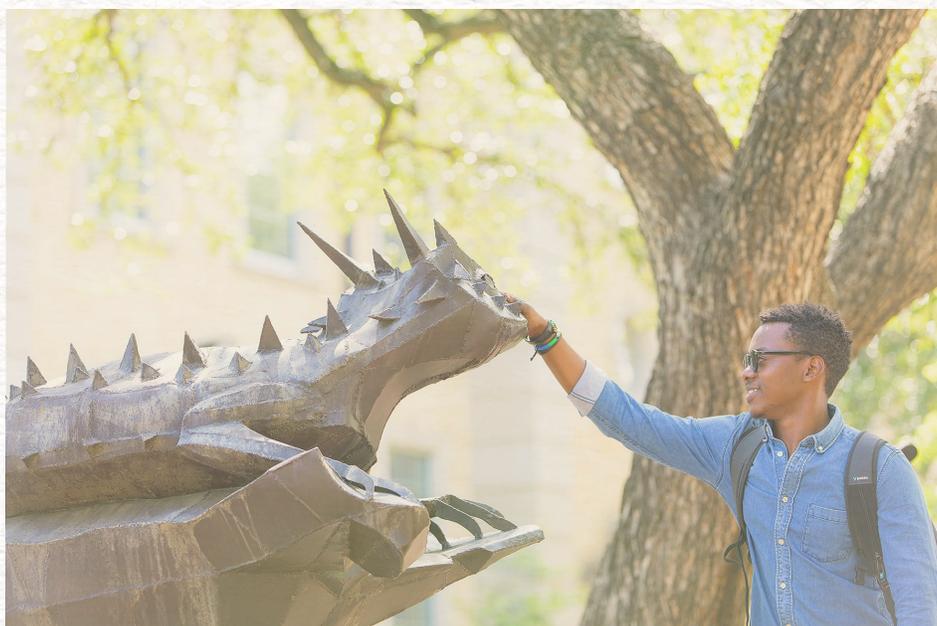
## FIRST-YEAR SURVEY REPORT

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The first window, “The Founding Years,” spans the start of the Civil War to the start of the Jim Crow era. The overarching research question for this period is: How did the institution of enslavement affect TCU’s identity formation? It appears that 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 enslavement or the Confederacy. Unlike the University of Virginia, for instance, enslaved Black labor did not contribute substantially to the creation of wealth for the university.

The second window in time, “Transition to Integration,” spans the start of World War II and Chancellor McGruder Ellis Sadler’s tenure to the then-high water mark when the first Black homecoming queen was crowned. The overarching research question for this period is: How do systemic racism and discrimination continue to manifest? During this period, we uncovered campus fears and baseless concerns over the institution’s reluctant acceptance of a more diverse society that unfortunately cast a lingering shadow over more recent attempts to embrace a less monochromatic existence in the twenty-first century.

The third window in time, “Recent but Related Histories,” spans Chancellor Michael Ferrari’s tenure until the academic year 2019-2020. For us, Michael Ferrari is a significant figure insofar as he represents the first non-Texan and first university leader not officially affiliated with the Disciples of Christ, the church denomination linked to the university’s founders. The overarching research question for this period is: How do we embrace and face the shadows of the Confederacy in the building of our future legacy? Examining with whom TCU does business – overwhelmingly and disproportionately White-dominated – alongside brave student advocacy, we illuminate several areas of growth to reconcile with if it plans to deliver on its charge to past and potential graduates to “lead on.”



# The Founding Years: TCU, Slavery, and the Confederacy, 1861-1891

## *The World from which TCU Emerged*

Four major factors intertwined to shape the educational landscape for the founding and development of Texas Christian University (TCU): 1) the long-term history of enslavement 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) ongoing conflict over the Confederacy coupled with an unusually long and unchecked history of violence in Texas, and 4) the influence of the university's founders and the Christian Church (i.e., Disciples of Christ) to provide institutions for education-starved Texans.

In 1873, when Addison and Randolph Clark opened Add-Ran Male and Female College (later renamed Texas Christian University), they operated in an educational milieu unlike any other state in the United States. In 1870, the National Bureau of Education concluded Texas was “the darkest field educationally in the United States”: indeed, Texas possessed a paucity of educational institutions, and public schools and universities simply did not exist.<sup>1</sup> In 1870, Texas spent less than 3% of the tax revenue that the much smaller, neighboring states of Arkansas and Louisiana each spent on education.<sup>2</sup> 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.

By virtually all metrics, Texas in 1870 was an outlier as the only state that displayed virtually no interest in educating youth. As the nineteenth most populous state, Texas employed fewer teachers than all but the three smallest states. For instance, comparisons with Oregon, which had only had been a state since 1859, illustrate Texas's

## FIRST-YEAR SURVEY REPORT

shortcomings. Oregon had 11% of the population of Texas, yet 41% more students. Texas spent 11% of the tax dollars that sparsely populated Oregon spent on education. 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.”<sup>3</sup> This state of affairs evolved slowly over the next half-century. Not until 1915 did Texas require children to attend school, becoming one of the last states to legislate compulsory education. Texans might have blamed the state’s educational failures on the Civil War, but Texas’s infrastructure and economy were far less decimated

by the war than other Southern states to the east, indicating education simply was not a priority.

The forces that led the founders to create TCU illuminate some of their views of enslavement, the Civil War, and the Confederacy. The founders’ father, Joseph Addison Clark, owned a slave while they were growing up, and he likely had purchased others while they were at war. There is little evidence of TCU trustees owning slaves, largely because many were too young to have done so during the era of enslavement. Further, the long Texas history of enslavement and violence, which led the state to join the Confederacy in the Civil War, left a powerful legacy in the war’s aftermath. The violence of the war years remained intact, and in some ways grew worse, as the state proved unable to curb rampant lawlessness. Such lawlessness stemmed from hostility towards the emancipation of the enslaved and also from an

inability to influence government to provide basic safety for all. Criminal activity went largely unchecked, and the government failed at building schools and providing education for the state’s children – a failure of proportions unknown in all the other states.

Hence, the Clark family’s drive to create a university was an attempt to fill this 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. During a time period in which the state of Texas provided limited investment in education and suppressed Blacks’ participation in civic life, the Clark brothers (i.e., Addison and Randolph Clark) began their work as teachers and institution-builders. Randolph explained that he and his brother intended to devote their lives to running a school that was influenced by



Addison & Randolph Clark, founders of Add-Ran Male and Female College (later renamed Texas Christian University)

### 1840

Colonel Thorp purchases mother of Charlie Thorp. Charlie born into enslavement in 1852 or 1853.

### 1861-1865

American Civil War

### 1861, Feb.

Declaration of the Causes which Impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union (Texas Secession Convention)

### 1862-1863

Confederate Conscription Acts  
*Law requiring that all able-bodied men (ages 18-35) be drafted into the Confederate Army – Randolph Clark was 18 and Addison was 20.*

### 1862

Addison joins the Confederate Army

### 1863, Jan. 1

Emancipation Proclamation

### 1864

Randolph joins Addison in the Sixteenth Calvary Division

### 1869-1874

Clark brothers direct the Male and Female Seminary of Fort Worth

### 1870, Jul. 5

Randolph Clark marries Ella Lee

### 1873

Add-Ran Male and Female College (later TCU) founded, one of the first co-ed institutions west of the Mississippi.

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neither church nor state; instead, they 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’s work.<sup>4</sup>

TCU’s founding was a direct reaction to the decimation wrought by the Civil War – which continued in the wake of the war – but had little direct connection to either enslavement or the Confederacy. Enslaved Black labor,

for instance, did not contribute substantially to the creation of wealth for the university. Although the Clark brothers’ father, Joseph Addison Clark, benefited from slave labor, the two brothers possessed limited financial resources. Not only did both sons sell their homes in Fort Worth, but Randolph’s wife Ella and her sister Callie Lee also sold their family homestead to pay for TCU’s first classroom building at Thorp Spring.

Nonetheless, 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 enslavement and deified racism and

White power. Early in its history, 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 dynamic created a “norm” that persists to the present day in which Black needs, desires, experiences, and assertions are assessed by Whites as “different,” “unnecessary,” and “unwanted” – that is unless they converge with the White culture’s definitions of what is necessary and proper at TCU and for the society at large.

**Long-term History of Enslavement in Texas**

School children have been taught for generations that enslavement was of minimal importance in Texas history, since plantation enslavement in Texas paled in comparison to the slaveholding states to the east. In fact, historians have increasingly identified the centrality of enslavement 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.<sup>5</sup> For centuries afterwards, Texas was a source, as well as a way station, for the continuous shipment of Native Americans from not only Texas, but also from the Great Plains and other parts of the Southwest to Mexico.<sup>6</sup> 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, culminating in thousands of Apaches being 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,

**SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in Precinct No. *Clarks*, in the County of *Galveston* St. of *Texas*, enumerated by me, on the *5<sup>th</sup>* day of *May*, 185*9*. *W. H. Cleveland* Ass't Mar**

1	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	DESCRIPTION.					7	8	9	10	11
		2	3	4	5	6					
		Number of Slaves.	Age.	Sex.	Color.	Pugitive from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.			
1	<i>Stephen Henry</i>	1	16	f	W				1		
2		1	17	f	W				2		
3		1	15	f	W				3		
4	<i>W. C.</i>	1	12	W	W				4		
5		1	8	W	W				5		
6		1	25	f	W				6		
7	<i>W. H. Cleveland</i>	1	26	f	W				7		
8		1	25	f	W				8		
9		1	17	W	W				9		
10		1	15	f	W				10		
11		1	10	f	W				11		

United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850

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No. 2 (just outside of Waco), was a key spot for Comanches and other Native Americans to bring enslaved Natives and African Americans – the latter mostly stolen from plantations to the east and southeast – who were sold to local Whites.<sup>7</sup> All of this slaving violence precipitated and perpetuated a culture of intergroup violence that lasted for centuries.<sup>8</sup>

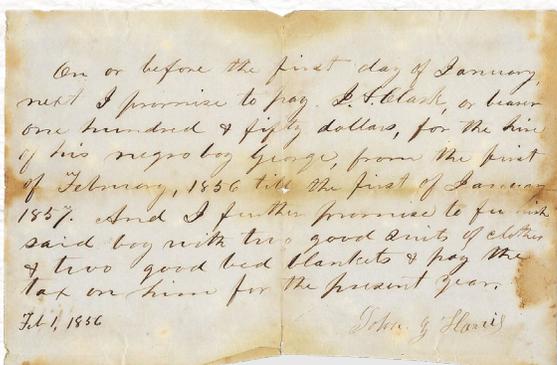
In the early nineteenth century, Anglo immigrants from the United States arrived in Texas with their enslaved Africans and heightened the slaving violence with and against Hispanic and Native communities. The Anglo slaveholders migrated to Texas for inexpensive lands to produce cotton on slave plantations.<sup>9</sup> With the rising tide of anti-enslavement 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 advertising their new country as, the last slaveholders' republic.<sup>10</sup>

The slaveholding face of Texas was an embarrassment and a 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 enslavement.

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 a joint declaration of Congress.

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 in 1862. In Collin County, where plantations and enslavement were relatively uncommon (11% of the Collin County population was

enslaved, compared to 30% enslaved in Texas), the sponsoring father of TCU founders Addison and Randolph Clark, Joseph Addison Clark, owned a “negro” in 1860 valued at \$1,000. Other records indicate that, previously, the elder Clark had owned an enslaved thirteen-year-old boy in 1850, and rented out a slave, George, for the year 1856 at a cost of \$150. Additionally, he possessed 160 acres (\$1,200), four horses, (\$300), and 600 sheep (\$1,800).



Note made to J.A. Clark in which John Harris agrees to pay \$150 for the use of Clark's enslaved boy, George, for one year and also to provide the boy with 2 suits of clothes and 2 bed blankets. Dated, Feb. 1, 1856.

### 1873-1899

Addison relocates to Thorp Spring and assumes presidency of Add-Ran Male and Female College

### 1889-1896

Col. J. J. Jarvis serves as president of the Board of Trustees.

### 1890

Clarks officially deed the University property to the Disciples of Christ Church. The word “Christian” is officially added to the University's charter

### 1895

Campus relocated to Waco

### 1896

Randolph receives M.A. degree in literature

### 1896

TCU launches football and women's intercollegiate sports

### 1897

Joe J. Fields first football coach at TCU

### 1901

Jos. A. Clark dies in Thorp Spring

### 1906

Joseph Lynn Clark graduates from TCU

### 1906-1909

J.L. Clark instructor in history and English in Add-Ran College

### 1909-1910

J.L. Clark instructor at John Tarleton College (now Tarleton State University)

### 1910

Fire destroys Waco campus. TCU relocates to Fort Worth

### 1912

Jarvis Christian College established by the Disciples of Christ Church

## Divisiveness of the Civil War in Texas

Even with the 1860 election of the ambivalent Abraham Lincoln to the United States' 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

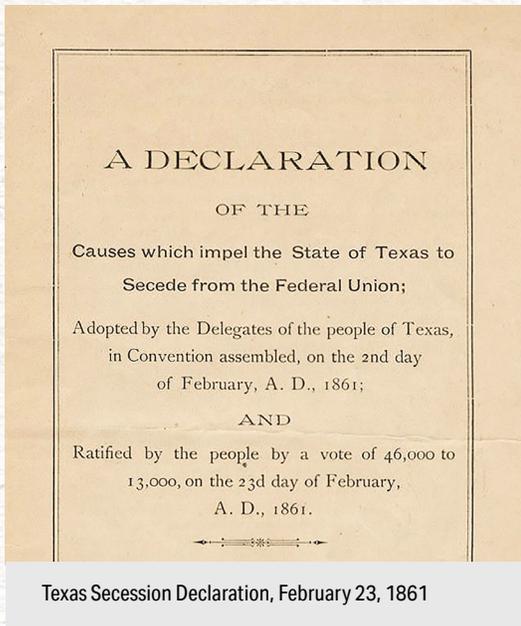
of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union," details the centrality of enslavement and the maintenance of Black inferiority as the predominant reasons to leave the United States.<sup>12</sup> Texans voted overwhelmingly to secede and join the Confederate States of America, though the German immigrants in the Hill Country and the counties to the north of Dallas and Tarrant counties voted firmly against secession. In Texas's northern counties there were few plantations, yet enslaved Blacks comprised, 10-15% of the total population.<sup>13</sup>

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 dynamic did not rise from instigation by Northern agitators, but from the enslaved themselves, who sometimes forged alliances with local Mexicans and Native Americans.<sup>14</sup> Fear of dark-skinned populations influenced Southern Whites to exert great hostility against Blacks as well as against Whites who might work in concert with Blacks or with the United States government. 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.

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, as well as those whom the kangaroo court had declared innocent. Over forty were executed in Gainesville, Texas, in one of the largest massacres 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, those who favored the United States government, those who challenged the racial hierarchy that placed Whites at the top and people of color at the bottom of the social order.<sup>15</sup>

The solution to Texas's violent problems, according to contemporaries, beyond better policing, prosecution of criminals, and weapons 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 whereby Texans would then use enlightened reason to settle their differences and obey the law instead of allowing their violent impulses to range freely. Yet such illumination did not extend to non-White individuals. During this period of failed Reconstruction, there is archival evidence of student attitudes toward Confederacy culture that stand out today, even as they were characteristic of the times. For example, Mattie Cooper Harlin, who attended TCU in 1890, records in her diary: "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...."<sup>16</sup>



Texas Secession Declaration, February 23, 1861

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Mattie's diary is also significant for another reason; 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, in 1861, and then not again till the 1880s, males and females took separate classes. While hardly new, higher education for women was 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. These philosophical divisions reflected a national divide in the Disciples Church between the progressive wing that predominated in the northern states, which influenced the founders of TCU, and the southern wing, which remained more conservative in many ways.

### *Ongoing Conflict over the Confederacy*

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. Those who voted against secession or refused to support the Confederacy, however, faced possible attacks associated with a "campaign of violent suppression."<sup>17</sup> Once the Confederacy's authority was established in the state, many felt that it was the duty of citizens to defend the area.<sup>18</sup> 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."<sup>19</sup>

Addison Clark joined the Confederacy in 1862, leaving his father, Joseph Addison Clark, engaged in commercial enterprises, shipping most commodities to the war area but also supplying local retailers. While there are few records, it appears that Joseph Addison Clark made considerable profits during the war years. Missing from retrospective family reporting are indications that the labor of enslaved persons might have facilitated the family's financial advancement. Randolph later depicted his older brother Addison 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 Clark enlist in the Confederacy? Randolph concluded, "It was easier to preach non-resistance than to practice it in the face of an invading army."<sup>20</sup>

In an undated early draft of his *Reminiscences* manuscript, Randolph Clark speculated that his father was "maneuvering to keep him [Randolph] out of war." He bemoaned, however, "the time was coming that I would have to go without the privilege of volunteering."<sup>21</sup> Randolph knew that he would soon have to explain why he was not in

### 1915

Kate Thorp dies in Lancaster, TX

### 1916-1941

E. M. Waits named president of TCU

### 1921

TCU becomes member of the Association of American Colleges

### 1921

Mr. Fred Rouse lynched in Fort Worth

### 1922, Feb.

KKK rally held in Fort Worth at Y.M.C.A. park

### 1922

TCU accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools

### 1927, Aug. 24

Charlie Thorp dies in El Capitan, NM

### 1928

TCU becomes a member of Association of American Universities

### 1930

TCU becomes a member of the Association of American University Women

### 1935

TCU becomes charter member of the Southern University Conference

### 1935

Wiley's Forensic team (all-Black debaters) invited to compete at TCU, the first time an all-white school hosted such an event for mixed audiences on campus

### 1935

Randolph Clark dies

### 1940

Creation of the Frog Club to promote intercollegiate athletics

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the Confederate army. So, once the family settled in its new location, Randolph found Addison's Confederate company and served about a year without formally enlisting. Later, he wrote, "I consider that year of my life misspent. And believe as mother did... that Christians cannot make war."<sup>22</sup> 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. If I knew that this country would be ruled by Mongrels and negroes I would want to go somewhere [else]."<sup>23</sup>

Addison Clark served as a Confederate officer, and his brother Randolph joined him at the end of the war, though not as an enrolled soldier. Addison Clark formally enrolled with the Confederate armed forces in Grayson County, and was mustered in Collin County, as a 2nd Lieutenant, Co. D. 16<sup>th</sup> Texas Cavalry. Company D was composed mostly of men who had been boyhood friends in north central Texas. Indeed, as Randolph reports, Addison had company 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-enslavement 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 enslavement. The South was their home, it was invaded, they answered the call to defense."<sup>24</sup>

The Clark family abandoned north Texas in 1863, partly owing to the dangerous situation of deserters and partisan raiders. Joseph Addison Clark had earned enough during the war to purchase a farm, a ranch, and 100 horses. In 1864, there is a record of a Joseph A. Clark in Hill County who possessed five slaves – this might have been him. Joseph 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. 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; the Civil War, however, indelibly shaped the region.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Addison and Randolph Clark showed some signs of continued affiliation with former Confederate soldiers through their active membership in the United Confederate Veterans and the A.S. Johnston Camp of the United Confederate Veterans.<sup>25</sup> Randolph asserted that the soldiers were not typically secessionists, nor did they have a tendency to favor war or enslaved people, but instead were "peaceful home loving people." He went on to recall that at a meeting of teachers that he attended in Pennsylvania shortly after the war, "We fought against invasion of our home land and did not make war on women and children."<sup>26</sup>

The Clarks' cultural memory of the Confederacy remained a part of their identities. In fact, the brothers' intention to found a school may have been influenced by their reverence of General Robert E Lee. Randolph's son Joseph Lynn Clark later wrote that "the admiration of the brothers for the beloved leader of the armies of the South was ... greatly enhanced by his acceptance of [Lee's] 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."<sup>27</sup>

### *Influence of TCU's Founders and the Christian Church*

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. 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. Joseph Addison Clark,

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the father of Addison and Randolph, engaged in many professions, including journalist, surveyor, lawyer, farmer, preacher, and teacher. Church congregations were established and disbanded with regularity, which led preachers like Clark to travel frequently to preach to temporary fellowships or to help communities establish new churches.<sup>28</sup>

Joseph Addison Clark, following his wife's lead, had joined the Disciples of Christ in 1842 and preached throughout his life.<sup>29</sup> Both Addison and Randolph Clark followed in their father's footsteps teaching and preaching with no evidence uncovered that Joseph Addison or his sons preached on the topic of enslavement. Sermons were rarely written down, and little documentation exists regarding the Church's stance on enslavement 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.<sup>30</sup> The Disciples of Christ generally tried to ignore the issue of enslavement to avoid the sectional divisions that had split other denominations in the United States. There was little sign of anti-enslavement sentiment among Southern followers of the Church.<sup>31</sup>

There existed a long tradition in the United States for churches to establish private academies, colleges, and universities. Inspired by their father, who was a teacher, and by the Church's coeducational leanings, the Clark brothers operated a coeducational seminary in Fort Worth. The Clark brothers then transitioned to create a far more comprehensive educational institute – the Add-Ran Male and Female College, later renamed Texas Christian University. They later moved to Thorp Spring, 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.

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 Barbara Thorp Wilkins, one of Pleasant Thorp's descendants, Thorp Spring was near the hunting grounds and campsites for Caddos and Comanches and an Ioni Indian village. Wilkins notes that “with secession came realities of civil war [. . .] Federal troops that manned a string of forts on the frontier were withdrawn, and their absence was an invitation for escalated Indian attacks.”<sup>32</sup> Hoping a school would be a valuable economic asset to the community, Thorp erected a school building; in 1873, he invited the Clarks to move their school to Thorp Spring.<sup>33</sup>

Charley Thorp, an emancipated Black with ties to the Thorp family, played a significant role in the daily life of Add-Ran Male and Female College 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 around 1855. The 1860 census shows that Mr. Thorp enslaved two people: a female,



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?

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age thirty-seven, and a male, aged seven. Those people were most likely Charlie and his mother.<sup>34</sup> Randolph's son, Joseph Lynn Clark, would later describe Charlie's labor for TCU as encompassing "practically every detail, aside from academic activities, not specifically belonging to someone else."<sup>35</sup> Charlie Thorp married Kate Lee in about 1882; they had several children together, in addition to some from prior relationships. Kate Lee, likely the daughter of a woman formerly enslaved by the family of Randolph Clark's wife Ella Lee,<sup>36</sup> 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. 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.<sup>37</sup> Although they supported the learning of the college's White students, Kate, Charlie and their children were denied the chance for formal education. Nevertheless, 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.

Expanding their enterprise to a college, the Clarks obtained a charter from the state in 1873 and named their institution Add-Ran Male and Female College, after Addison's young son, who died prematurely 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.<sup>38</sup> On the first letterhead of the school, A. Clark is listed as President, R. Clark as Vice President, and J.A. Clark as Proprietor.<sup>39</sup>

The financial crisis of 1873 imperiled the Clark family finances such that they could not complete payment for the building at Thorp Spring, where the College intended permanent residence, and they were forced to move to other accommodations within Thorp Spring. While in Thorp Spring, the brothers moved the campus and took control of the school as their father relinquished his managerial responsibilities.<sup>40</sup> The Clark brothers tapped into a strong desire in North Texas for higher education, giving them no trouble attracting students: 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."<sup>41</sup>

J.J. Jarvis, the head of the Trustees, served as a Confederate major. Additionally, 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) that still operate today. In subsequent generations, additional 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.<sup>42</sup> Another son of Randolph, Joseph Lynn Clark, graduated from TCU in 1906 and became a historian. He was a cofounder and member of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation.<sup>43</sup>

Ultimately, the Clarks decided to offer the assets, obligations, control, and responsibility for the institution to the Brotherhood of the Christian Churches of Texas 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.<sup>44</sup> Addison and Randolph transferred 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 to the newly constituted Board of Trustees.<sup>45</sup> 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 school was changed to Texas Christian University; the liberal arts college at the heart of the university was named the AddRan College of Arts and Sciences.<sup>46</sup>

# Transition to Integration, 1941-1971

## *Open for Learning, but Closed to Diversity*

Several decades before TCU officially desegregated its entire campus, a small number of Black students had partial access to a TCU education. The first evidence of any Black person taking classes at TCU occurred in 1942-43, during the Second World War. TCU obtained government contracts to provide “background training for naval & marine officers and for airplane pilots.”<sup>47</sup> Classes were provided for undergraduate students and in the Evening College. While President McGruder Ellis Sadler<sup>48</sup> and the Board of Trustees felt it was their patriotic duty to admit such students, only a few Blacks who were in the military were allowed to enroll, and did so in the Evening College only. Minutes from a 1945 TCU Board of Trustees (BOT) meeting reference TCU’s working relationship with the Veterans Administration, emphasizing that housing shortages limited TCU’s capacity to admit no more than thirty or forty veteran students at that time. Though it is uncertain exactly how many students were veterans, the surge pushed TCU enrollment to slightly above 4,000 students, of which approximately 3,000 attended the Day College and 1,183 enrolled in the Evening College, according to the October, 1946 TCU President’s Report to the Board of Trustees. In a subsequent TCU President’s Report, dated March 1947, enrollment remained at “double capacity” of 4,016 students, of which approximately 2,000 were veterans, and four temporary dormitories were noted to be in use and almost filled. There is no evidence that military officers who attended daytime classes and mingled with the general campus students were anything other than White. Sadler stated in later documents that the BOT did not ask about the race of any persons being sent to TCU by the military because the university had a contract with the

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### 1941

TCU has 1,734 students and is located on 138 acres

### 1941

M.E. Sadler named president of TCU

### 1942

TCU integrates Evening College, for military personnel only

### 1951-1956

TCU School of Education professors teach evening classes for Black public school teachers off campus at Gay Street Elementary School

### 1951, Oct. 29

Sadler issues a statement about TCU's commitment to avoid "any action which would cause any people to point to us and say 'Texas Christian University is pioneering and pushing out in the matter of non-segregation'" and to avoid "involving ourselves in any discussion of segregation or non-segregation"

### 1952, Sept.

Integration at the Brite College of the Bible for graduate work only

### 1954

U.S. Supreme Court rules against segregation in *Brown vs Board of Education*

### 1956

University of North Texas desegregates

### 1957

Greek life annual "slave auction" tradition begins

### 1959

D. Ray Lindley named president of TCU. Sadler named chancellor

military.<sup>50</sup> The program ended when the new commander of Carswell AFB withdrew all support to pay for tuition.<sup>51</sup>

Next to soldiers, teachers were among the first Black people to enroll in educational opportunities supported by TCU in the 1950s. Such opportunities were limited, usually not transcribed, and done reluctantly, according to President Sadler, who acknowledged in 1951: "For the past ten years, we have wanted to avoid any action which would cause any people to point to us and say 'Texas Christian University is pioneering and pushing out in the matter of non-segregation.'"<sup>52</sup> From 1951-1953, TCU faculty provided evening classes for Black public school teachers at an off campus location at the Gay Street Elementary School Building; Gay Street Elementary School principal Lottie Mae Hamilton and Bertice Bates were among the first two to enroll. Sadler, in his 1951 statement, describes the arrangement for teachers thus: "We have provided teachers for courses needed by groups of Negro public school teachers here in Fort Worth. These classes have been held in the Gay Street School building and have been composed entirely of Negro students."<sup>53</sup>

Professor of Education Sandy A. Wall, who taught these courses, recalls that he had approximately 20-30 teachers in each of these classes, and they studied with him via arranged independent study after they had taken all the classes offered in the evening college.<sup>54</sup> Lottie Hamilton earned her M.Ed. in June 1956; Bertice Bates earned her M.Ed. in 1960. Later graduates include Reva Bell, who began her studies in 1956 and earned her M.Ed. in 1965, and Juanita Cash (mother of James Cash, the first Black athlete at TCU in 1966), who began her studies in 1955 and earned her M.Ed. in 1965.<sup>55</sup> In a February 15, 1977 letter to the *Daily Skiff*, Dr. Wall, who also served as the associate dean of the graduate school, wrote that "it gave me a great satisfaction to shift the records of the Black students from their segregated niche to the regular alphabetical files; it gave me more satisfaction to follow my students of those segregated years to the completion of their graduate degrees." Dr. James Cash, who was the first Black basketball player at TCU and in the Southwest Conference, reflected in 1987, when establishing a scholarship in his mother's honor, "I was always fascinated by the commitment of the [education] school to do what was right, rather than what was acceptable."<sup>56</sup>

In his 1951 statement to the *Skiff*, Sadler referenced the informal relationship with Jarvis Christian College, through which TCU was "helping a young man complete his degree requirements [at Jarvis by organizing] some individual conference courses so that the Negro student can meet with the [TCU] teacher and get some of the work he needs to complete his degree at Jarvis." These types of arrangements that maintained segregation and involved independent study sessions with professors may have been the norm, but one religion professor, Dr. Paul Wassenich, described TCU "quietly" allowing some Black students to attend courses in sociology and education on campus before 1954, according

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to a *Skiff* interview in 1973. Despite this work by the School of Education and the Sociology department in the early 1950s, TCU continued to “avoid any action” to be seen as supporting desegregation after *Brown vs Board of Education* (1954).

Photographs in the TCU yearbook suggest that some students of color attended TCU’s main campus in the 1940s and 1950s. Tommy Moy, an Asian-American student from New York City, is pictured in the 1943 TCU *Horned Frog* staff photo for the yearbook, as a junior in the 1948 yearbook, and as a graduate student coach for intramural fencing in the Feb. 10, 1950, *Skiff*, page ten. In 1948, Jaime Marrero-Rivera, Efrain Ortega, and Manuel Paez



The cafeteria staff is steadily featured in early 1950s yearbooks, and only named in 1954.

are featured in the yearbook as members of the Ridings Press Club, an organization for students interested in journalism.

Black people also appeared in other photos of yearbooks in the 1940s and 1950s. A Duke Ellington concert was held for TCU students, and the musician appears in photos in the 1948 yearbook, playing before a standing-room-only crowd of White students. A photo of ministers’ wives in 1952 includes Alva Brown, a Black woman standing among White women. Most depictions of Black people in these yearbooks, however, were of cafeteria and other campus employees, usually unnamed. The cafeteria staff is steadily

featured in early 1950s yearbooks, and only named in 1954.<sup>57</sup> Those Black workers included seven women: Thelma Payne, Ada Lee Burton, Eula Mae Harris, Bessie Garrett, Irma Edwards, Minnie Perdue, and Fannie Williams. If yearbooks from the late 1950s rarely feature Black people, a few TCU employees appear in photos, albeit without names, job titles, or locations included. For example, in the 1955 TCU yearbook, only two photos include Black people: two Black workers who are nameless.

In 1959, Brite alumna ('54) Vada Felder invited Dr. Martin Luther King to Fort Worth; while she originally planned for him to speak at Brite College of the Bible,<sup>58</sup> located on the TCU campus, the university rejected this engagement.<sup>59</sup> Dr. King spoke, instead, at a newly integrated theater in downtown Fort Worth on October 22, 1959, amid threats and while staying in Felder’s home, since he was not allowed to stay in any of the city’s hotels. Since no Black students enrolled officially in classes on TCU’s campus during the 1940s and 1950s, and with few other students of color, campus learning and extra-curricular activities were mainly Whites-only experiences that often adopted racially tone-deaf approaches.

### 1959, Oct. 22

MLK visits Fort Worth at invitation of Brite alumna Vada Felder and meets with Brite professor Harold Lunger. TCU refuses to host on campus.

### 1962

Board of Harris College votes to integrate and admits upperclass students only.

Allene Jones, Patsy Brown, and Doris Ann McBride become first Black undergraduate students to enroll in Harris College.

### 1962

Brite College requests to TCU’s board that Brite students who needed to take undergraduate “courses to make up deficiencies in their scholastic record be allowed to take these courses without regard to race, color, or creed.”

### 1963

President John F. Kennedy shot and killed in Dallas

### 1963

Surveys show TCU students and 90% faculty approve integration

### 1963-1964

TCU and Jarvis establish collaboration whereby TCU provides counsel, administrators, faculty, and fundraising activities for Jarvis

### 1963, Oct.

Board of Trustees rejects Sadler’s request to give JFK an honorary degree

### 1964

Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed

### 1964

TCU student body passed resolution “to remove any racial restriction from admission requirements.”

For example, several yearbook photos show White students in blackface in 1957 and 1958; dressed as Native Americans in 1947 and in 1955 (two photos); and dressed in an oriental scene in 1940.

### ***How Do the Students Feel?***

While some TCU students in the era of segregation advocated for racial integration, others leaned on Southern traditions to maintain the status quo. In 1950, the TCU student congress took the lead in the newly formed Texas Intercollegiate Student Association (TISA) to bring a proposal inviting student representatives from Black schools to join the Association. This proposal was tabled at the state-wide convention.<sup>60</sup> A year later, TCU students again brought the proposal to the TISA state convention. *The Skiff* published an editorial supporting the admission of Black schools to the TISA,<sup>61</sup> noting that “entrance of Negroes seems highly logical to us,” even if this “move would cause displeasure among the people of Texas.”<sup>62</sup> The proposal was accepted at the Spring 1951 convention.<sup>63</sup> *The Skiff* continued to periodically publish information related to student attitudes toward segregation/desegregation throughout the decade. In 1952, the *Skiff* noted that roughly 75% of students polled favored non-segregation.<sup>64</sup> Those against cited Southern traditions, concerns about unfairness of allowing Blacks into class, but not to take part in other activities, and having adequate education available at Jarvis Christian College. Several years later, however, in a separate student congress survey from 1957, slightly more than half of students favored maintaining segregation, with slightly less than half favoring integration.<sup>65</sup>

During the era that TCU was debating integration, it was also establishing Greek life, which contributed to some TCU students’ perspectives about segregation. In an effort to curb declining enrollment and to compete favorably against nearby schools Texas Tech and North Texas State – institutions that recently established fraternities and sororities on their campuses – the TCU Board approved establishing eight sororities and eight fraternities from 1954-58. These organizations perpetuated segregation within campus groups for the following decades. Across U.S. universities, fraternities and sororities engaged in a range of discriminatory practices.<sup>66</sup> In Southern colleges like TCU, commemorations of the Old South commonly included the display of Confederate flags, use of military customs, and parades as well as social events where participants performed skits and songs wearing blackface. Annual slave auctions, for example, formed part of Greek life at TCU to raise funds, with proceeds designated to non-profits designed to support underprivileged communities. Reports of these types of activities appeared in the *Skiff* as late as 1984.

### ***Integration at Brite College of the Bible***

In 1950, Brite College was the first unit on the TCU campus to formally remove the barriers of segregation. President Sadler initiated the process when, in 1950, he sent a letter to the Dean of Brite, Dr. Roy Snodgrass, requesting him to discuss with his faculty the question of “non-segregation of our graduate work and especially in our seminary” and to make a recommendation within a week.<sup>67</sup> Snodgrass and the faculty of Brite voted to integrate, based on the rationale that they were “training youth for a life service in Christ’s Kingdom, it overrode any contention that we are in our rights to refuse Negroes on the basis that we are a private school.”<sup>68</sup> The Dean’s Council approved non-segregation of Brite, and in 1952, James Lee Claiborne became the first Black student to enroll at Brite; soon after, Daniel Goodspeed and Vada Phillips Felder enrolled at Brite as well.<sup>69</sup> Vada Phillips Felder received her

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master's degree in Religious Education in 1954, the first Black graduate from Brite. James Clairborne graduated in 1955, the first Black to complete the Bachelor of Divinity, a graduate degree despite its nomenclature.<sup>70</sup> While integration was approved by the Board for Brite, the general TCU campus was still segregated throughout the 1950s. Professor Emeritus William Baird remembers that Black students were not allowed to eat on campus, requiring that Brite set up food service for them in Weatherly Hall, which was owned by Brite.<sup>71</sup>

### *Integration of Texas Institutions*

In 1962, the TCU Board of Trustees was presented with a request to approve integration of one of its colleges. At that time, Harris College of Nursing, like Brite College, was a separate but affiliated entity of TCU with its own Board of Directors and endowment.<sup>72</sup> The Harris Board passed a resolution that stated, "It is the policy of Harris College of Nursing to admit students to the nursing program without regard to race, color or creed."<sup>73</sup> Harris wanted to enroll Black undergraduate students for their last two years of professional nursing. The rationale for the request came from Black physicians in Fort Worth, who felt a "great need for more trained Negro nurses."<sup>74</sup> The Executive committee moved to approve the request, and the motion carried.

At the same time, Brite also made a request to the TCU Board that students who needed to take undergraduate "courses to make up deficiencies in their scholastic record [and] be allowed to take these courses without regard to race, color, or creed."<sup>75</sup> The motion was approved and carried. These two approvals represented a major shift in TCU's policy as both groups of Harris and Brite students would be permitted to take classes with general undergraduate students. There was still no Board approval to desegregate the overall university, however. Both approvals were noted in campus and local news articles.<sup>76</sup> In the fall of 1962, the first three Black undergraduate nursing students were enrolled: Patsy Brown, Allene Jones, and Doris McBride.<sup>77</sup> Registrar Calvin Cumbie stated, "All three went through regular registration procedure at Daniel Meyer Coliseum. There were no problems whatsoever. We didn't anticipate any."<sup>78</sup> *The Skiff* front page article included a picture of Allene Jones and Dean Lucy Harris of Harris College. Dean Harris reported in November 1962 that the three Black students were doing satisfactory work: "So far as we know, they have received courteous treatment by students and faculty throughout the University and have conducted themselves in an appropriate manner on all occasions."<sup>79</sup> Allene Jones went on to become the first Black faculty member at TCU when she was hired by Harris College in 1968.<sup>80</sup>

After the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), all public educational institutions were required by law to desegregate. Some public schools and universities in Texas resisted this requirement, led by the "strong and unyielding opposition" of Governor Allan Shivers and Attorney General John Ben Shepperd.<sup>81</sup> Historically White private schools in the South, including TCU, still officially excluded Black students, too.

### 1964, Jan. 29

TCU Board of Trustees votes to racially integrate

### 1964

First class of Black students admitted to TCU; all left after one year

### 1964

TCU Board of Trustees approves a 5-year formal affiliation between TCU and Jarvis Christian College

### 1965

James Mattox Moudy named chancellor of TCU.

### 1965

14 African-American students admitted to TCU; all stayed and graduated in 1969

### 1965, Feb. 21

Malcolm X assassinated

### 1965, Mar. 7

Bloody Sunday march from Selma to Montgomery

### 1966

James Cash, first black student-athlete at TCU and the first black basketball student-athlete in the Southwest Conference, enrolls at TCU

### 1967

Annual campus slave auction nominees announced during the Rice-TCU basketball game

### 1967-1968

Media abandon the use of the term "Negro" and use "Black" instead

### 1968, Apr. 4

Martin Luther King assassinated

### 1968

TCU pilots exchange program with Jarvis Christian College

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Yet there were hints of progress when, in 1954, North Texas State College (now the University of North Texas) admitted a doctoral student, Tennyson Miller, into its education department and, in February 1956, admitted its first undergraduate student, and later that same year, integrated its first-year football team and its varsity team a year later.<sup>82</sup> In 1956, the University of Texas began to admit Black undergraduate students.<sup>83</sup>

While public universities admitted Black students in the 1950s, Arlington State College (now UT Arlington) did not admit Black students until 1962 and Texas Wesleyan University in Fort Worth did not do so until 1965.<sup>84</sup> Baylor University, another historically white private institution like TCU, was “an institution in slow motion,” not admitting Black students until 1963.<sup>85</sup> Two other large historically white and private institutions in Texas, Southern Methodist University and Rice, did not admit Black students as undergraduates until 1962 and 1965, respectively.<sup>86</sup>

### *Sadler and Integration*

The writings and leadership of President Sadler, who initiated the first steps towards full desegregation at TCU, reveal an ambivalent legacy. Sadler served TCU as president from 1941-1959, and subsequently as chancellor from 1959-1965. Sadler’s worldview was shaped by his strong religious faith, patriotism, and conservative outlook. When Sadler made his first public statement on desegregation in 1951, he argued for the status quo, emphasizing that there “has been no fundamental change in the [segregation] policy of Texas Christian University regarding the admission of Negro students in school.”<sup>87</sup> TCU, he stressed, should not be “pioneering and pushing out in the matter of non-segregation.” Yet, Sadler continued, “at the same time, we have been anxious to meet the needs of conscientious and worthy Negroes, if we could meet these needs without any discussion of segregation or non-segregation.”<sup>88</sup> While a follow up *Skiff* “Editorial Comment” underscored Sadler’s advocacy for an “intelligent and cautious approach,” some current and former students sent letters to the *Skiff* speaking up for racial equality, taking the university to task for such a cautious approach.<sup>89</sup>

By the early 1960s, there was increased interest in and pressure for TCU to desegregate, particularly from student leaders at TCU. Other church-affiliated colleges in Texas were following the lead of the public universities and starting to desegregate.<sup>90</sup> Yet, at this time, most educational institutions in Texas desegregated only after pressure from provisions of the Civil Rights Act, which could withhold federal funding from recalcitrant schools or colleges.<sup>91</sup> Desegregation of Fort Worth’s public schools would not begin until 1963 and would not be complete in all public high schools until 1967. In 1964, more than 98% of U.S. school children in K through 12 in the South still attended a segregated school.<sup>92</sup> The student body at Brite took an early lead in 1962 with a petition calling for the desegregation of the University, advocating for “all areas of university life be made available to all qualified persons regardless of race or color.”<sup>93</sup> In February of 1963, the Student Congress held a two-day human relations seminar entitled “Desegregation in Southern and Southwestern: Schools Prospects and Problems,”<sup>94</sup> featuring Reverend Thomas Griffin and comedian Dick Gregory as speakers.<sup>95</sup> Following the seminar, the *Skiff* published an editorial with a final telling statement: “For a few students the most enlightening portion of the seminar occurred before the seminar. During registration, a University employee came up to the registration desk and inquired about the number of students expected to attend. Then he snidely asked, ‘How many N\*\*\*\*\*s are coming?’ If any Black students within earshot heard this remark, the seminar probably lost a good deal of its meaning for them.”<sup>96</sup>

1963 was a pivotal year for “behind the scenes” preparation for a move to bring about full desegregation at TCU. University administration, faculty, and student leaders were gathering data and having discussions to

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determine their position on desegregation.<sup>97</sup> Sadler hoped meetings between “some students and some of the Trustees to discuss racial issues” would help each side have a better understanding of the attitudes and issues involved.<sup>98</sup> As the TCU Student Congress maintained pressure on the administration to desegregate,<sup>99</sup> surveys were conducted on campus to determine faculty and student attitudes toward integration, with the vast majority urging integration.<sup>100</sup>

In the fall of 1963, the *Skiff* published a supplement containing the results of a survey of student “socio-political” attitudes, including questions about integration.<sup>101</sup> Results were categorized based on parents’ income – high, medium, or low. Students in the higher income bracket held the most negative views toward integration. Such respondents supported Blacks’ “participation in athletics,” but not to routine aspects of residential student life, such as “cafeterias, dormitories, or as roommates to white students.”<sup>102</sup> The same attitudes carried out to desegregation of all public accommodations, with only 35% of the highest income bracket supporting Blacks being admitted to “business places, dining places, and restrooms” as compared to 57% of the lowest income who favored such integration. Such survey results from TCU students reveal a generally conservative, traditional, Southern attitude from the survey sample, while those from middle and lower-income students professed themselves more open to integration.

Despite such public pressure, Sadler expressed a guarded public stance about desegregation, perhaps due to the fact that he also faced private challenges from trustees and alumni, some of whom fiercely rejected desegregation.<sup>103</sup> While weighing the potential financial loss to TCU from supporters who opposed integration against the potential loss of not-for-profit status for maintaining segregation in admission, Sadler insisted that he would refuse to decide by “looking at a ‘balance sheet.’” Instead, he reassured the campus community that integration was unlikely to bring about “social relations and interracial marriage” due to the strong, positive influence of a TCU education and the values of a student’s family, church, and friends.<sup>104</sup> Several themes emerge in Sadler’s cautious stance: his reluctance to potentially offend Trustees, some of whom disagreed about integration; his assurance that only very small numbers of Blacks would ever want to attend TCU; and his confidence in the behavior of future Black students who, he surmised, would pose no “disturbances or complications.”<sup>105</sup> Sadler thus recommended, “In my own personal judgement, in the judgement the faculty, and in the judgement of our student leaders, we believe that the time has come for the Board of Trustees of Texas Christian University to take action which remove the one racial bar which remains at TCU.”<sup>106</sup>

Vice Chancellor Moudy penned the rationale for changing the TCU admission policy, which was dated June 7, 1963, asserting that it was time to change the “longstanding policy of excluding Negro students from Texas Christian University.”<sup>107</sup> On January 29, 1964, the TCU Board of Trustees moved to racially integrate the full campus, the seventh (out of eight) Southwest Conference universities to desegregate. By this date, TCU had several

### 1968

Linzy Cole, first Black football player, enrolls at TCU

### 1968

TCU Experimental College offers course called “The Negro in American Life,” featuring speakers from TCU and Jarvis

### 1969

Ronnie Hurdle first Black cheerleader

### 1969

TCU’s first Black history course: “From African civilizations to contemporary era in America”

### 1970

First Black Homecoming Queen Jennifer Giddings

### 1970, Nov.

Establishment of WASP, White Alliance for Student Progress, for White students to understand Black experience

### 1971, Jan.

Jennifer Giddings excluded from the Cotton Bowl Parade

### 1971, Feb. 3

Larry Dibbles, Hodges Mitchell, Raymond Rhodes, and Ervin Garnett resign from football team due to racist treatment

### 1971, Mar.

Gloria Steinem visits TCU and recommends changes concerning racism and sexism in the curriculum

### 1971

University of Texas president announces change of UT-Arlington mascot, from Rebels to Mavericks

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years of experience in integrating three of its divisions: Brite College of the Bible, Harris College of Nursing, and TCU Evening College; yet TCU had not yet integrated its dormitories or athletic programs. The first full-time Black undergraduates were admitted in the fall of 1964. All students in the first Black undergraduate class departed TCU after only one year.

Later that same year, TCU formalized a partnership with the historically Black institution Jarvis Christian College in Hawkins, Texas, which, like TCU, was affiliated with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).<sup>108</sup> On March 17, 1964, TCU and JCC signed a memorandum of understanding to focus on the unity of Disciples of Christ institutions and support for Jarvis finances and “place in the realm of higher education.”<sup>109</sup> Four years later, in 1968, TCU and JCC students participated in an exchange program; Black students from Jarvis spent a week on TCU’s campus, whereas TCU students dedicated only a day-trip to Jarvis.<sup>110</sup>

### ***First Black student-athletes at TCU***

Although *Brown vs Board of Education* decreed that racially segregated public institutions were unconstitutional in 1954, it took twelve years for the first Black athlete to play in the Southwest Conference, at the time one of the most powerful athletic conferences in the nation. TCU’s first Black athlete was James Cash, who enrolled in 1966 and competed in the sport of basketball; he was also the first Black basketball player admitted in the Southwest Conference. The first Black football player at TCU was Linzy Cole, who enrolled in 1968. Although the head football coaches were officially silent about desegregating their teams, in the 1960s, they were privately unanimous in making sure that teams did not recruit or provide athletic aid to the Black athletes. While TCU did not formally bar Blacks from entering its institution as did the University of Arkansas or Rice University, TCU hardly led the conference in desegregating its athletic program or its undergraduate population.

With the slow pace of integration, Black student athletes faced significant challenges at TCU. Student



James Cash, breaking the color barrier as a TCU basketball player in the mid- to-late 1960s.

athlete James Cash needed police escorts for some of the out-of-state games he would play for the Horned Frogs.<sup>111</sup> Ronnie Hurdle, the first Black cheerleader at TCU in 1969, recalled that separateness on campus was caused not only by choice of major, as with nursing students, but also by economics and administrators. Hurdle’s fellow cheerleaders demonstrated their acceptance of him when they pointedly ignored “a concern from Chancellor Moudy not to perform any physical drill routines with the opposite sex, due to the assumption of pressure from some of the alums because he was Black.”<sup>112</sup> Moudy, in the 1970 yearbook account of Hurdle’s participation, is depicted as trying to placate “disturbed supporters”; the yearbook article makes clear that while administrators were worried, students were not.<sup>113</sup>

By 1971, with only a handful of Black student-athletes on the roster, the dissatisfaction among Black student-athletes intensified, and four football players delivered demands to TCU and its new football coach about the realities faced by Black students at that time. These demands by Larry Dibbles, Hodges Mitchell, Raymond Rhodes, and Ervin Garnett – all of whom left TCU to play for other universities – included a general charge of “racist attitudes among the

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administration and athletic department,” with four specific complaints concerning program policies and dress code; the exclusion of Jennifer Giddings from normal homecoming queen activities at the Cotton Bowl; the need for a Black campus minister, psychologist or counselor, and Black faculty; and the denial of admission of Jimmy Leach.<sup>114</sup> Five out of the six Black student-athletes did not return the following season. By 1974, TCU had the smallest number of Black student-athletes on their roster in comparison to every other Southwestern Conference football program.<sup>115</sup>

While Provost James Newcomer and Chancellor Moudy largely rejected the Black students’ demands in 1971,<sup>116</sup> the student athletes’ activism yielded positive results for Black students, including part-time, temporary hiring of a campus minister and counselor in the summer of 1971. By the following February 1972, Roy Maiden had been hired as a counselor in the Counseling and Testing Center, and as a result may have become one of the first Black staff members at TCU. Dr. Reva Bell joined the education faculty in the 1970s; she and Allene Jones were still the only two Black faculty members at TCU in 1983, more than ten years after football players had delivered their demands.



In the years leading up to its centennial celebration in 1973, the TCU campus continued to make some symbolic progress while expressing ongoing cultural resistance to racial integration. TCU’s New Century and Centennial Campaign, announced by the TCU Board of Trustees in January 1964, appears as a small, tangible step forward on the heels of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and on the cusp of TCU’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Launched in 1969, the New Century and the Centennial

Campaign expressed TCU’s ambitions “to attract a more diversified student body in terms of geographic, economic, ethnic and national backgrounds.”<sup>117</sup> Though no similar diversity statement was expressed with regard to faculty and staff, this did signal an incremental change in leadership thinking with regard to student body diversity. By 1968, TCU had thirty-six Black undergraduate students attending day classes at TCU; a year later, there were an estimated seventy-three Black undergraduate students at TCU, with a total of 118 overall, counting students attending the Evening College and Brite as well.

By 1971, prominent photos of Black students appear throughout the TCU yearbook. Notably, Jennifer Giddings, a senior from Dallas, was voted Homecoming Queen, becoming the first Black woman to serve in this capacity at TCU and in the Southwest Conference. She completed her degree in 1971 in speech pathology, being named as a Who’s Who recipient in 1970–1971 for her contributions to the campus: vice president of Jarvis Dorm and recording secretary of Mortar Board, among other roles. Yet in the same 1971 yearbook, the Phi Kappa Sigma page features its all-white members holding a large Confederate flag.<sup>118</sup> As Frank Callaway of the Students for Afro-American Culture remarked to the *Skiff* in September of that year, “TCU still treats its Black students like

### 1974, Oct.

NAACP files discrimination charges against TCU

### 1974, Oct.

KKK Grand Dragon David Duke invited to speak on campus by TCU’s Forums Committee & House of Student Representatives

### 1977

Vernell Armstrong first Black woman to play on TCU women’s basketball team

### 1979

William E. Tucker named chancellor

### 1984

Last recorded slave auction

### 1988

Rise in use of term African-American to describe Black Americans

### 1988-1996

James Cash joins TCU Board of Trustees, the first Black to do so

### 1990, Aug.

MLK holiday begins being observed at TCU

### 1998

Michael (“Mick”) Ferrari named chancellor

### 1999

Creation of TCU Black Alumni Alliance

### 2000

TCU establishes Community Scholars program to recruit and support high achieving diverse Fort Worth students

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visitors, not like the school belongs to them, too. The university tolerates us. They try to keep us from being angry. But we still feel like we're being short changed."<sup>119</sup>



Allene Jones registers for classes at TCU in 1962, graduating the next year, after entering the nursing program as a senior. (TCU Yearbook, 1963)

Allene Jones, one of three Black students admitted to the nursing program in 1962 and the first Black faculty member in 1968, remembered her awareness of the pressure on TCU to admit Black students and hire Black faculty in the 1960s. In a 2012 oral history interview, Jones recalled, “Except for the integration, TCU generally tried to operate on a Christian principle, not being overtly, outrageously racist. I think when you have a school like TCU with a Christian base, you have all these other people coming in who have different attitudes and then they have pressure from the government or whoever. I think this helped them make up their mind [to hire me].” As a student in 1962, Jones was almost thirty years old and married, and she had already attended classes at North Texas State College, Texas Woman’s University, and University of Dallas, trying to accrue credit she could apply to a nursing bachelor’s degree. She knew that her maturity helped her navigate any difficulties as one of only three Black students at TCU, saying that most of her time was spent in nursing classes or off campus, rather than finding her way as a younger undergraduate student.<sup>120</sup>

One of Jones’ students, Dr. Joyce Goff, reflected on her time at TCU in the early 1970s, remembering that others, especially Professor Jones, had paved a way for her as a Black student. “She was a kind of a bridge,” Goff recalled. “She said, ‘It’s OK, you will be fine. I’m here.’” Jones played a large role for Goff, someone who “may understand your struggles and your challenges as a minority student, as a Black student, as a Black woman.” Like Jones, Goff remembered being separated from most campus activities as a nursing student, but also knowing all those White students “are not going away. If anything, you would be the one to go away. And I didn’t want to be one of the ones who went away until I graduated from that program.” Goff recalls her first day on campus, comparing her older car with other students’ newer cars, and visiting the registrar’s office, not sure how she was going to pay tuition without loans. A friendly white office worker there connected her to a scholarship, which made all the difference in her life and later success, she says.<sup>121</sup> Yet so few Black students attended TCU during the 1960s and early 1970s that official stories featuring Black students are few, except for a dichotomy of coverage that alternated between a “first” homecoming queen or the outcry by a collective of Black football players, who sought more than integration and tolerance: a sense of real belonging and inclusion.

# Recent but Related Histories, 1998-2020

Since Black students began to enroll at TCU in the 1950s and 1960s, Black, Indigenous and other People of Color (BIPOC) have consistently raised their voices about their difficulties in feeling welcomed and included both on and off campus, having exercised agency in leveraging the larger university structure to acknowledge its shortcomings and institutionalize substantive change. With respect to off campus inclusion and equitable representation, one significant area of growth can be glimpsed by identifying the CEOs/owners of the businesses on TCU's approved vendor list. As of November 2020, TCU had a list of 8,609 approved vendors. The difference between the companies owned or operated by White business persons compared to those owned and operated by BIPOC is significant, with over 80% being White-owned. The predominance of mostly White-owned business partners with TCU neither corresponds to nor reflects a larger Fort Worth community that is predominantly BIPOC, whereby White people made up 39.4% of the 2017 population of Fort Worth.<sup>122</sup> The difference between the percentage of White-owned businesses with which TCU does business and the percentage of White people who actually live in Fort Worth might be an indication of the systemic racism that people of color face in Fort Worth in terms of gaining access to capital and profitable relationships with an institution such as TCU.

With respect to on campus inclusion and equitable representation, on at least three occasions (i.e., 1971, 2016, and 2020), students have submitted written demands for structural changes to our campus.<sup>123</sup> These repeated vocalizations by marginalized students living through an on campus experience remind us of the necessary task of continuing the ongoing pursuit of reconciliation.

**Please visit TCU's Race & Reconciliation Initiative website to read and absorb in detail the original documents as presented in their original voice.**

## 2001

William Slater named dean of College of Communications, the first Black academic dean

## 2003, June

Victor Boschini named chancellor

## 2009, Feb.

Inclusiveness and Intercultural Services hosts a dinner to honor five Black pioneers

## 2016, April

Program in African American and Africana Studies is established

## 2016, autumn

Students stage silent demonstration at football game, in solidarity with the NFL players who took a knee to protest social injustices in the U.S.

Diona Johnson, Emily Laff, and Shanel Alexander deliver a list of 14 demands to Chancellor Boschini

Darron Turner named TCU's first Chief Inclusion Officer

Faculty Senate establishes Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, a permanent standing committee reporting directly to the chancellor

Program in Comparative Race and Ethnic Studies is established. In June 2018, the program was elevated to department status and offered a major, minor, and graduate certificate

## 2017

Campus police investigate the increase of white supremacist notices posted across campus

TCU establishes Office of Diversity and Inclusion

## 2019, Sept.

Mary Coutts Burnett library opens exhibition on TCU integration

# Conclusion

To demonstrate sincerity and commitment to the enterprise of truth-telling, in August 2020, TCU joined Universities Studying Slavery (USS), an international consortium of higher education institutions that agreed to pool resources while dedicating themselves to the enterprise of telling the whole story. In observing many different communities and in assessing common threads, it appears that there are five principal components to a plan for reconciliation: 1) research, 2) report, 3) disseminate, 4) discuss, and 5) determine. This current offering perhaps merely touches upon the first prong of *research* and mostly validates the second prong of *report*. There are, however, still many more steps to take through effective *dissemination*. This first-year survey report is just that – a mere entrée into the ongoing, necessary enterprise for reconciliation. As more research must be painstakingly executed, TCU also must plan for communicating findings in an urgent yet comprehensible manner, while allowing for the time necessary to fully inform the TCU community and process next steps.

Time for *discussion* is what any healthy organization needs in order to be in the best position to make the best decision. Discussion, if structured properly, can yield important insights that can strengthen the collective perspective. Considering different arguments before building consensus is a proven method for vetting ideas. Often, chances improve of the entire body accepting a decision after a discussion – even if a significant (but not majority) number of individuals disagree with the decision – as opposed to a decision being handed down with no further outlet for expression. Time is of the essence; there is no need to delay sincere efforts to seek and carry out reconciliation efforts. Yet, as decisions are ultimately made to ensure forward progress, such decisions should not prematurely curtail healthy discussion and debate. After all, *progress is a process*.

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With the final prong of *determination*, this perhaps is the most intriguing aspect of all. Those who identify themselves as part of the TCU community will at some point have to come together in order to move forward together in embracing – and not erasing – our shared past. It also follows that in telling the whole truth, it will be necessary to confront and engage the here and now. There is no more hiding from the fact that the subject of systemic, institutionalized racism is one with which TCU also must reconcile, as it is not immune to such societal ills that are as “American” as apple pie.

In conclusion, the intriguing question is this: to what degree can an institution like TCU change how it deals with the topics of racism, slavery and the Confederacy in the near and distant future? With determination, perhaps we take these initial steps towards reconciliation on faith – for we often lack hard, evidentiary proof of what will happen and how we might stand to benefit from future changes in policies or practices. The fear of the unknown, however, should not serve as a paralyzing agent. For change is part of the dynamic nature of an institution devoted to higher learning – and change we must. Move forward we shall. If we make the determination that we will stay open to the art of the possible, consider that there is more than one perspective, and stay consistent with the effort to stay in community and in conversation, then we can weather whatever growing pains that await.

Ultimately, the object of our reconciliation project is not to wholly transform our institution in less than nine months – this is patently not feasible, and this expectation sets us up for failure. Rather, we aim to point our institution in a new direction as we make our determination to pursue reconciliation with determination. Our conclusion must be left unresolved – for now. Only you, the reader, can influence how this story ultimately ends. May we all continue to proceed down the path towards action and healing...

... or in other words, *reconciliation!*



### 2020, Jan.

Coalition for University Justice and Equity (CUJE) issues list of demands to hold university accountable to its commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion

### 2020, May 25

George Floyd killed

### 2020

Creation of TCU Black Faculty and Staff Association (BFSA)

### 2020, July

Board of Trustees and Chancellor Boschini establish RRI

### 2021, April

RRI releases first year report

# Official RRI Recommendations

## TASK FORCE

## KEY RECOMMENDATION

### Slavery

We recommend that TCU develop and implement a comprehensive strategic plan to promote equity and inclusion in graduate and undergraduate student admissions, faculty and staff recruitment and retention, and the illumination of TCU's full history through curricula programs such as *Frog Camp* and UNLF.

### Confederacy

We recommend providing more robust contextual information near the Clark Brothers' statue and memorialize a more complete story of TCU, commemorating the efforts of underrepresented or marginalized groups who contributed to TCU's development and highlighting racist attitudes and behaviors from earlier years as an educational step toward creating an anti-racist community.

### Segregation

We recommend the development and maintenance of an online digital depository specifically focused upon *Race & Reconciliation*, which all members of the TCU community are able to access to understand the collective histories that contribute to TCU's legacy

### Desegregation

We recommend more consistently recognizing the contributions of our Black, Indigenous and other alumni of color, more specifically through the ongoing funding, development and maintenance of the RRI *Oral History Project* designed to capture key alumni experiences.

### Voice

We recommend the perpetual and continued observance of "TCU Reconciliation Day" as a means to maintain open forums of communication and expression on the topic of race and reconciliation while deliberately, intentionally and strategically increasing access to existing TCU media channels (i.e., student-run television, print and radio) to amplify multiple voices and perspectives on campus.

### Good Neighbor?

We recommend conducting a comprehensive inventory of all official vendors conducting business with TCU to qualitatively measure and assess equitable representation by diverse members of our business community.

### Repair

We recommend continuing this Race & Reconciliation Initiative beyond the initial one-year time frame originally set for this committee's investigation by continuing to make the modest investment in the human capital necessary to carry out the work of research and reconciliation as part and parcel of TCU's efforts to lead on.

# Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Bureau report quoted in Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), 157.
- <sup>2</sup> 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)*.
- <sup>3</sup> Bureau report quoted in Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), 157.
- <sup>4</sup> Randolph Clark manuscript draft, Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, 14. Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library, Texas Christian University.
- <sup>5</sup> 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).
- <sup>6</sup> 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.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup> 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.
- <sup>9</sup> 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.
- <sup>10</sup> 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).
- <sup>11</sup> 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. 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.
- <sup>12</sup> 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.
- <sup>13</sup> Figures calculated from the 1860 U.S. Census.
- <sup>14</sup> William Dean Carrigan, "Slavery on the Frontier: The Peculiar Institution in Central Texas," *Slavery and Abolition*, 20:2 (1999), 63-96.
- <sup>15</sup> 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.
- <sup>16</sup> Mattie Cooper Harlin Collection, diary. Mary Coats Burnett Library Special Collections. March 29, 1890.
- <sup>17</sup> 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.
- <sup>18</sup> 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](http://ark:/67531/metaph846101)
- <sup>19</sup> Joseph L. Clark, *Thank God We Made It! A Family Affair with Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 233-34. 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>.
- <sup>20</sup> Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences: Biographical and Historical* (Wichita Falls, TX: Lee Clark, 1919), 25.
- <sup>21</sup> Joseph Lynn Clark Papers, Box 19, Randolph Clark undated manuscript draft of *Reminiscences*, transcription page 2. Special Collections, Mary Coats Burnett Library, Texas Christian University.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> Clark, *Thank God*, 259-60.
- <sup>24</sup> Randolph Clark, *Reminiscences*, 25.
- <sup>25</sup> "Rev. Randolph Clark Addresses Veterans." *Stephenville Empire*, Vol. 44, #21, Ed. 1, 2/18/16, p. 8.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 293-94.
- <sup>28</sup> Carter E. Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier* (San Antonio: Naylor Company, 1968).
- <sup>29</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, passim.
- <sup>30</sup> For the character of frontier religion in Texas, see Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier*.
- <sup>31</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God We Made It*, 233-234. For context on the decision-making process on whether to fight, see, David Charles Gear, *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).
- <sup>32</sup> See Barbara Thorp Wilkins, *High Hopes*, <http://www.granburydepot.org/z/biog2/ThorpSpringHistory.htm>
- <sup>33</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 331-332.
- <sup>34</sup> According to Barbara Thorp Wilkins' memoir *High Hopes*, 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, twenty-seven-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.
- <sup>35</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 361-63.

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- <sup>36</sup> 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.
- <sup>37</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 364-65.
- <sup>38</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 350.
- <sup>39</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 345.
- <sup>40</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 383-84.
- <sup>41</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 391.
- <sup>42</sup> Biographical entry, Randolph Lee Clark, in Texas State Historical Association, *The Handbook of Texas*.
- <sup>43</sup> Biographical entry, Joseph Lynn Clark, in Texas State Historical Association, *The Handbook of Texas*.
- <sup>44</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 428.
- <sup>45</sup> Joseph Clark, *Thank God*, 427.
- <sup>46</sup> 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," *TCU Magazine*. <https://magazine.tcu.edu/fall-2019/the-history-of-addran-college/>
- <sup>47</sup> M. E. Sadler, President's Report to the Board of Trustees. Special collections/TCU Archives, Oct 2, 1942, 4.
- <sup>48</sup> The title of "Chancellor" was first conferred upon Dr. McGruder Ellis Sadler in 1959 after he served as TCU president for eighteen years; he held this title until 1965 whereby all subsequent chief executives have been called Chancellor. "Past Chancellors," *TCU Office of the Chancellor*, n.d., <https://chancellor.tcu.edu/the-office/past-chancellors/>.
- <sup>49</sup> M. E. Sadler, "Negroes attending TCU," (*TCU Skiff*, November 2, 1951.
- <sup>50</sup> M. E. Sadler, "Negroes attending TCU"; Sadler, *Chancellor's Report to the Board of Trustees*, 9. Records of M.E. Sadler, Box 2, Folder "Reports to BOT 1963-64" Special Collections/TCU Archives, Fort Worth, TX.
- <sup>51</sup> M. E. Sadler, "Negroes attending TCU"; Sadler, *Chancellor's Report to the Board of Trustees*, 9. Records of M.E. Sadler, Box 2, Folder "Reports to BOT 1963-64" Special Collections/TCU Archives, Fort Worth, TX.
- <sup>52</sup> M.E. Sadler, "Negroes attending TCU."
- <sup>53</sup> Sadler, "Negroes attending TCU."
- <sup>54</sup> See "Reader Feedback" in letter to the editor, (*TCU Skiff*, Feb 15, 1977.
- <sup>55</sup> Letter from TCU Registrar Mary Kincannon, March 31, 2021.
- <sup>56</sup> "At 30, Fellowship Still Making Impact," TCU College of Education, 2017, <https://coe.tcu.edu/at-30-fellowship-still-making-impact>, accessed Feb. 1, 2021.
- <sup>57</sup> The cafeteria staff is steadily featured in early 1950s yearbooks, and only named in 1954 (p. 123). Those Black workers included seven women: Thelma Payne, Ada Lee Burton, Eula Mae Harris, Bessie Garrett, Irma Edwards, Minnie Perdue, and Fannie Williams.
- <sup>58</sup> Brite College of the Bible was renamed to Brite Divinity School in 1963 when it renewed its charter. Please note that since 1914, Brite has been "a separate corporation with its own board, assets, and employees. It is affiliated with Texas Christian University." "About," n.d., *Brite Divinity School*, <https://brite.edu/about/>.
- <sup>59</sup> Brandon Kitchin, "Memorial to Commemorate MLK Jr. to Come to Downtown Fort Worth." *TCU 360*, March 25, 2018. <https://www.tcu360.com/2018/03/memorial-to-commemorate-mlk-jr-to-come-to-downtown-fort-worth/>, accessed Jan. 15, 2021.
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“Reconciliation is more  
beautiful than victory”

**VIOLETA CHAMORRO**



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