



BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

Commission on Historic Campus Representations

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for the Baylor University Board of Regents and Administration
December 2020



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Foreword

In June 2020, the Baylor Board of Regents established the Commission on Historic Campus Representations as part of a unanimously passed resolution that acknowledged the University's historical connections to slavery and the Confederacy. The Commission was charged "to provide guidance on presenting Baylor's complete history as the University continues striving to foster an environment through which racial equality is inextricably linked to our mission, and in which students, faculty, staff, alumni, and friends of color know they are valued and loved throughout the Baylor community, both on campus and in all reaches of the Baylor family."

The specific charge to the Commission included a review of the complete historical record of the University's founders and early leaders in terms of their historical connections to slavery and racial injustice; the creation of a plan for documenting and communicating that complete history; and an evaluation of statues, monuments, buildings, and other aspects of the Baylor campus, considered within historical context, in terms of the original intentions behind their physical location, placement, and naming. The Commission was to compile its work into a Final Report to be provided to the Board of Regents and the President no later than December 20, 2020.

What follows constitutes the culmination of five months of reading, listening, learning, and sharing through the collective efforts of the three Commission Co-Chairs, 23 Commission Members, three Ex-Officio Commission Members, and Logistics Coordinator. Commission meetings involved both the entire group and breakout groups in which ideas were shared and heard, and bonds were formed through difficult conversations resulting in greater understanding and consensus building.

The Commission on Historic Representations hopes this document will guide Baylor's Board of Regents and administrative leaders as they explore the promise articulated in the final paragraph of the communication that Regent Chair Mark Rountree and President Linda A. Livingstone, Ph.D., released to the public on July 6, 2020:

“We believe now is the time for Baylor, as a Christian university, to lead by listening and learning with humility about our past and from voices that have been unheard for years while also taking tangible steps forward. In addition to making an important and visible contribution to today's campus and Baylor community, the Commission's work will create a lasting legacy for future generations of Baylor Bears.”

Commission Co-Chairs

Alicia Monroe

Gary Mortenson

Walter Abercrombie



INTRODUCTION

Statement of Institutional Opportunity

The injustices and inhumane suffering experienced by enslaved people in North America during the more than two centuries preceding the Civil War and continuing into the eras of Reconstruction and Jim Crow laws across the American South have been incontrovertibly established as being of profoundly detrimental and enduring consequence to the descendants of those individuals and families and to our nation itself. Indeed, as historians have long noted, the past is not a foreign country but rather an ongoing, shaping force in our national identity and experience as Americans today. One finds the consequences of slavery extending into our present era in the United States in the form of limited opportunities for advancement and disproportionate vulnerabilities to oppression and harm among communities of people of color.

The trauma of slavery, during its practice, was pervasive. Frederick Douglass, author of the abolitionist memoir *A Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), noted that those who enslaved others likewise experienced a type of harm that, although of their own doing, was nonetheless real and damaging. Describing “the fatal poison of irresponsible power” to which slave owners exposed themselves, Douglass once stated, “No man can put a chain about the ankle of his fellow man without at last finding the other end fastened about his own neck.”

The mutually injurious effects of slavery were as pertinent for institutions as they were for individuals—a dilemma that remains the case even today, more than 150 years after the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery. Like other institutions whose early leaders and financial supporters placed the chains of slavery around Black men and women, Baylor University continues to be detrimentally chained to the sin of enslavement.

Such a statement may seem counterintuitive, given that the University was financially enriched during its early history in Independence, Texas,

by the contributions of wealthy slave owners in Washington County and the surrounding area, such as Judge R.E.B. Baylor, William Milton Tryon, James Huckins, Albert G. Haynes, Lt. Gov. Albert Clinton Horton, and General Sam Houston. Similarly, the University’s ongoing operations, across generations of students and faculty, have benefited from the accrued value of those foundational investments made possible by the institution of chattel slavery. However, “the fatal poison” of slavery has remained in circulation, in both latent and manifest forms, within the body of Baylor University over the course of these many years, and it will continue to prove an impediment to the University’s full realization of its potential as a Christian research university until it is extracted and its damages remedied.

Today, in keeping with our Christian commitment, Baylor University must stand with our brothers and sisters in Christ in unequivocally acknowledging that the institution’s roots in American chattel slavery—and its early leaders’ role in a civil war fought to preserve it—require unflinching confrontation and intentional acts of repentance. We must, without reservation, acknowledge that our nation’s long history of enslavement, having evolved into structural racism and bias permeating our democratic and economic institutions, today requires the intentional practice of contrite reconciliation as a countermeasure.

The diversity of the Baylor Family is one of the University’s greatest strengths. We must honor this diversity by engaging in acts of inclusion as we seek out the instruction of what President Abraham Lincoln described as “the better angels of our nature.” These are promising times in the life of Baylor University, a period during which we have the opportunity to continue fulfilling our original mission as envisioned by our founders—to be a Christian University “fully susceptible of enlargement and development to meet the needs of all ages to come.”

Statement of Guiding Principles

In reviewing the historic representations found on the campus of Baylor University and during the course of contemplating the significance of these artifacts, we have held fast to Jesus' response when asked to identify the greatest commandment in the law:

“You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind.’ This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like it: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’” MATTHEW 22:37-39

These words reside at the heart of our understanding of Baylor’s Christian commitment. As such, they also provide a standard against which to assess how well the actions and stated beliefs of individuals prominently connected to Baylor’s history and honored with various representations on Baylor’s campus are in alignment with these two commandments.

We have been guided in our work by the following set of principles that answer—in both the letter and spirit—to the charges given the Commission by the Board of Regents.

- Assessments of historic representations should include the complete historical context of individuals’ lives and the intentions for honoring them with monuments and other representations.
- Recommendations should seek opportunities for redemptive and inclusive actions.
- Recommendations should demonstrate the value, dignity, and equality of every human being as created and intended by God.
- Recommendations should reflect Baylor’s commitment to speak the truth in love and to show true love by our actions.
- Recommendations should offer actionable items both in the short term, to illustrate a commitment to change, and in the long term, to transform Baylor’s campus in a manner that tells the full story of Baylor’s history and honors all who contributed to the institution’s success.
- Recommendations should bring Baylor closer to alignment with key elements of the University’s vision as articulated in *Illuminate*, specifically with regard to Christian Environment, wherein it states that our Baptist founders sought to establish an institution of higher learning that would “meet the needs of all ages to come.”
- Recommendations should reflect a hope for the future—that all who find their home at Baylor University feel connected to its past and responsible for its future.

Summary of Methodology

On July 6, 2020, Baylor University announced the formation and 26 members of the Commission on Historic Campus Representations. Led by co-chairs Dr. Alicia D.H. Monroe, Dr. Gary Mortenson, and Walter Abercrombie, the Commission first met on August 11, 2020, to begin a rigorous, well-organized, and comprehensive review of the historical record and context of the University and its founders and early leaders, including historical connections to slavery and racial injustice, and an evaluation of all statues, monuments, buildings, and other aspects of campus within this complete historical context and in reference to the original intentions behind their physical location, placement, and naming.

This process of review and evaluation was based on scholarly documents prepared by researchers in the areas of Baylor history and Baptist history and was undertaken through a series of meetings, held on Zoom every other week on Tuesday evenings, during the months of August, September, October, November, and December. The spirit of these meetings was prayerful, open-hearted, candid, and democratic, resulting in fruitful discussions and, ultimately, the set of written assessments and recommendations contained in this report for consideration by the Board of Regents and Administration about how to best communicate and reflect the complete history of Baylor University for current and future generations.

The process generated some additional recommendations not specific to the physical spaces and monuments themselves. These have been presented to University Administration for consideration outside of this report.





PART 1

Founders Mall Historic Representations

Information relating to five specific historic representations on Founders Mall:

1. Robert Emmett Bledsoe Baylor Monument
2. William Milton Tryon Monument
3. James Huckins Monument
4. Baylor's First Board of Trustees Monument
5. Centennial Time Capsule Monument

Historical context

By the time Baylor University was chartered on February 1, 1845, slavery had become woven into the cultural and economic fabric of the Republic of Texas. The Baptist leaders and their congregants who began moving into Texas in the 1830s, when Texas was a Mexican state before gaining independence in 1836, came from the southern half of the United States and were theologically missionary and evangelistic.

Some of these early Baptist leaders in the state were slave owners and held Southern racial ideas. In bringing enslaved people to Texas, they were in violation of the Mexican law of April 6, 1830, that prohibited slavery. Nationally, slavery became a source of increasing conflict in antebellum Baptist life. Baptists in the South eventually split from their northern peers to form the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845.

In the 1850 federal census of Washington County, where Baylor University was located at the time, the total population of 5,983 included 2,817 enslaved people (47 percent of the total

population), and no free Blacks were recorded in the enumeration.¹ Located in the Brazos River Valley between Houston and Austin, Washington County's loamy soil was well suited to cotton cultivation, for which enslaved people provided much of the labor. By the time of the Civil War, the county had become the second most populous county in Texas and one of the leading cotton-producing counties in the state.² Slavery formally ended in Texas after June 19, 1865, when Gen. Gordon Granger arrived at Galveston with occupying federal forces and announced emancipation.

Given this historical context, it is not surprising that Baylor University and prominent individuals connected to the University had ties to slavery. All three of Baylor's primary founders were slave owners, 11 of Baylor's first 15 members of the Board of Trustees were slave owners, and Baylor's first four presidents were slave owners.

1. Robert Emmett Bledsoe Baylor Monument



The monument of Judge Baylor (center) is located at one end of Founders Mall with monuments to fellow founders James Huckins and William Tryon to the left and right, respectively.

TEXT ON MONUMENT

(Back)

Image of the Baylor Seal

ROBERT EMMETT BLED SOE BAYLOR
1791-1873
FOUNDER OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
UNDER THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS 1845
DONOR OF THE FIRST THOUSAND
DOLLARS TO THE INSTITUTION
PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST BOARD
OF TRUSTEES - PROFESSOR IN
THE FIRST LAW FACULTY - HE
EXEMPLIFIED IN HIS LIFE THE
MOTTO OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
PRO ECCLESIA/PRO TEXANA

ERECTED BY THE STATE OF TEXAS 1936
WITH FUNDS APPROPRIATED BY THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT TO COMMEMORATE ONE
HUNDRED YEARS OF TEXAS INDEPENDENCE

(Right side)

RELIGIOUS LEADER

JUDGE BAYLOR
ORGANIZED THE UNION
ASSOCIATION - THE FIRST
BAPTIST ORGANIZATION IN
TEXAS - PRESENTED THE
FIRST REPORT IN BEHALF
OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN
TEXAS - HE WAS THE FIRST
PRESIDENT OF THE TEXAS
EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY
SPONSOR OF A FREE PUBLIC
SCHOOL SYSTEM - PREACHER
AND LAWYER - HE PREACHED
THE FIRST SERMON AND HELD
THE FIRST COURT IN WACO
GIVING DIRECTION AND
DESTINY TO TEXAS BY
UPHOLDING THE LAW AND
PROCLAIMING THE GOSPEL

(Left side)

CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMAN

JUDGE BAYLOR
WAS A MEMBER OF THE
KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE
CONGRESSMAN FROM KENTUCKY
CONGRESSMAN FROM ALABAMA
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM
ALABAMA - HE SERVED
FIVE YEARS AS ASSOCIATE
JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME
COURT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF TEXAS - TWENTY YEARS
AS DISTRICT JUDGE FOR
THE STATE COURTS - AS
COMMANDER OF A COMPANY
IN THE WAR OF 1812
AND AS A SOLDIER IN
THE CREEK AND INDIAN
WAR - MEXICAN WAR AND
THE TEXAS INDIAN WAR

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

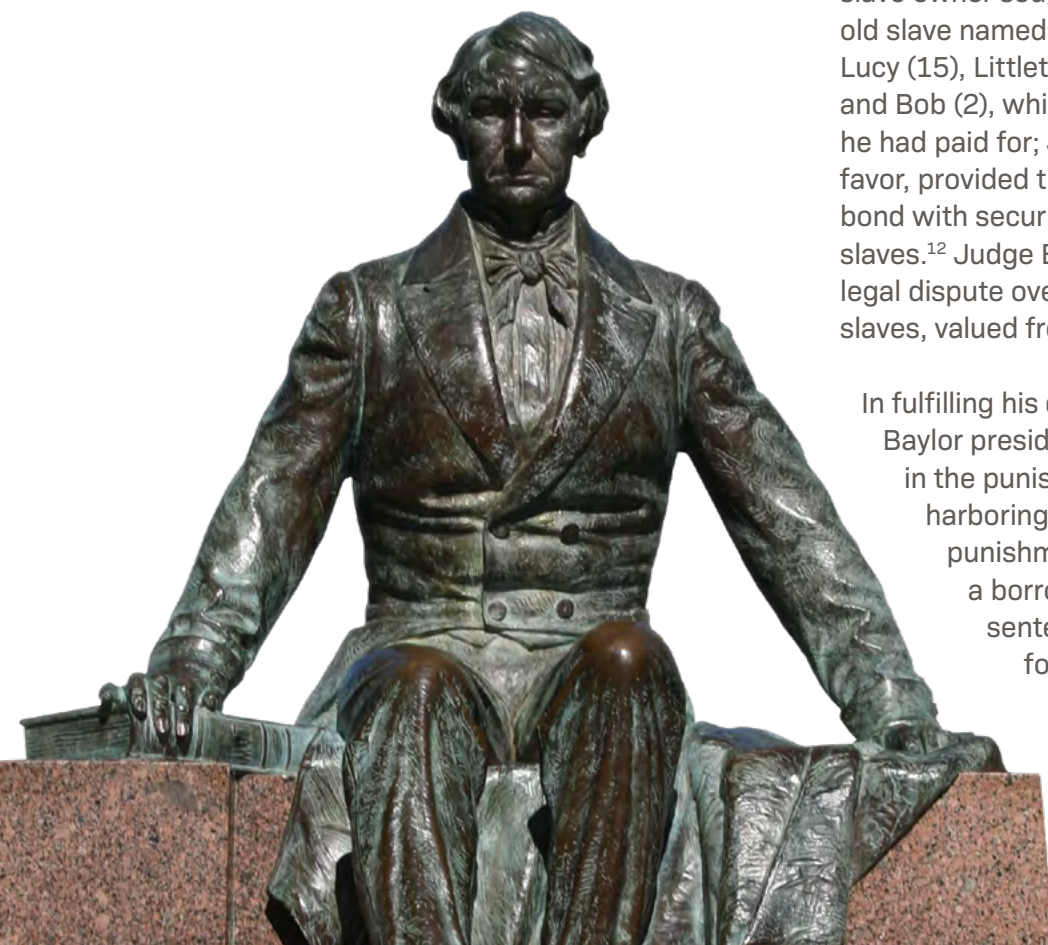
Robert Emmett Bledsoe Baylor was born on May 10, 1793, near Lexington, Kentucky.³ In the 1790s, Baylor's father, Walker Baylor, manufactured bricks, farmed, raised thoroughbred horses, and made wine. In about 1805, he moved his family to Bourbon County, Kentucky, near the town of Paris.⁴ He was a slave owner, as had been his father, John Baylor.⁵

Judge R.E.B. Baylor moved to Alabama in 1820⁶ and then moved from Alabama to Texas in 1839. During his residence in Texas, Judge R. E. B. Baylor owned slaves, predominantly women. In 1856, Baylor owned four slaves worth \$3,000.⁷ The 1860 U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedule documents Judge Baylor as the owner of 33 slaves—only two of them men.⁸ One of his slaves was Ann Freeman,

who remained in Independence after her emancipation.⁹ These slaves formed a significant portion of Judge Baylor's wealth, which was listed as \$24,000 in real estate and \$35,000 in personal estate in 1860¹⁰—sums that made him among the wealthiest residents of Washington County at the time.

Legal matters involving slaves came before Judge Baylor with some frequency during his service as a judge in Texas, which began in 1841 when he was elected to his post by both houses of Congress¹¹ and culminated in his serving as the judge of the Third Judicial District of Texas. In one such case, while serving as district judge, Judge Baylor resolved a bill of chancery on August 14, 1841, in Milam County. The matter involved litigation over slaves, with a "seizure order" signed twice by Judge Baylor, in which a slave owner sought possession of a 37-year-old slave named Jane and her children, Lucy (15), Littleton (12 or 13), Net (5 or 6), and Bob (2), which the complainant said he had paid for; Judge Baylor ruled in his favor, provided the complainant enter into bond with security equal to the value of the slaves.¹² Judge Baylor presided over another legal dispute over the ownership of seven slaves, valued from \$250 to \$900, in 1855.¹³

In fulfilling his duties as a judge, Judge Baylor presided over cases that resulted in the punishment of an abolitionist harboring an escaped slave, the punishment of a man for not returning a borrowed slave promptly, the sentencing of a slave to hang for arson, the execution of another slave in 1856, and the execution of a slave for "intent to rape a white female."¹⁴ The slave who was hung for arson, in which several



deaths occurred, was named Peter. He had been found guilty by the court—a decision that was upheld by the Texas Supreme Court. Judge Baylor was then left to pronounce judgment; he sentenced Peter to hang on April 28, 1845.¹⁵ The slave executed for intent to rape a white woman was named George. A jury in Brenham found him guilty, and Judge Baylor ordered him to be hanged on November 14, 1862, during the Civil War.¹⁶

Judge Baylor did not serve in the Confederate military, as he was 67 years old when the Civil War began. However, he did continue serving as a judge in Texas during the Civil War. In December 1872, Judge Baylor applied to the United States Commissioner of Pensions for a pension based on his military service to the United States during the War of 1812. On January 3, 1873, government officials rejected his application “for reasons of disloyalty,” explaining that the decision was made because Judge Baylor had “exercised the functions of the office of District Judge in the State of Texas whilst in hostility to the U. States.”^{17 18} As a result, even though he did not “fight for” the Confederacy, it is accurate to state that Judge Baylor served the Confederacy in a civil capacity.

Judge Baylor can also be said to have supported the cause of the Confederacy, broadly speaking. In July 1862, Judge Baylor served on a 13-man committee at the annual meeting of the Union Baptist Association. The committee’s report presented recommendations to the churches regarding “their religious and civil duties in the war now waged by the United States Government against the Confederate States of America.” The report from Judge Baylor’s committee stated, in part, “The unholy and unnatural war now waged by the United States against our liberty, and disputing our right of self-government, was wicked in its conception, and is disgraceful and barbarous in its character,

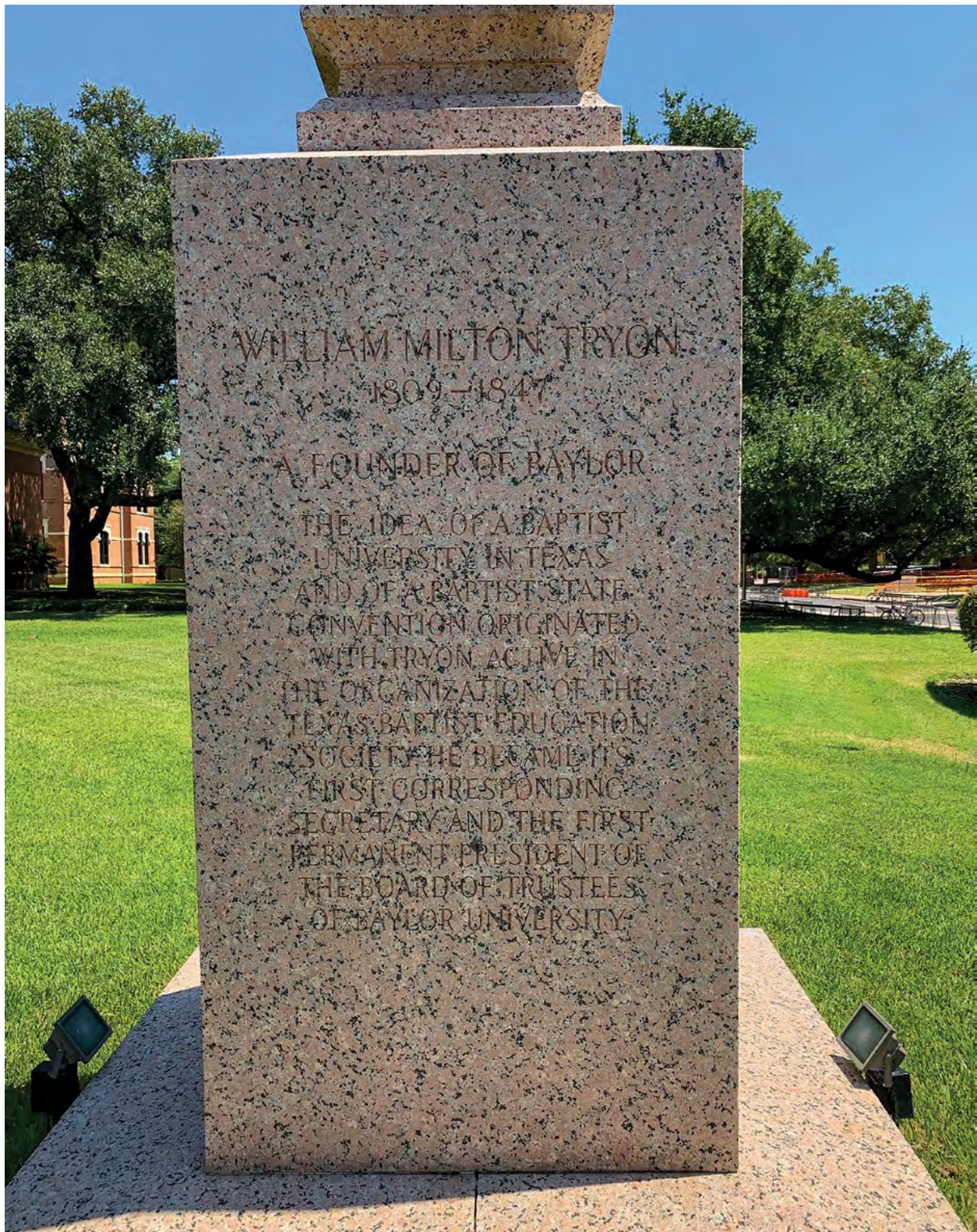
and absolutely inimical to the principles of the United States Government in the days of its purity.... Our lion-hearted soldiers go to battle with justice in their cause and God in their hearts, and we will come off more than conqueror. If need be, we will burn our cotton, spread destruction before the enemy, spend the last dollar, shed the last drop of blood, but be subjugated, never! never!! never!!!”¹⁹

After the Civil War was over, Judge Baylor wrote to one of his nephews, who was considering moving to Texas from Indiana, that he should bring with him workers and skilled laborers. The reason for this suggestion, Judge Baylor explained, was “the indolent habits of the free Negroes. They will not work with a few exceptions.... Do not misunderstand me, I do not mean that the Negro must be a slave again to compel him to work. I simply mean he must be forced to work in some way, otherwise they will become vagabonds.”²⁰

In 1935 Baylor President Pat Neff applied for and received a grant of \$14,000 in federal funds (disbursed by the Texas Centennial Commission of Control) to create a monument honoring Judge Baylor.²¹ In addition to such federal grants, the Commission disbursed more than \$3 million in state funds to projects—including about 1,100 exposition buildings, memorial museums, statues, and granite and bronze markers and monuments—related to the Texas centennial celebration in 1936.²² The Judge Baylor statue, made by Pompeo Coppini, was unveiled on February 1, 1939, on the 94th anniversary of the University’s charter. Rev. George W. Truett delivered the main address, and descendants of Judge Baylor’s extended family were among the 3,000 people gathered to watch the unveiling. Also participating in the dedication ceremony was Ann Freeman, one of Judge Baylor’s former slaves, who was presented on stage to the applause of the audience.²³



2. William Milton Tryon Monument



TEXT ON MONUMENT

<p>WILLIAM MILTON TRYON 1809-1847</p> <p>A FOUNDER OF BAYLOR</p> <p>THE IDEA OF A BAPTIST UNIVERSITY IN TEXAS AND OF A BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION ORIGINATED WITH TRYON. ACTIVE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXAS BAPTIST EDUCATION SOCIETY HE BECAME ITS FIRST CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND THE FIRST PERMANENT PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY</p>	<p>LEADER IN CHURCH AND STATE</p> <p>BORN IN NEW YORK CITY AND EDUCATED AT MERCER TRYON WAS THE SECOND MISSIONARY SENT TO TEXAS BY THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY. HE SERVED AS THE FIRST CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE TEXAS BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY AS CHAPLAIN IN THE CONGRESS OF TEXAS AND AS TREASURER OF THE TEXAS LITERARY INSTITUTE</p>	<p>EDUCATOR</p> <p>MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO SECURE FROM THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS A CHARTER FOR A BAPTIST EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION TRYON REJECTED JUDGE BAYLOR'S SUGGESTION THAT THE SCHOOL BE NAMED TRYON AND INTO THE APPLICATION WROTE THE NAME BAYLOR</p>
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HISTORICAL INFORMATION

William Milton Tryon was born in New York City on March 10, 1809.²⁴ A brief biography is available at The Handbook of Texas website: <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ftr19>.

Tryon married Louise Higgins, on April 14, 1840, in Montgomery County, Alabama.²⁵ Dr. William Carey Crane, who would later serve as president of Baylor University, performed the ceremony.²⁶ Louise was a widow who owned several slaves, which became Tryon's property after the wedding. They moved from Alabama to Texas in 1841 and made their home at Hidalgo Bluff, where the slaves worked on their 640-acre farm.²⁷

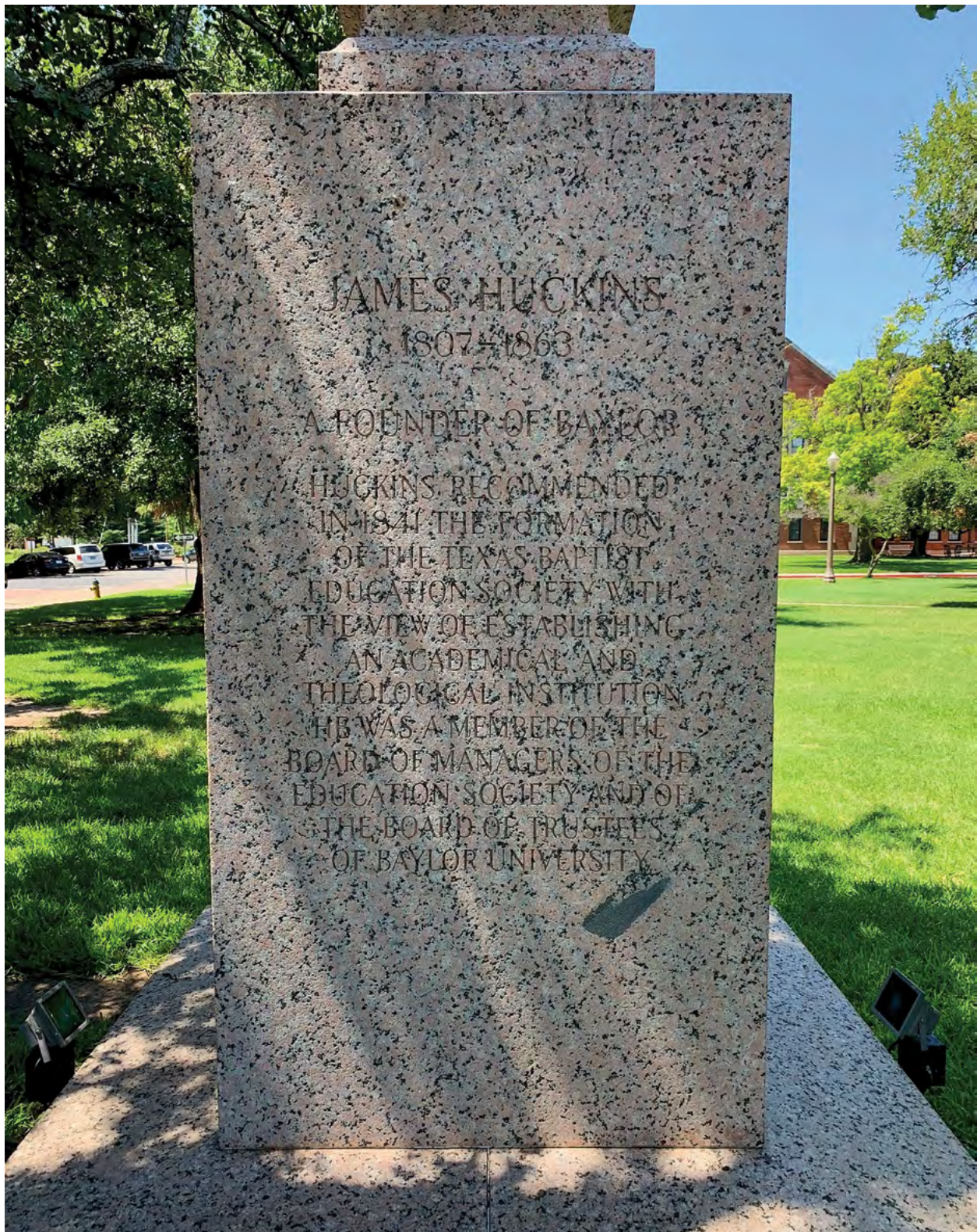
In 1843, northern newspapers condemned Tryon and Rev. James L. Huckins for being slave owners while serving as employees of

the American Baptist Home Mission Society.²⁸ As a result, he resigned from the Society in 1845 and joined the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.²⁹

Soon after his arrival in Texas, Tryon reorganized the defunct church at Washington-on-the-Brazos with 10 white and two Black members. Tryon conducted the first baptismal services ever held in the Brazos River, with the first convert baptized being a slave girl.³⁰ He died in Houston in 1847.³¹

The memorial pillars dedicated to Tryon and Huckins were unveiled on Founders Day, February 1, 1945, as part of Baylor University's centennial celebration.³²

3. James Huckins Monument



TEXT ON MONUMENT

<p>JAMES HUCKINS 1807-1863</p> <p>A FOUNDER OF BAYLOR</p> <p>HUCKINS RECOMMENDED IN 1841 THE FORMATION OF THE TEXAS BAPTIST EDUCATION SOCIETY WITH THE VIEW OF ESTABLISHING AN ACADEMIC AND THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE EDUCATION SOCIETY AND OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY</p>	<p>MISSIONARY – EDUCATOR</p> <p>GENERAL AGENT OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY AND ITS FIRST MISSIONARY TO TEXAS. HUCKINS REACHED GALVESTON IN 1840 AS FINANCIAL AGENT OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY HE RAISED \$30,000 CASH BITES AND COMMODITIES</p>	<p>LEADER IN CHURCH AND STATE</p> <p>BORN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. HUCKINS WAS EDUCATED AT BROWN UNIVERSITY AND AT ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. HE DEVOTED TWENTY YEARS TO TEXAS FOUNDED CHURCHES PREACHED THE GOSPEL SERVED THREE TIMES AS PRESIDENT OF THE BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION INITIATED CIVIC REFORM AND FOSTERED EDUCATION</p>
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HISTORICAL INFORMATION

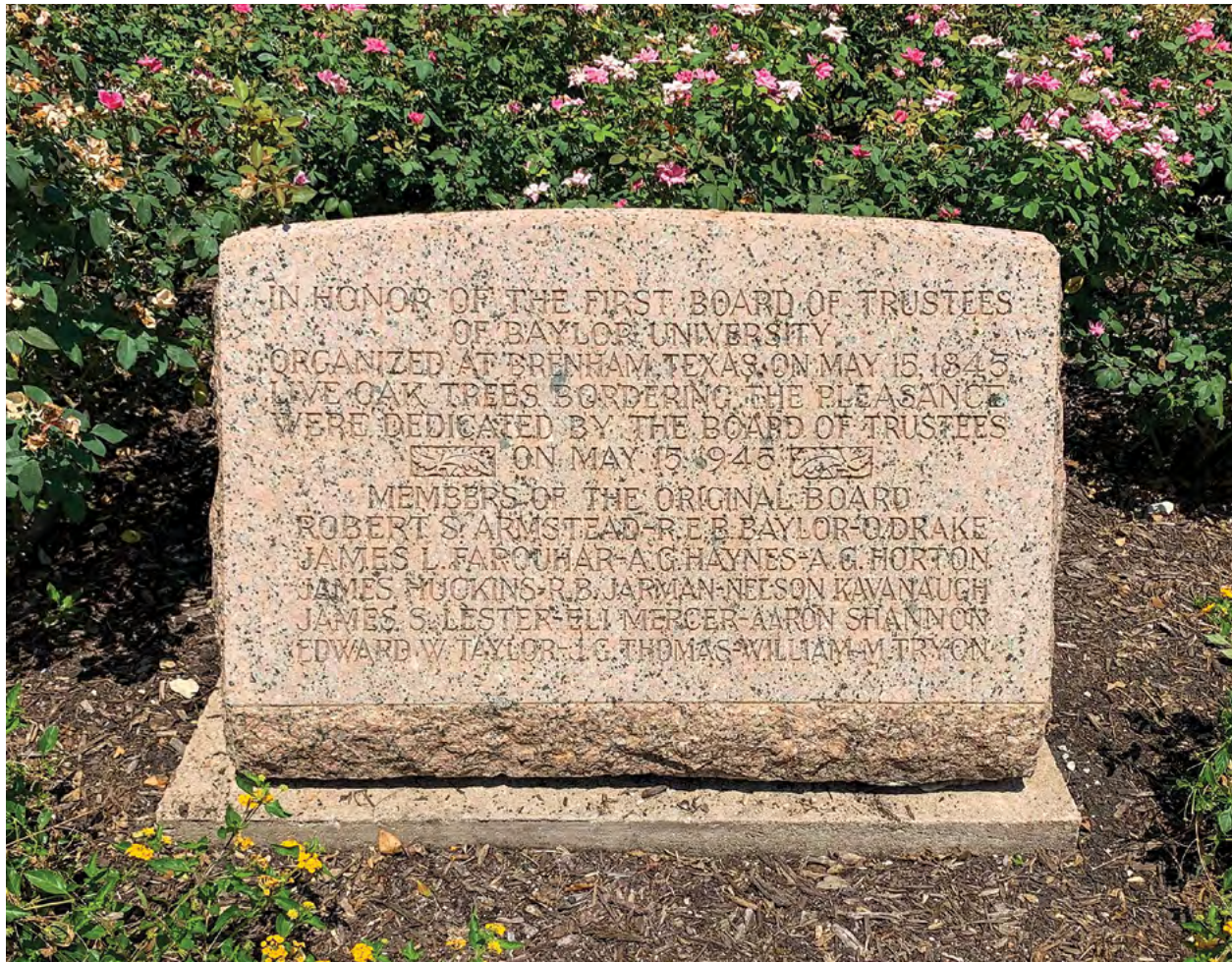
James Huckins was born in Dorchester, New Hampshire, on April 8, 1807. A brief biography is available at The Handbook of Texas website: <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhu04>.

Huckins owned slaves who were used in his Galveston home in the 1840s. In 1843, northern newspapers condemned Huckins and William Tryon for being slave owners while serving as employees of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.³³ In addition, one member of his church in Galveston issued an objection against his ministry in 1844 after allegedly hearing Huckins physically beating a female slave inside his house.³⁴

In February 1863, Huckins applied for an appointment as a chaplain in the Confederate army in Charleston, South Carolina. On April 11, he accepted a commission as a chaplain with the rank of captain. On June 2, 1863, he was paid \$80 a month for his service. On August 5, 1863, he applied for a 60-day furlough due to problems with his vision.^{35 36 37} He died the next day on August 6, 1863, in Charleston.³⁸

The memorial pillars dedicated to Tryon and Huckins were unveiled on Founders Day, February 1, 1945, as part of Baylor University's centennial celebration.³⁹

4. Baylor's First Board of Trustees Monument



TEXT ON MONUMENT

IN HONOR OF THE FIRST BOARD OF TRUSTEES
OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
ORGANIZED AT BRENHAM, TEXAS, ON MAY 15, 1845
LIVE OAK TREES BORDERING THE PLEASANCE
WERE DEDICATED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
ON MAY 15, 1945

MEMBERS OF THE ORIGINAL BOARD
ROBERT S. ARMSTEAD - R.E.B. BAYLOR - O. DRAKE
JAMES L. FARQUHAR - A.G. HAYNES - A.G. HORTON
JAMES HUCKINS - R.B. JARMAN - NELSON KAVANAUGH
JAMES S. LESTER - ELI MERCER - AARON SHANNON
EDWARD W. TAYLOR - J. G. THOMAS - WILLIAM M. TRYON

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

When the Republic of Texas chartered Baylor University on February 1, 1845, it designated 15 men, 12 of whom were Baptists, to serve as the institution's first Board of Trustees. Eleven of the men were slave owners,⁴⁰ as indicated by an asterisk: R. E. B. Baylor,* William M. Tryon,* James Huckins,* Robert S. Armistead, Albert G. Haynes,* James L. Farquhar,* James G. Thomas,* Albert C. Horton,* Edward W. Taylor, James S. Lester, Richard B. Jarman,* Nelson Kavanaugh,* Orin Drake, Eli Mercer,* and Aaron Shannon.*

Albert G. Haynes

Haynes owned 29 slaves in 1850 in Washington County, Texas.⁴¹

Excerpt from Dr. Michael Parrish, "Graves of Glory or Homes of Freedom," *The Baylor Line*, Summer 2011 issue: A prominent slaveholding planter and zealous Baptist, Albert G. Haynes helped establish Baylor University and served as a trustee from 1845 to 1870. The Haynes family lived in Independence, and several children attended Baylor. Baylor historian Lois Smith Murray noted, "During the Civil War, Albert G. Haynes lost a fortune estimated at \$85,000 in property and slaves, but his greatest loss was two sons—Tom...and Dick."⁴²

Lt. Gov. Albert Clinton Horton

As a founding trustee, Horton also was a patron of Baylor University, as most likely were all of the original trustees. He owned almost 300 slaves, for whom he was said to have had "a tender and deep interest for [their] comfort and religious welfare." His estates were estimated at having a value of about \$350,000. His financial support of Baylor included a gift of \$5,000 and a bell.⁴³

In 1850, he owned 66 slaves in Wharton County, Texas.⁴⁴

James L. Farquhar

Farquhar bought a slave named Alexander from William H. McCutchan for \$1,300 on April 7, 1856, in Washington County.⁴⁵

Eli Mercer

Mercer was born in Georgia and came to Texas in 1829 with his wife, five children, and three slaves.⁴⁶ He was given 4,428 acres of land from the Mexican government as one of Austin's famous "Old Three Hundred."⁴⁷ In 1850, he owned 38 slaves in Wharton County.⁴⁸

Richard B. Jarman

Jarman owned 21 slaves in 1850 in Fayette County, Texas.⁴⁹

Nelson Kavanaugh

Kavanaugh moved to Gay Hill, Washington County, after 1840, where he bought land and slaves.⁵⁰ His daughter Mary Gentry Kavanaugh became Baylor University's first female graduate.

Aaron Shannon

Shannon owned 28 slaves in 1850 in Grimes County, Texas.⁵¹

James Gilbert Thomas

Thomas owned three slaves in 1850 in Burleson County, Texas.⁵²

5. Centennial Time Capsule Monument



The Centennial Time Capsule Monument is located in the middle of Founders Mall.

TEXT ON MONUMENT

ERECTED BY
THE CENTENNIAL CLASS OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
ON MAY 26, 1945
OF STONES FROM THE OLDER BUILDINGS
OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY AT INDEPENDENCE
AND WACO TO HOUSE A BOX
OF RELICS OF THE FIRST CENTURY
TO BE OPENED
AT THE SECOND CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The Centennial Time Capsule Monument was erected on May 26, 1945, on Founders Mall to coincide with commencement ceremonies as part of Baylor University's centennial celebration.⁵³

Stones from Tryon Hall, a building belonging to the male department on Baylor's original campus in Independence, were used to build the Centennial Time Capsule Monument,⁵⁴ as were stones from Old Main, Georgia Burleson Hall, George W. Carroll Science Hall, Pat Neff Hall, and Alexander Hall on Baylor's Waco campus.⁵⁵ The time capsule (which is a chest) that is buried beneath the monument contains, among other items, a copy of the *Round-Up* yearbook, copies of the *Lariat* newspaper, course catalogs, pictures, letters, and recordings from the 1944-45 academic year.^{56 57}

It has been said that all of Baylor University's original buildings in Independence were built with labor by enslaved people.⁵⁸ These buildings included Tryon Hall, Houston Hall, Graves Hall, Burleson Domicile, and Creath Hall on the campus for male students known as Allen Hill or Windmill Hill at the time and now known as Baylor Park on Windmill Hill.

Research in Board of Trustees minutes recorded during Baylor University's early

history has not revealed any specific mention of slave labor, although there are many entries related to the approval of and costs related to the construction of facilities for the male and female departments.

The construction of Tryon Hall, a stone structure originally intended to be a three-story "main building" on the campus for male students, was approved by Baylor trustees in 1859⁵⁹ and had begun by 1860,⁶⁰ although it was never completely finished.⁶¹ The first story was completed by trustee A. G. Haynes at a cost of \$6,500.⁶² The first story's walls were about three feet thick.⁶³ The building stood incomplete in 1866,⁶⁴ and further work on the building was suspended during the 1880-81 academic year.⁶⁵ Two upper floors were added in the early 1880s,⁶⁶ but Tryon Hall was never fully completed and remained a shell until torn down in 1934.⁶⁷

Because A. G. Haynes was a slave owner, it is possible that his slaves were involved in the construction of Tryon Hall. Although not specifically provable, one could argue that enslaved people physically handled the stones used during the early years of Tryon Hall's construction, thereby connecting the Centennial Time Capsule Monument with the legacy of slavery.



Assessment and Recommendations Concerning Founders Mall Historic Representations

Founders Mall in General

ASSESSMENT

The original purposes and intentions behind the installation of the monuments and historic representations found on Founders Mall were to honor and celebrate those individuals who had the vision and the foresight to establish a Christian institution of higher education in Texas and one of the first co-educational universities west of the Mississippi. However, as a result of this celebratory disposition, the whole story about these individuals is not being told with regard to their stated beliefs and actions regarding slavery and the Confederacy.

Given that these monuments were placed on Baylor's campus in the 1930s and 1940s to celebrate Texas history and Baylor's origins, it should be noted that they are not Confederate monuments. Collectively speaking, however, the monuments commemorate a white Baylor, the white slave-owning leaders of Baylor University's early years, and those leaders' contributions in the context of a culture of white superiority. The construction dates of the monuments also place them in a time when people of color were not permitted to enroll as Baylor students or teach on Baylor's faculty.

While the text that is present on these monuments may appear, at first glance, appropriate and inoffensive, there nevertheless is a harmful absence of other appropriate information concerning the involvement of these men in the institution of slavery and the cause of the Confederacy.

Judge R.E.B. Baylor, James Huckins, and William Milton Tryon—along with other slaveholders on the University's first Board of Trustees—could simply be considered as products of their era. However, the broader historical context of their lives suggests otherwise. The remainder of the English-speaking world had abolished slavery by 1833 (Slave Trade Act in 1807 and Slavery Abolition Act in 1833) at considerable cost to the people of the United Kingdom. In addition, Huckins and Tryon, in particular, were divisive to the Baptist faith in the United States in that their support of slavery contributed to the split that created the Northern and Southern Baptist denominations. As educated men, the founders clearly knew the arguments against slavery, yet they nevertheless chose to support its continuation and expansion. This moral failure is evidenced in the following ways:

- Failure to promote justice.
- Failure to see fellow humans as having been created in God's image (Imago Dei).
- The sin of greed: fear of financial loss without slavery.
- The sin of pride: failure to view other humans as equal to oneself.
- The sin of cowardice: failure to address the consequences of such behavior.

Baylor's founders believed that creating a higher education institution, grounded in Christian values, precepts, and commandments, was how they could further God's kingdom. However, they used God's

Word to justify the continued practice of enslaving other men, women, and children who were equally created in the image of God. In doing so, they “were not doers of the Word,” and they consequently lived in a moral contradiction that they failed to resolve. The consequences of the sins of the antebellum era, in which Baylor’s founders participated, have been visited upon many subsequent generations of Americans—both Black and white. These sins established the foundation for the racial prejudice, discrimination, and cultural discord that still trouble our world today.

Baylor University has evolved over the years since the institution’s founding. In growing to become a Christian research university, Baylor has corrected some of the failures of the institution’s early years. However, there still remains a significant opportunity to take steps that promote equality and equity in all aspects of Baylor’s life. By recognizing the flaws of the founders and seeking repentance and conciliation, the University will begin to repair the ongoing pain and suppression of people of color.

It is clear and understandable that the construction of the existing monuments in Founders Mall was intended to highlight the accomplishments of these men without regard to how they accomplished them or to the evils in which they participated. We cannot change these men or their actions, but we can change how we represent their stories. We need to tell the whole truth of these individuals—their fallen nature, their sin, and how they perpetuated a great evil in our nation. We seek forgiveness for the sins of our founders in much the same way

that we recall the Lord’s Prayer in daily devotions: “And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.”

In his sermon “Loving Your Enemies,” Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., expressed his thoughts on forgiveness with the following words:

“Forgiveness is a catalyst creating the atmosphere necessary for a fresh start and a new beginning. It is the lifting of a burden or the cancelling of a debt. The words “I will forgive you, but I’ll never forget what you’ve done” never explain the real nature of forgiveness. Certainly one can never forget, if that means erasing it totally from his mind. But when we forgive, we forget in the sense that the evil deed is no longer a mental block impeding a new relationship. Likewise, we can never say, “I will forgive you, but I won’t have anything further to do with you.” Forgiveness means reconciliation, a coming together again. Without this, no man can love his enemies. The degree to which we are able to forgive determines the degree to which we are able to love our enemies.”

RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a need to publicly and visibly state that Baylor's founders were flawed in regard to their views and attitudes toward the enslavement of people and support of the Confederacy; although such views and attitudes were acceptable at that time by many people across the South and in Texas, they do not align with God's Word. Such a statement, in whatever form, would be a way for Baylor to acknowledge this fact and seek repentance and reconciliation to repair the hurt, pain, and even death inflicted on those enslaved by the founders and their contemporaries. New information about the founders should be provided to identify them as owners of enslaved persons, thereby adding key elements of information currently missing from their personal histories. In addition, there is a need to tell a more complete story of Baylor's founding and early history that recognizes the role played by slave labor in building Baylor's early campus on Windmill Hill and Academy Hill in Independence, Texas. Accordingly, the Commission makes the following recommendations:

1 Create a new monument on Founders Mall in honor of the “unknown enslaved” who were instrumental in constructing the original campus where Baylor University began its journey. Such a monument would provide a visible symbol of the “invisible hands and bodies” of Black people and would address aspects of Baylor University's origins that the current monuments on Founders Mall fail to tell. Such a new historic representation would begin to change the way Black and brown people feel when they walk on Baylor's campus and would symbolize Baylor's commitment to racial diversity going forward. Prospective students and faculty and staff who visit the campus would see this new monument on campus tours, and current Baylor students and employees would be encouraged by its presence as part of Baylor's commitment to racial equity and Christian compassion.

This new historic representation could be placed at the heart of Founders Mall in the area surrounding the Centennial Time Capsule Monument and could include a series of plaques set around a semi-circular stone wall that recognizes

the enslaved labor utilized to build the buildings on Baylor's first campus in Independence. Such a representation could be constructed in a manner that allows for both Pat Neff Hall and Waco Hall to be visible above the text inscribed on the monument, thereby enabling readers to see in both directions when looking up from the two opposite sides of the representation at this central point on this historically significant location on the Baylor campus.

Such a monument should include information regarding the fact that 11 of the 15 men constituting Baylor University's first Board of Trustees were owners of enslaved people, thereby addressing the presence of the nearby monument to the First Board of Trustees. This new historic representation should include text that informs readers how slaves, both directly and indirectly, played a significant role in Baylor University's history from the very beginning of the institution's existence and throughout the growth of the University during its early years in Independence. Additional narrative should address the enormous value that slavery provided

to the slave-owning founders and first trustees of Baylor University, elevating their wealth, power, and influence for generations, as well as how that value greatly benefited the University in the form of those individuals' monetary contributions, personal assistance, and advocacy based upon positions of influence. This new monument should also include information regarding the fact that the stones used to construct the Centennial Time Capsule Monument came from Tryon Hall on Baylor's original campus in Independence and that all of Baylor University's original buildings in Independence were likely built with labor by enslaved people, thereby addressing the presence of the Centennial Time Capsule Monument.

2 Incorporate the complete history of Baylor's founders and first trustees, their ownership of enslaved people, and their role in the Confederacy on Baylor's website, which currently describes these individuals in an incomplete manner.

3 Investigate submitting grants for the funding of new monuments, memorials, or historic storytelling spaces; ways to contextualize existing monuments to enhance research and education; and resources available through national organizations that would assist in the decision-making process surrounding

the relocation of existing monuments or memorials on Baylor's campus. Working through the process of submitting grant proposals alone would be of benefit in reimagining and rethinking Baylor's historic representations. One such source of funding and guidance could be the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. On October 5, 2020, the Mellon Foundation announced a five-year, \$250 million grant effort named the Monuments Project. A news release concerning this program stated that the Monuments Project "will transform the way our country's histories are told in public spaces. By reimagining and rebuilding commemorative spaces that celebrate and affirm the historical contributions of many diverse communities that make up the United States, Mellon's quarter-billion-dollar commitment builds on two years of monument grantmaking and comes at a moment of national reckoning on the power and influence of monuments." Further details are available through the following link: <https://mellon.org/news-blog/articles/monuments-project/>.

4 Consider constructing a walkway with stone commemorative tiles running across sidewalks on Founders Mall to create a more accurate and balanced narrative relating to Baylor University's history regarding race during its early years. This could look similar to the tiles on Fifth Street featuring moments in Baylor history or other quotation tiles on campus.



The area surrounding the Centennial Time Capsule Monument on Founders Mall

Judge Robert Emmett Bledsoe Baylor Monument

ASSESSMENT

The text on Judge Baylor's statue makes no mention with respect to his role as a judge regarding verdicts made toward slaves and that he was considered disloyal to the United States through his support of the Confederacy. The laws that he upheld were unjust and consistently allowed slavery to continue denying those in the Black community their freedom. The heading on the left side of the monument, CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMAN, is misleading. His work upholding and advancing slavery was *not* constructive. When put in historical perspective, it was rather destructive and remains a legacy that we still live with today.

RECOMMENDATION

- 1 The Commission has concerns about the implied meaning of the words on the Judge Baylor monument that state, "HE EXEMPLIFIED IN HIS LIFE THE MOTTO OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY PRO ECCLESIA/PRO TEXANA." Judge Baylor was pro church—but it was a church that supported slavery and unjust treatment to men, women, and children based on the color of their skin. There is no evidence in God's word supporting injustice and inhumane treatment of Black persons; therefore, to preserve the honor and credibility of Baylor University's commitment to the Christian faith, this statement must be removed or further explained.



William Milton Tryon and James Huckins Monuments

ASSESSMENT

The text on the Tryon and Huckins Monuments is fairly straightforward, but it does not tell the whole story of the two founders' relationship and attitude toward slavery, their ownership of slaves, and Huckins's involvement with the Confederacy

RECOMMENDATIONS

1 Consider placing the Tryon and Huckins monuments side by side, in one of their current locations, or removing or combining them and creating a single monument, located on one side of the Judge Baylor monument, to commemorate both men. In the space opened up by this relocation, erect a memorial to persons enslaved by Baylor University's founders, trustees, administrators, faculty, and benefactors. If, as one walks out of Waco Hall, one could simultaneously see a monument to Tryon/Huckins, the Judge Baylor monument, and a monument to the enslaved people who helped build the University, then it would convey the message that all of these people were founders of Baylor University and that the University would not be here today without their contributions.

2 Biographical information, to be presented in some manner near the monuments, should contain information regarding the involvement of William Milton Tryon and James Huckins in the institution of slavery and the Confederacy. Huckins served in the Confederacy as a chaplain. In 1843, northern newspapers condemned Tryon and Huckins for being slave owners while serving as employees of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. As a result, Huckins resigned from the Society in 1845 and joined the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. The monument documents Huckins being on the American Baptist Home Mission Society but fails to acknowledge the complete history. The wording on the monument should be modified.





PART 2

Burleson Quadrangle Historic Representations

Information relating to specific historic representations in Burleson Quadrangle:

1. Rufus C. Burleson Monument
2. Folmar Pavilion Plaques
3. Carroll Library
4. Bells from Independence and Waco University
5. Other Texas Historical Markers in Burleson Quadrangle

1. Rufus C. Burleson Monument

TEXT ON MONUMENT

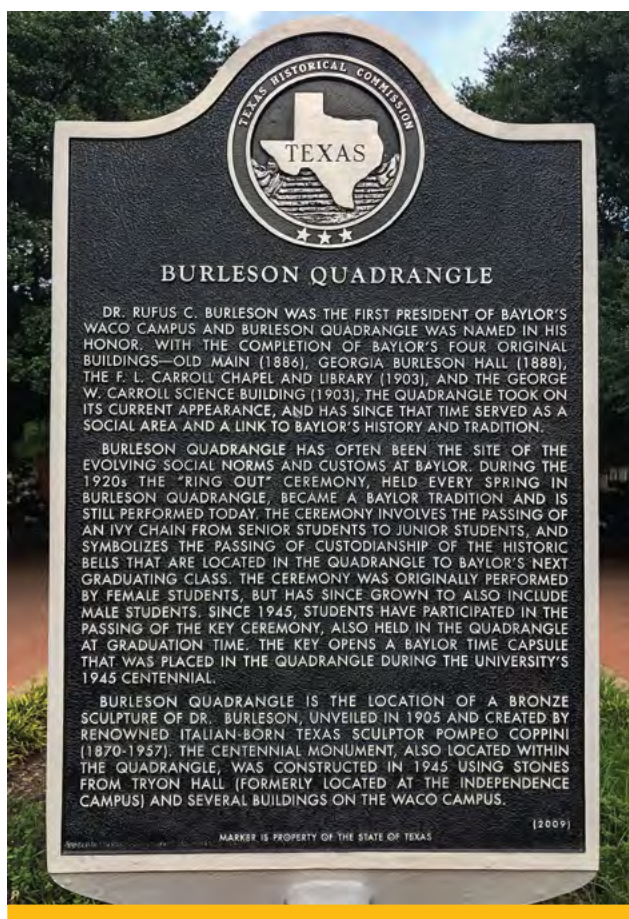
RUFUS C.
BURLESON
1823-1901

A TRIBUTE
FROM HIS STUDENTS
AND FRIENDS

Photos:

The Rufus C. Burleson monument is located on Burleson Quadrangle, along Fifth Street. (Left)

The Texas historical marker located directly behind the Rufus C. Burleson monument incorrectly describes the Centennial Time Capsule Monument as being located in Burleson Quadrangle. (Right)



HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The monument honoring Rufus C. Burleson was dedicated on June 7, 1905, coinciding with Commencement exercises, in the area that would later become known as Burleson Quadrangle. It was the work of sculptor Pompeo Coppini of San Antonio, who would later create the Judge Baylor monument in Founders Mall. The Burleson monument, consisting of a bronze statue and a base of one block of pink granite and three blocks of blue granite, cost \$4,000, which was raised by a group of Baylor alumni.⁶⁸

In 1906, responding to a survey request from the Confederate Memorial and Literary Society, which owned and oversaw the operations of the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Virginia, Baylor President Samuel Palmer Brooks identified the Baylor monument in honor of Burleson as a Confederate memorial, noting his service as a “Confederate Chaplain.”⁶⁹ In 1908, the official in charge of the Texas room at the Confederate Museum reported a picture of the Burleson monument at Baylor had been received and was on display.⁷⁰

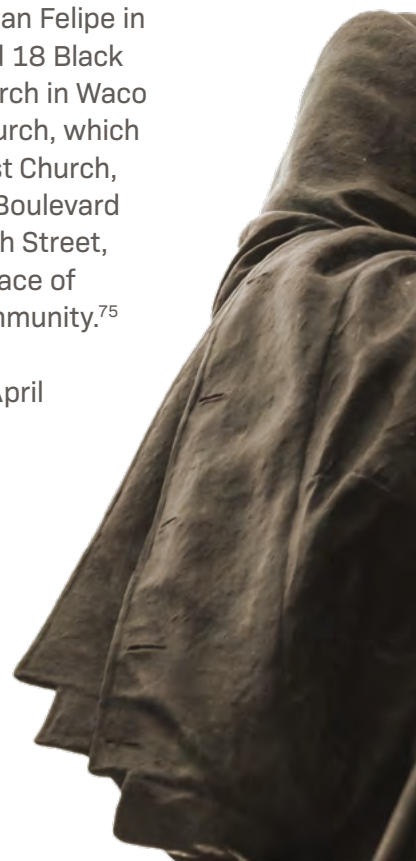
Rufus Columbus Burleson was president of Baylor University from 1851 to 1861 in Independence and from 1886 to 1897 in Waco. He also was president of Waco University from 1861 to 1886.

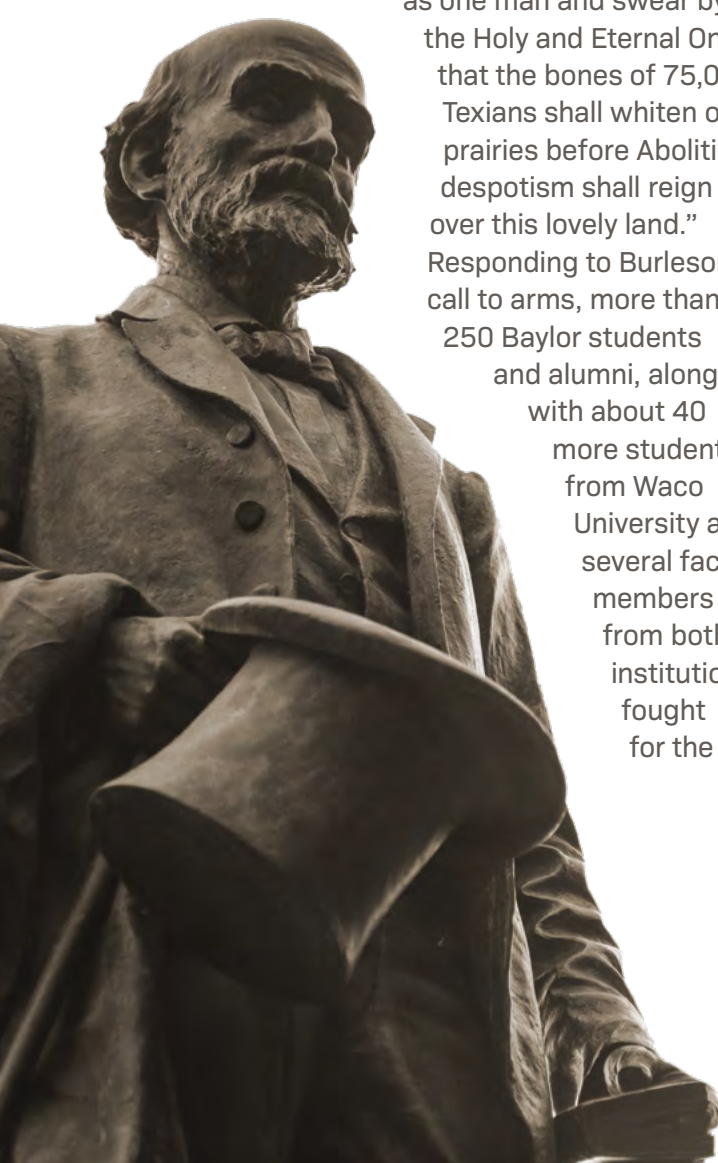
In 1860, Burleson owned one slave.⁷¹ Among the materials in the Rufus C. Burleson Papers housed in Baylor’s Texas Collection is a manifest from the customs house in Mobile, Alabama, dated 1851, claiming that a slave named Elias whom Burleson brought into Texas was “legal chattel.”⁷² He held what would today be termed racist views regarding enslaved people. In his biography of Baylor Trustee A. C. Horton, who owned almost 300 slaves, Burleson

wrote, “When I visited him as President of Baylor University, by his special request, I preached for his slaves....As a trustee, he not only gave \$5,000 and a magnificent bell, but he gave our beloved sons his prayers, and he assured me it was his purpose ultimately to endow a professorship of not less than \$50,000. But alas! that cruel war crushed his great heart, wrecked his princely fortune, and turned his once happy and contented slaves loose to become homeless vagabonds, and made the richest part of Texas little else than an African territory.”⁷³

In an article on Texas history, Burleson wrote negatively about the institution of slavery, “To supply the growing want of labor induced a few to introduce the African slave trade, and a ship was fitted out for that trade and quite a number of Africans—among them a Zong prince—were brought into Texas. Some of them I baptized in 1848. This unholy traffic was severely denounced by David G. Burnet and the council of San Felipe in 1830.”⁷⁴ Burleson also helped 18 Black members of First Baptist Church in Waco form a Missionary Baptist Church, which they named New Hope Baptist Church, in 1866. Located on Bosque Boulevard between Fifth Street and Sixth Street, New Hope today remains a place of worship for Waco’s Black community.⁷⁵

When the Civil War began in April 1861, Burleson encouraged nearly 50 Baylor students to volunteer and fight. Coincidentally, when an internal feud prompted Burleson to leave Independence to become president of Waco University, bringing the faculty and





senior class of Baylor's male department with him, he informed all male students over age 18 that "the crisis [has] demanded us all to shoulder our muskets and win graves of glory or homes of freedom." Burleson declared in a letter published in a Houston newspaper in June 1862: "Our all is at stake. We must be free or perish... Indeed it would be far cheaper to die than to live and work for Yankee tyrants... Victory is sure. Our independence may cost us another seven years of war; if so, let it come. It may cost us rivers of blood and millions of treasure; if so, I repeat it, let

it come... Let us, therefore, rise

as one man and swear by the Holy and Eternal One that the bones of 75,000 Texians shall whiten our prairies before Abolition despotism shall reign over this lovely land."

Responding to Burleson's call to arms, more than

250 Baylor students

and alumni, along

with about 40

more students

from Waco

University and

several faculty

members

from both

institutions,

fought

for the

Confederacy. More than a dozen were either killed in combat or died of wounds, disease, or a combination.⁷⁶

Burleson enlisted as a private in Colonel Joseph W. Speight's Fifteenth Texas Infantry Regiment on March 28, 1862, in Waco, Texas, for the duration of the war. He served in Company B. He was recommended for appointment as chaplain on April 18, 1862, and assumed that rank on January 10, 1863. He was absent with leave from the date of his enlistment until November 20, 1862. He was paid \$125 for his service from April 16 to June 30, 1862. He was paid \$160 for his service from July 1 to August 31, 1862. He resigned from his post in April 1863, which became official on June 19, 1863. He was absent with leave from May to June 1863. In his resignation letter to Col. Speight, he said that his brother's failing health required him to be at home. In that letter, he wrote, "Nothing but a conviction of duty prompts me to this course. I am so much attached to yourself and your command and to my duties as chaplain that I earnestly desired to remain with you till we had driven the last Yankee from our beautiful land and conquered a glorious peace."^{77 78 79 80}

After the Civil War, Burleson and former Baylor president William Carey Crane were prominent promoters of the "Lost Cause," the concept of a divinely white Southern future that honored the memory of antebellum whiteness and Confederate heroes.⁸¹

2. Folmar Pavilion Plaques



Folmar Pavilion, dedicated in 1976 with a gift by Mr. and Mrs. Jack G. Folmar, is located on Burleson Quadrangle between Old Main and Burleson Hall.



Four plaques with bas relief sculptures are located in the interior corners of Folmar Pavilion.



The Folmar Pavilion plaques honor Benajah Harvey Carroll, William Carey Crane, Henry Arthur McArdle, and Dorothy Scarborough.

TEXT ON PLAQUES

BENAJAH HARVEY CARROLL
1843-1914
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
STUDENT AND TEACHER
TEXAS BAPTIST SCHOLAR
AND DENOMINATIONAL LEADER
FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT
OF SOUTHWESTERN BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

WILLIAM CAREY CRANE
1816-1885
PRESIDENT OF
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
1863-1885
SCHOLAR AUTHOR
TEACHER PREACHER
HIS DISTINGUISHED
AND DEDICATED LEADERSHIP
GUIDED BAYLOR THROUGH
DIFFICULT TIMES DURING
AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR
AT GREAT PERSONAL SACRIFICE

HENRY ARTHUR MCARDLE
1836-1907
TEACHER OF ART AT BAYLOR
IN INDEPENDENCE
SOME OF HIS HISTORICAL
PAINTINGS AND PORTRAITS HANG
IN THE TEXAS STATE CAPITOL

DOROTHY SCARBOROUGH
1878-1935
GRADUATE OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
FACULTY MEMBER AT BAYLOR
AND COLUMBIA UNIVERSITIES
FOLKLORIST AND NOVELIST
ADMIRER FOR THE REALISM
OF HER FICTION

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The Folmar Pavilion was dedicated on September 10, 1976, along with Draper Academic Building and the renovated Old Main and Burleson Hall. The pavilion was made possible by a gift by Mr. and Mrs. Jack G. Folmar. Jack Folmar was a Baylor trustee at the time.⁸²

The plaques in Folmar Pavilion—commissioned by Baylor University and created by Dr. Douglas Crow, a foreign languages professor at Baylor who was appointed as University Sculptor in 1987⁸³—were installed between 1983 and 1989.^{84 85}

To date, research has not resulted in any detailed information concerning why or through what process the plaques honoring these four individuals were created. The Crane plaque was installed in 1983, and the Carroll plaque was installed in May 1984.⁸⁶

A news story concerning the Carroll plaque's dedication stated "The plaque of Carroll is one in a series planned to honor individuals who contributed greatly to Baylor." The plaque was unveiled in a ceremony that included Paul Stripling of the Waco Baptist Association, then-Baylor President Herbert Reynolds, and Russell Dilday, who was president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary at the time.⁸⁷

The Scarborough plaque was dedicated in September 1986 in conjunction with a Baylor University symposium on Dorothy Scarborough that featured lectures, a showing of the silent film *The Wind*, which was based on her novel of the same name, and other activities.⁸⁸

The McArdle plaque was dedicated in October 1989.⁸⁹

Benajah Harvey (B. H.) Carroll was the son of Benajah and Mary Elisa Mallard. He studied at Baylor in Independence but left college to fight for the Confederacy, serving in the 8th Texas Cavalry Regiment (Benjamin McCulloch's Texas Rangers) and in the 17th Texas Infantry. He was wounded in 1864 in Mansfield, Louisiana. He went on to become a prominent Baptist leader and educator. He taught Bible and theology at Baylor from 1872 to 1905. He began a 15-year term as chairman of the Baylor University Board of Trustees in 1886. In 1905, he organized Baylor Theological Seminary, which eventuated in the founding of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1908. Carroll taught at the new school, which moved to Fort Worth in 1910, and served as its president until his death.⁹⁰

William Carey Crane was born on March 17, 1816, in Richmond, Virginia, and died on February 27, 1885, in Independence, Washington County, Texas.⁹¹ In 1850, when he was living in Yazoo, Mississippi, and serving as a Baptist minister,⁹² he owned two female slaves.⁹³ Records for Crane in the U.S. Census and slave schedule of 1860, when he was living in either Mississippi or Louisiana, have not been found.

In an article published on March 25, 1865, in the *Galveston Daily News*, while he was serving as Baylor's president, Crane asserted "the true doctrine" of slavery as being a trust "divinely committed to the people of the Confederate States" that they had "no right to abandon or to surrender." He asserted they fought to preserve "the institution of African slavery" and pledged "Reconstruction, never!" In grounding the legitimacy of slavery in the biblical account of Noah's son Ham and the descendants of Canaan,

Crane wrote, “The benevolent design of Providence in bringing the sons of Africa into bondage in the United States is too manifest to be misinterpreted. It may be regarded as a stupendous missionary movement, accomplishing more in Evangelizing the heathen, than all the missionary operations of Christian Churches throughout the world.”⁹⁴

After the Civil War, Crane was a prominent promoter of the “Lost Cause,” the concept of a divinely white Southern future that honored the memory of antebellum whiteness and Confederate heroes.⁹⁵

Henry Arthur McArdle studied with David A. Woodward at the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of Mechanic Arts, and in 1860 he won the Peabody Prize. During the Civil War, he was a draftsman for the Confederate navy, and later made topographical maps for

Gen. Robert E. Lee. After the war, McArdle settled in Independence, Texas, where he taught art at Baylor Female College for many years. In addition to portraits of Sam Houston and historical canvases concerning the Alamo and the Battle of San Jacinto, he painted portraits of Jefferson Davis for the Texas Capitol and the historical canvas *Lee at the Wilderness* (1869-1870).⁹⁶

Dorothy Scarborough does not have any documented direct connections to slavery or the Confederacy. She earned a B.A. and an M.A. from Baylor in 1896 and 1899, respectively, and earned a doctorate in literature from Columbia University, where she went on to teach writing for many years while pursuing a career as a novelist. However, her father, Judge John B. Scarborough, was a Confederate veteran from Louisiana.⁹⁷



3. Carroll Library



Carroll Library stands at one end of Burleson Quadrangle.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Carroll Library was originally named F. L. Carroll Chapel and Library. It was built with funds from a gift by Francis Lafayette Carroll. Its construction began in February 1902 and was completed in April 1903.⁹⁸ Together with Carroll Science Hall, it is the third-oldest structure on the Baylor campus.

Francis Lafayette Carroll was born on May 25, 1831, in Alabama.^{99 100 101} In 1850, he was a student living in Madison Parish, Louisiana, with his mother, Lucy.¹⁰² He married Sarah Jane Long on December 19, 1853, in DeSoto Parish, Louisiana.¹⁰³ One of their children was George Washington Carroll (b. 1855), for whom George W. Carroll Science Hall was named.¹⁰⁴ In 1860, the Carroll family was living in Natchitoches, Louisiana, where F. L. Carroll worked as a miller in the lumber industry. At that time, he owned five slaves.¹⁰⁵

During the Civil War, F. L. Carroll served in the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry Regiment. He enlisted on June 2, 1862, in Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, for three years of service. In June 1863, he was promoted from corporal to sergeant.^{106 107 108} By the end of the war, he was serving as a sergeant in Company K of the 4th Louisiana Engineer Regiment. Along with the rest of his regiment, he surrendered to Union forces on May 26, 1865, in New Orleans, Louisiana, and was paroled on June 7, 1865, in Natchitoches, Louisiana.¹⁰⁹

F. L. Carroll moved to Waco in 1882 at the request of Baylor president Rufus Burleson to assist with the financial management of Waco University. Following the merger of Waco University and Baylor University, he served as treasurer of the University and on its Board of Trustees. He died on October 20, 1906, in Waco and is buried in Oakwood Cemetery.¹¹⁰



The Texas historical marker located in front of Carroll Library.

4. Bells from Independence and Waco University



Two historic bells are located on Burleson Quadrangle—one from Baylor's original campus in Independence (foreground, right) and one from Waco University (left).

The plaques on the historic bells in Burleson Quadrangle.

TEXT ON PLAQUES



BELL OF BAYLOR UNIVERSITY AT INDEPENDENCE

THIS BELL FROM BAYLOR'S ORIGINAL CAMPUS WAS LEFT BEHIND WHEN THE UNIVERSITY MOVED TO WACO. IN 1934 IT WAS REDISCOVERED AT INDEPENDENCE AND MOVED TO THE PRESENT CAMPUS, WHERE IT IS USED IN COMMENCEMENT CEREMONIES TO SYMBOLIZE THE CONTINUITY OF BAYLOR'S EXISTENCE SINCE 1845.



BELL OF WACO UNIVERSITY

PURCHASED IN 1874 WITH FUNDS RAISED BY STUDENTS OF WACO UNIVERSITY, THIS BELL WAS MOVED TO BAYLOR'S PRESENT CAMPUS AFTER THE TWO SCHOOLS MERGED IN 1885. THE BELL LATER CRACKED AND WAS RECAST AT THE FOUNDRY. IT NOW SERVES AS A FEATURE OF COMMENCEMENT "RING OUT" CEREMONIES.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Two bells are located in Baylor’s Burleson Quadrangle—one that was used to announce class times at Waco University before its merger with Baylor University in 1886 and a slightly smaller one from Baylor’s original campus in Independence that was brought to Waco in 1934.¹¹¹

The bell from Independence (the “Horton bell”), which Rufus Burleson once described as “a magnificent bell,”¹¹² was given to the Baylor Female Department by founding trustee Albert C. Horton in 1858. According to a generally accepted story, Horton gave “fifty silver Mexican dollars” to be cast into the bell. The bell bears the inscription, “Presented by Hon. A. C. Horton, A.D. 1858. Ladies Seminary, Independence, Texas.”¹¹³ Horton was a slave owner.¹¹⁴

A detailed history of the Waco University bell has not been compiled; the bell’s plaque states that it was purchased with money raised by students in 1874, placing the institution’s ownership of the bell after the time period of slavery and the Civil War. While the origin of the bell postdates the Civil War, it may be important to consider that during the time of its original use, Rufus Burleson, who served in the Confederate Army and encouraged students to enlist in Confederate forces during the Civil War, was president of Waco University (1861-1886).^{115 116 117 118 119}

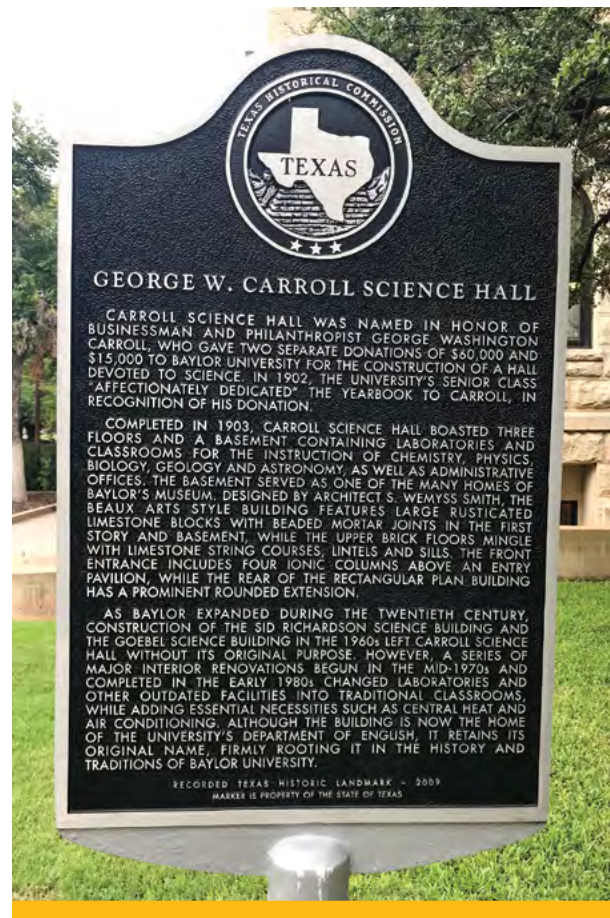
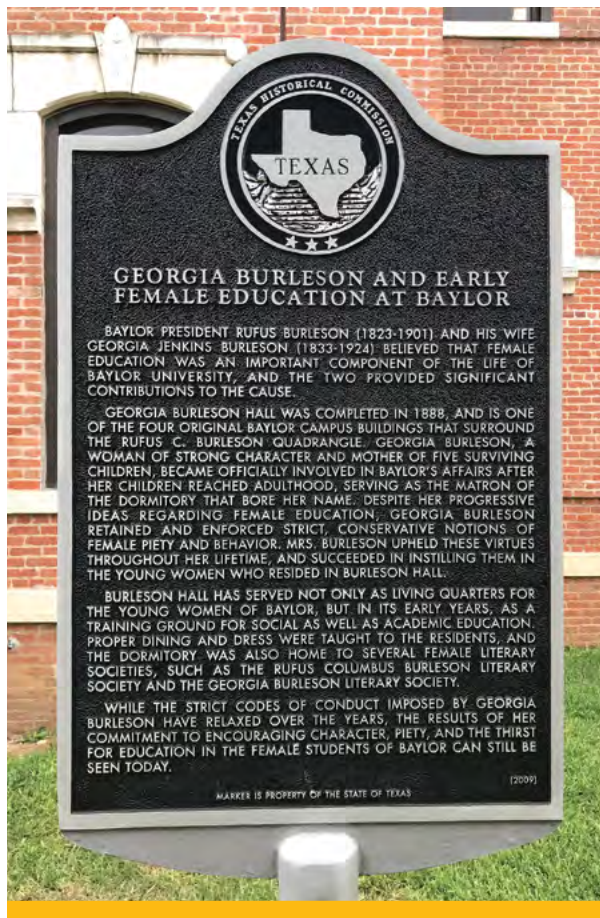
Baylor University also possesses another bell from its Independence campus (the “Shannon bell”). Aaron Shannon, another

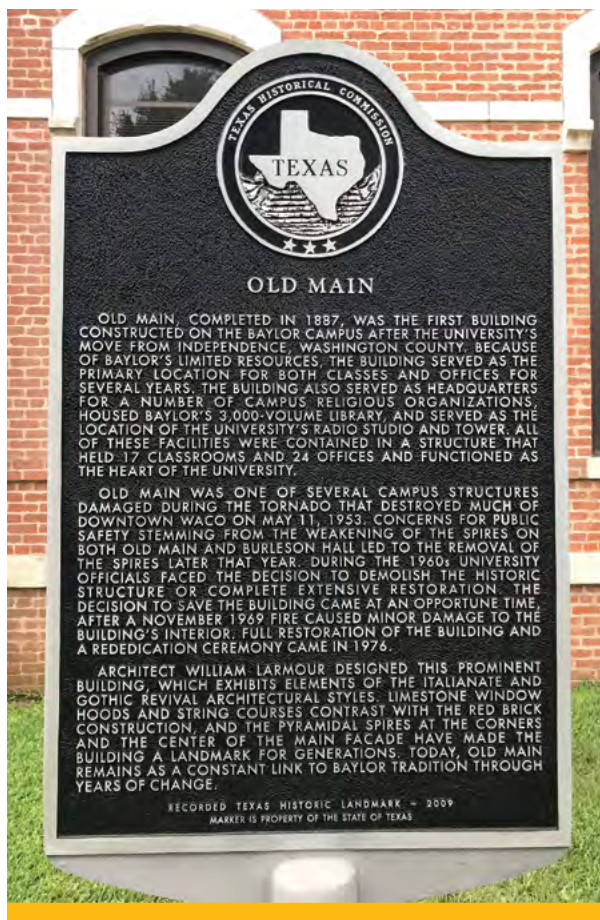
founding trustee, gave the University its first bell, which was used to call students “to books” and to meals. Before giving the bell to Baylor, Shannon used it on his Grimes County plantation, where it was used “to call his hands together for their daily tasks.” These “hands” were likely enslaved people, as Shannon was a slave owner.¹²⁰ This bell was given to Baylor University in Waco sometime before 1945 and was initially placed in The Texas Collection. It is now housed in Baylor’s Mayborn Museum and has occasionally been placed on display. A bell remembered as being in use through at least 1877 in Independence was said to be the Shannon bell; based on the information concerning the Horton bell provided above, this claim may have been a misunderstanding or the Shannon bell may have been used on the part of campus used by male students. However, no conclusive information has been found concerning how the Shannon bell was used in Independence following the gift of the Horton bell.¹²¹ In addition, Mayborn Museum has a small, hand-held bell that Judge Baylor’s family used to call for slaves in their house. It is not on display.

Because both Albert C. Horton and Aaron Shannon were slave owners, both of these historic bells from Independence could be said to have ties, direct or indirect, to the functioning and ownership of slave-labor plantations.

5. Other Texas Historical Markers on Burleson Quadrangle

Four other Texas historical markers were added to Burleson Quadrangle in 2008-09. The applications for them were a joint project of Baylor University and The McLennan County Historical Commission (THC). The Texas Historical Commission in Austin approves all such historical markers, and the markers are property of the State of Texas. Moving or replacing a marker requires the permission of both the county historical commission and the THC. Requests to correct mistakes on markers can be submitted to the THC.¹²²





Other items in Burleson Quadrangle



The Sesquicentennial Walkway, located at the center of Burleson Quadrangle, was installed in celebration of Baylor University's 150th anniversary in 1995. It features the University Seal and brick pavers inscribed with the names of donors.



The Class of 1907 bench is located near Carroll Library.



The Class of 1916 bench is located near Old Main.



Burleson Quadrangle features several memorial lampposts, which can be found across Baylor's campus.



Assessment and Recommendations Concerning Burleson Quadrangle Historic Representations

Burleson Quadrangle in General

ASSESSMENT

The Burleson Quadrangle is named for Rufus C. Burleson, who has received a great deal of recognition for his leadership as Baylor University's president and for his contributions to the Baptist denomination during the early history of Baptists in the State of Texas. However, Burleson's academic leadership at Baylor constitutes only a portion of the relevant facts that must be considered as they relate to his ongoing legacy.

The Rufus C. Burleson monument's prominence in the Quadrangle makes his historical representation one of the most significant monuments on Baylor's campus, perhaps second only to the Judge Baylor monument on Founders Mall, and yet Rufus Burleson arguably stands as the most controversial of all of Baylor's early leaders due to his attitudes and behaviors with regard to slavery and the Confederacy, including his paid service as a chaplain in the Confederate Army.

Burleson's beliefs supporting the dehumanization, unjust treatment, and degradation of Black people and his demonstrated commitment to the institution of slavery and the Confederate Army's role in the Civil War—in addition to his support, leadership, and involvement in the "Lost Cause" movement following the Civil War—fail to align with Baylor's Christian commitment. His legacy constitutes a harmful affront to current and future Black students, faculty,

staff, alumni, and guests as well as to others in the majority community or group. Burleson should be recognized for the good things he did; however, this prominent representation must be viewed through the lens of the principles of speaking the truth in love and loving others through our actions.

Other concerns with regard to the ongoing use of the Burleson name include:

- The Rufus C. Burleson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Chapter 2709), located in Burleson, Texas, which has provided financial support to the Texas Civil War Museum.
- Issues regarding the treatment of Antonia Teixeira, a young woman entrusted to the care of the Burleson family during Rufus Burleson's presidency whose rape and the controversy surrounding the related criminal case contributed to Burleson's retirement as Baylor president in 1897.¹²³
- Rufus Burleson's overtly racist views documented in his writings and correspondence.

While Rufus Burleson made undeniable contributions to Baylor University in a leadership capacity, the sheer number of controversial actions and values his name evokes suggests that the monument and prominent use of the Burleson name must be re-examined.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Currently, the Burleson name is prevalently presented in the historic center of campus known as Burleson Quadrangle (Burleson Hall, Burleson Quadrangle, Burleson Monument are all located there). The Commission makes the following recommendations:

1 Rename the Quadrangle to Baylor Family Quadrangle, University Quadrangle, Reconciliation Quadrangle, or another suitable name to create a space that is welcoming for all students at Baylor and will serve as a site for the continuation of existing traditions and a place to create new Baylor University traditions.

2 Relocate the Rufus C. Burleson monument to a less prominent location, such as the grounds of the Mayborn Museum Complex. The Burleson monument should be re-contextualized in a manner that acknowledges his support of a dehumanizing and fundamentally unjust system like slavery and his standing as a prominent promoter of the “Lost Cause,” the concept of a divinely white Southern future that honored the memory of antebellum whiteness and Confederate heroes.

If the monument is relocated to a less prominent location, then its re-contextualization should mention aspects of the good he accomplished during his lifetime:

- Elected president of three state Baptist bodies in Texas.
- Was a driving force behind the creation of the Baptist General Convention of Texas and the merger of Baylor and Waco University.

- As president of Baylor University, Burleson was able to keep the institution open through several crisis points in its early history.
- Both the town of Burleson and Burleson College (1895-1930) were named for him.

If the monument remains on the Quadrangle, then the University should work with the Texas Historical Commission to prepare new historical markers that provide more information reflecting the “whole truth” of the Burleson legacy regarding his leadership role within the context of Baylor University’s early history.

3 As a Texas Historical Commission marker notes, the Burleson Quadrangle has “served as a social area and a link to Baylor’s history and tradition” and has been “the site of the evolving social norms and customs at Baylor.” As such, the Burleson Quadrangle is the logical location to introduce new traditions and to create a new narrative by implementing ceremonies, practices, and traditions that are aligned with Baylor’s commitment to being a welcoming, diverse, and Christ-centered campus. A renaming and major re-imagining of the Quadrangle could include new representations that recognize and celebrate the value of diversity at Baylor. Such representations, which could populate the perimeter of

the Quadrangle as a series of individual statues, would be deserving of “pride of place” on the Quadrangle and would complement the more general monument to the unknown enslaved persons who were instrumental in constructing Baylor’s original campus in Independence that the Commission has recommended for Founders Mall. The possibilities for such new historic representations could:

- Honor the first Black, Hispanic, Native American, Asian graduates (including Robert Gilbert and Barbara Walker, representing the first Black students who began the integration of Baylor) and first Black faculty members.
- Honor prominent women who helped build Baylor University into the institution it is today.
- Commemorate the enslaved workers who built the Baylor campuses at Independence.
- Commit to diversity among the Baylor Family.
- Recognize Black athletes at Baylor who broke the color barrier in college sports (including John Hill Westbrook).
- Celebrate prominent Black alumni of the University.

4 Relocate the bells from Independence and Waco University. These objects are attached to Baylor’s historical connection with enslavement in terms of their original locations and the manner in which they were likely used to signal the working day of enslaved people. Consider placing the bells in a new space where

Baylor University openly and honestly details the history of the founders, board members, presidents, and other early leaders and acknowledges those attitudes and sinful behaviors. The narrative concerning the bells needs to demonstrate repentance in word and deed by outlining the University’s actions and initiatives to bring balance to its telling of Baylor’s early history around slavery.

5 Update other Texas Historical Markers in the Quadrangle, as well as in other areas of campus, to reflect Baylor’s recognition of injustice committed by its leaders, its repentance of these errors, and its restitution for them as appropriate.

6 Investigate the possibility of renaming Carroll Library due to its namesake’s ties to enslavement and his participation in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy.

7 Add QR codes or other technological links to all historic representations on the Baylor campus and at the Baylor historical site in Independence. These could be scanned on smartphones, linking to modern day videos (and more) featuring Baylor students and faculty telling updated and more balanced stories of the historic representations. These QR codes could also link to a website with updated storytelling of Baylor’s history and could serve to modernize the entire campus experience for visitors to the campus, current and prospective students and their families, and Baylor’s faculty and staff.

Folmar Pavilion

ASSESSMENT

The Folmar Pavilion adjacent to the Burleson Quadrangle contains four plaques with brief narratives concerning the honorees. There is little, if any, relevant information available that documents why the plaques were placed in the pavilion. Within the pavilion are 12 places where plaques could be placed. This presents questions for consideration:

- Should the current historical representations honoring Benajah Harvey Carroll, William Carey Crane, Henry Arthur McArdle, and Dorothy Scarborough all remain in the pavilion?

- Could the opportunity that presents itself in this space be more effective by envisioning a balanced, coherent narrative around a theme that meets the needs to refocus and rebalance the narrative of Baylor's historic representations? Who or what do we memorialize and why?

As Baylor University reconsiders and adds monuments and plaques, the University needs to do so with intent of purpose and in a fashion that stands the test of time.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Folmar Pavilion represents an opportunity to create an area of honor that begins to move past the pervasive number of historic representations that were created and placed during a relatively short and recent period of Baylor University's history. The space can be envisioned as an ongoing "canvas" that can evolve over a period of years. Recommendations include:

1 Remove the plaques of any individuals who had direct ties with enslavement and display them at a location where additional narrative can provide information on their ties with slavery and/or the "Lost Cause."

2 Remove all existing plaques in the space and develop a theme for the pavilion that resists the placement of historic representations in that space with implied perpetuity. Honor individuals or thematic concepts that are conducive to encouraging people to walk the entire perimeter of the pavilion as they learn about Baylor history.

3 Remove all existing plaques in the space and consider making the pavilion a place to honor and recognize racially diverse men and women—graduates, faculty, and/or staff who best exemplify Baylor's Christian mission and Baylor's commitment to their students and graduates.





PART 3

Windmill Hill, Academy Hill and other Historic Representations at Independence

Information relating to specific historic representations in Independence, Texas:

1. Baylor Park on Windmill Hill
2. Academy Hill
3. Other Baylor-Related Texas Historical Markers in Independence

1. Baylor Park on Windmill Hill



An artist's depiction of the Baylor campus for male students on Windmill Hill shows (l-r) Tryon Hall, Houston Hall, Graves Hall, Burleson Domicile, dormitory annex, and Creath Hall.



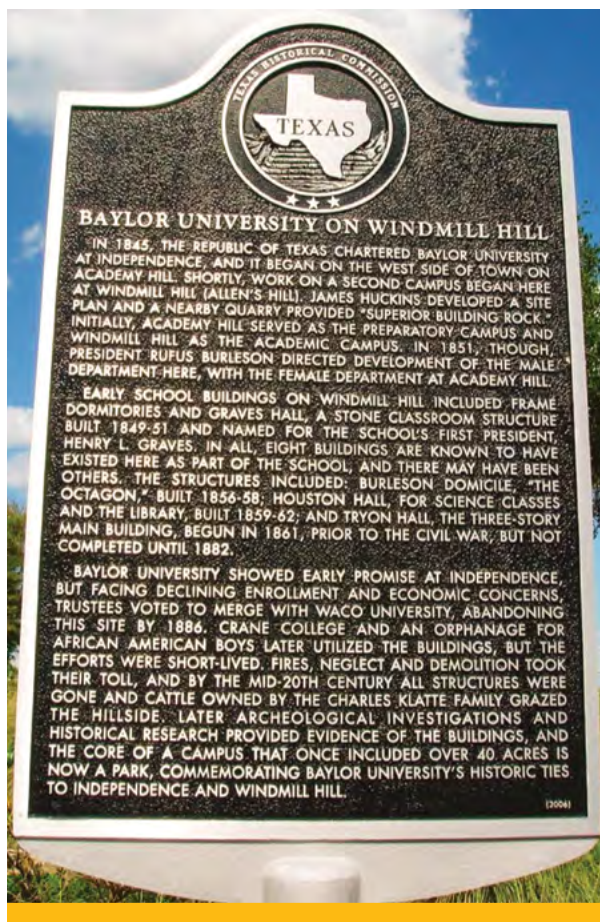
A map of Baylor Park on Windmill Hill, which was dedicated in 2006.



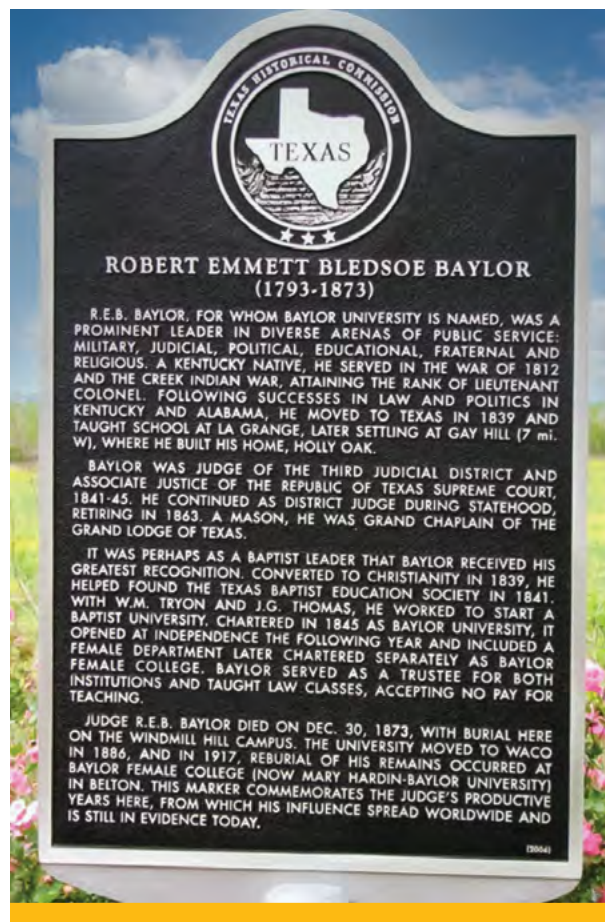
The entry gate and a reconstruction of the bell tower at Baylor Park on Windmill Hill.



A sample of the informational panels at Baylor Park on Windmill Hill.



This Texas Historical Commission marker was installed at Baylor Park on Windmill Hill in 2006.



This Texas Historical Commission marker about Judge Baylor was installed at Baylor Park on Windmill Hill in 2004.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

On March 25, 2006, representatives from Baylor University and the Baptist General Convention of Texas gathered on Baylor University's original campus in Independence, Texas, for "A Day at Historic Independence"—an event that christened the new Baylor Park on Windmill Hill.

Windmill Hill was the campus for male students during Baylor University's first few decades of operation. Today, Baylor Park at Windmill Hill sits atop a portion of that land. A walking trail, with illustrated panels at various intervals, takes visitors through the small park. Unlike Academy Hill, whose ruins feature the columns of one of the buildings, Windmill Hill's ruins consist of crumbling foundations of the former buildings located there and a reconstruction of the original campus's bell tower.

Two Texas historical markers were dedicated in 2004-2006 on Windmill Hill, one documenting the location of Baylor's original campus in Independence and the other documenting the original gravesite of Judge R.E.B. Baylor.

The Texas Collection at Baylor University partnered with the community of Independence on projects that have included:

- Completion and dedication of Baylor Park on Windmill Hill on the original site of the male campus of Baylor University.
- Nomination and dedication of two historical markers for Robert Emmett Bledsoe and Baylor Park on Windmill Hill—subject markers approved by the Texas Historical Commission.
- Continued cooperation between the Independence Preservation Trust, the Independence Historical Society, and The Texas Collection in

local historic preservation projects and programming featuring Baylor faculty and staff members.

- Cooperation between The Texas Collection, the Independence Baptist Church, and the Baptist General Convention of Texas in the planning and the opening of the Texas Baptist Historical Center (museum).
- Providing legal research on the original town square of Independence.
- Creation of an inventory and map of the Independence Cemetery.
- Relocating from a cow pasture and repairing of the Texas Historical marker of R.E.B. Baylor and moving it next to Texas FM390.
- General support for Baylor faculty and their work in Independence, including environmental sciences, history, and oral history.
- General support of Baylor Line Camps—summer freshman orientation program by the Student Life Division.

It has been said that all of Baylor University's original buildings in Independence were built with labor by enslaved people. These buildings included Tryon Hall, Houston Hall, Graves Hall, Burleson Domicile, and Creath Hall on the campus for male students known as Allen Hill or Windmill Hill at the time and now known as Baylor Park on Windmill Hill.

"One of the churches in town is a predominantly Black church called the Liberty Baptist Church. Some of the members of this church are descended from the slave population that lived and worked in Independence before the Civil War," Tom Charlton, former director of The Texas Collection at Baylor, said in 2006

when Baylor dedicated Baylor Park on Windmill Hill in Independence. “That’s a story of Independence that has not been told very well—the story of the Black slaves who built Baylor....The life whites had in Independence then was supported by slave economy, and so some of the folks who are members of Liberty Baptist today trace their families to that pre-Civil War period.”¹²⁴

Research in Board of Trustees minutes recorded during Baylor University’s early history has not revealed specific mentions of slave labor, although there are many entries related to the approval of and costs related to the construction of facilities for the male and female departments.

In Thomas Turner’s booklet on Baylor presidents, he wrote, “[Henry] Graves was responsible for the building of Baylor’s first solid masonry building, a two-story stone structure, in 1849. Some accounts say he and his brother, George Washington Graves, and a cousin, D. John L. Graves, personally did much of the construction themselves.”¹²⁵ This two-story building was called Graves Hall and measured 40 feet by 60 feet.¹²⁶ Because Graves was a slave owner,¹²⁷ it is possible that his slaves were involved in this construction.

In the late 1850s, Baylor trustees contracted for a new stone building for the Male Department at a cost of \$4,067. By 1859, this two-story structure was in an advanced stage of construction.¹²⁸ This building was known as the “wing building.”¹²⁹

The construction of Tryon Hall, a stone structure originally intended to be a three-story “main building” on the campus for male students, was approved by Baylor trustees in 1859¹³⁰ and had begun by 1860,¹³¹ although

it was never completely finished.¹³² The first story was completed by trustee Albert G. Haynes at a cost of \$6,500.¹³³ The first story’s walls were about three feet thick.¹³⁴ The building stood incomplete in 1866,¹³⁵ and further work on the building was suspended during the 1880–81 academic year.¹³⁶ Two upper floors were added in the early 1880s,¹³⁷ but Tryon Hall was never fully completed and remained a shell until torn down in 1934.¹³⁸

Because Albert G. Haynes was a slave owner,¹³⁹ it is possible that his slaves were involved in the construction of Tryon Hall. Although not specifically provable, one could argue that enslaved people physically handled the stones used during the early years of Tryon Hall’s construction, thereby connecting the Centennial Time Capsule Monument with the legacy of slavery.

It has been said that the nearby Seward plantation may have supplied slaves as laborers for constructing Baylor’s campus.



2. Academy Hill



A photograph of the Female Academy building on Baylor University's campus for female students on Academy Hill.



The Female Academy building's columns on present-day Academy Hill are visited by Baylor students during Line Camp.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The academic and housing facilities for female students were located at Academy Hill on the other side of Independence Creek from the campus for male students. The columns of one of the women's buildings—originally called the Female Academy building¹⁴⁰ and later “the College Edifice”¹⁴¹—are the most prominent remains of Baylor's birthplace in Independence.

The funds to build the primary building were raised by Horace Clark, who served as principal of the female department of Baylor University from 1851 to 1866, when the department separated from the University to become Baylor Female College, which remained in Independence until moving to Belton in 1886 and ultimately becoming the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor. At a trustees meeting on July 12, 1855, a contract was entered into with John P. Collins to build the

Female Department's building for \$8,000, with construction to be completed by January 1, 1857.^{142 143} However, the building ultimately wasn't completed until later in 1857 than the contract stipulated.¹⁴⁴ John P. Collins has not been established as a slave owner.

Baylor trustee Albert G. Haynes oversaw the construction of a stone chimney in the eastern side of Academy Hill.¹⁴⁵ Because Haynes was a slave owner,¹⁴⁶ it is possible that his slaves were involved in this construction.

The columns are a central symbol of Baylor University. Large signs at the entrance to Baylor's campus in Waco use the columns as the central design element. In addition, the annual Baylor Line Camps take new students on a trip to Independence where, among other activities, students visit the columns.

3. Other Baylor-Related Texas Historical Markers in Independence

Some of the Baylor-related historical markers in Independence were installed in connection to the Texas centennial celebration in 1936.

The Texas Historical Commission in Austin approves all such historical markers, and the markers are property of the State of Texas. Moving or replacing a marker requires the permission of both the county historical commission and the THC. Requests to correct mistakes on markers can be submitted to the THC.¹⁴⁷



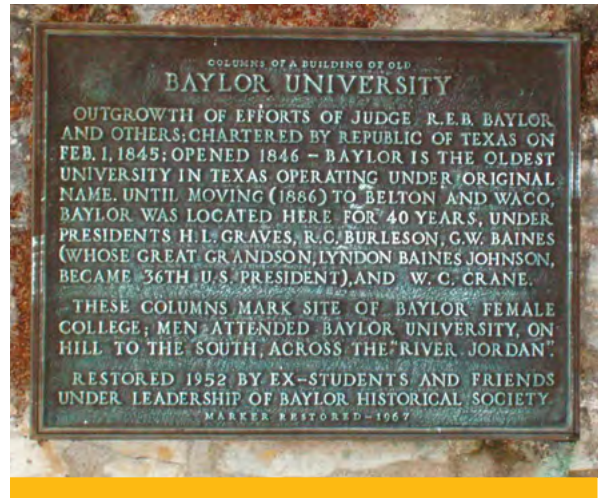
Baylor University for Boys Marker



Old Baylor Park Marker



Female Department of
Baylor University Marker



Columns of a Building of
Old Baylor University Marker

Assessment and Recommendations Concerning Windmill Hill, Academy Hill, and other Historic Representations at Independence

ASSESSMENT

Baylor University's early history at Windmill Hill and Academy Hill in Independence has not been told in a balanced fashion. Visitors to the historic site today learn only a portion of the story that needs to be told about the circumstances surrounding the history of Independence and Washington County as it relates to Baylor University's location there during the 19th century. For instance, the historical representations currently in Independence do not educate visitors about enslaved people and the economy of enslavement that almost certainly provided labor, materials, and funding necessary to build the structures that existed at that location during the early decades of Baylor's existence.

Every summer, prior to the start of fall semester, this historical site becomes a prominent part of Baylor University's Line Camp for entering first-year students. The three-hour trip to Independence is presented to these students as a key introduction to Baylor traditions and history. The four columns that were a central architectural feature of the Female Academy building on Academy Hill play a central role in the students' experience in Independence, and those same four columns are utilized as symbolic of Baylor's early existence across the Baylor University campus in Waco in the form of signs along the perimeter of campus.



RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1** Place a replica of the new monument recommended to be erected on Founders Mall—in honor of the “unknown enslaved” who were instrumental in constructing the campus in Independence—at Baylor Park on Windmill Hill to address Baylor’s history in both its original and current locations.

- 2** Update the historical narrative and include Baylor University’s rationale for sharing the history and how it relates to Baylor’s commitment to academic excellence, the Christian faith, building a welcoming community for all students, faculty, staff, and alumni, and educating leaders for worldwide service.

- 3** Develop and install new displays that bring clarity and balance to the narrative provided to those who visit the Windmill Hill and Academy Hill historical sites. The inclusion of QR codes or other technological links on the displays could connect visitors to more information that provides context regarding the role slavery played in the founding of Baylor University.

- 4** Update the Texas Historical Commission markers in Independence to include information on the slave economy that made the construction of both the Windmill Hill and Academy Hill campuses possible.

- 5** Tell the story of the “unknown enslaved” who almost certainly built the first buildings on both campuses during annual Line Camp activities in Independence, in the location that is deemed most appropriate.

- 6** In possible collaboration with the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor (UMHB) and the Independence Preservation Trust, Baylor should undertake the rewriting of the historical plaque at the entrance to the columns on Academy Hill. Because Baylor’s original campus in Independence also is the point of origin for UMHB, Baylor should invite UMHB leadership to collaborate on the development and installation of new historic representations and narratives at Academy Hill as well as in the nearby Texas Baptist Historical Museum, overseen by the Baptist General Convention of Texas, which contains historical information about both educational institutions. These narratives should provide a complete understanding of how the injustices perpetuated by enslavement made possible the building of the physical plant and infrastructure at Independence, which over time led to the development of both institutions in new locations.



PART 4

Miscellaneous Historic Representations

Information relating to miscellaneous historic representations at Baylor University:

1. Baylor University Mace
2. Baylor University Founders Medal
3. Mayborn Museum Exhibit on Baylor History

1. Baylor University Mace



The Mace is used in Commencement processions and during the investiture of new presidents.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The Mace, which is used in Commencement processions and the investiture of new presidents, is composed of a gold-handled sword, two walking canes, and the University Seal set in a piece of heart pine wood that came from a beam that had been removed from the towers of Old Main in the aftermath of the 1953 tornado that struck Waco. It was created in the early 1970s under the initiative of English Professor W. R. “Pat” Wortman during Judge Abner V. McCall’s tenure as Baylor’s president, with the objects coming from The Texas Collection at Baylor. Baylor trustee Bill Bailey ’52, J.D. ’51, and his wife, Roberta, provided funding for the construction of the Mace, and it was first used at the head of the graduation procession in 1974.¹⁴⁸

The gold “dress” sword was presented by President Andrew Jackson to Cyrus Alexander Baylor in 1835 for his service to the nation during the War of 1812. Cyrus was one of Baylor founder R. E. B. Baylor’s older brothers, and the sword eventually came into his possession and then into the possession of subsequent members of the extended Baylor family before being given to the University in 1957.¹⁴⁹ While it has not been determined if Cyrus, who died in 1843 in Indiana,¹⁵⁰ was a slave owner, the Baylor family in general was a slave-owning family over multiple generations.

One of the walking canes, which is gold-headed and inscribed with the date of April 21, 1836—the date of the Battle of San Jacinto—once belonged to Gen. Sam Houston,¹⁵¹ who owned 12 slaves in 1850,¹⁵² when the Houston family was living in Walker County, Texas,¹⁵³ and 12 slaves in 1860,¹⁵⁴ when the family was living in Austin and Houston was serving as governor of Texas.¹⁵⁵



The Mace is composed of a gold-handled sword, two walking canes, and the University Seal.

The other walking cane belonged to Rev. Rufus Burleson, who owned at least one slave and served as a chaplain in the Confederate army.^{156 157 158 159 160 161}

As Baylor University’s ceremonial symbol of authority, the Mace has been said to “serve both as a symbol and reminder of the noble ideals that inspired the men who secured the institution’s charter during the final days of the last Congress of the Republic of Texas, as well as the Christian principles upon which Baylor University was founded and operates today.”¹⁶² Because the Mace is composed of objects with connections to slavery, its use as a symbol of the University can be seen as incongruent with such a statement.

2. Baylor University Founders Medal



The Founders Medal bears the likeness of Judge R.E.B. Baylor.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The Founders Medal was established in September 1969 and is among the highest honors bestowed by Baylor University. This award is reserved for men and women whose service and contributions have been unusually significant to the life and future of the University. One copy of the medal is on permanent exhibition in the National Numismatic Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The medal was designed by Dr. Douglas Crow, a foreign languages professor at Baylor who was appointed as University Sculptor in 1987.¹⁶³

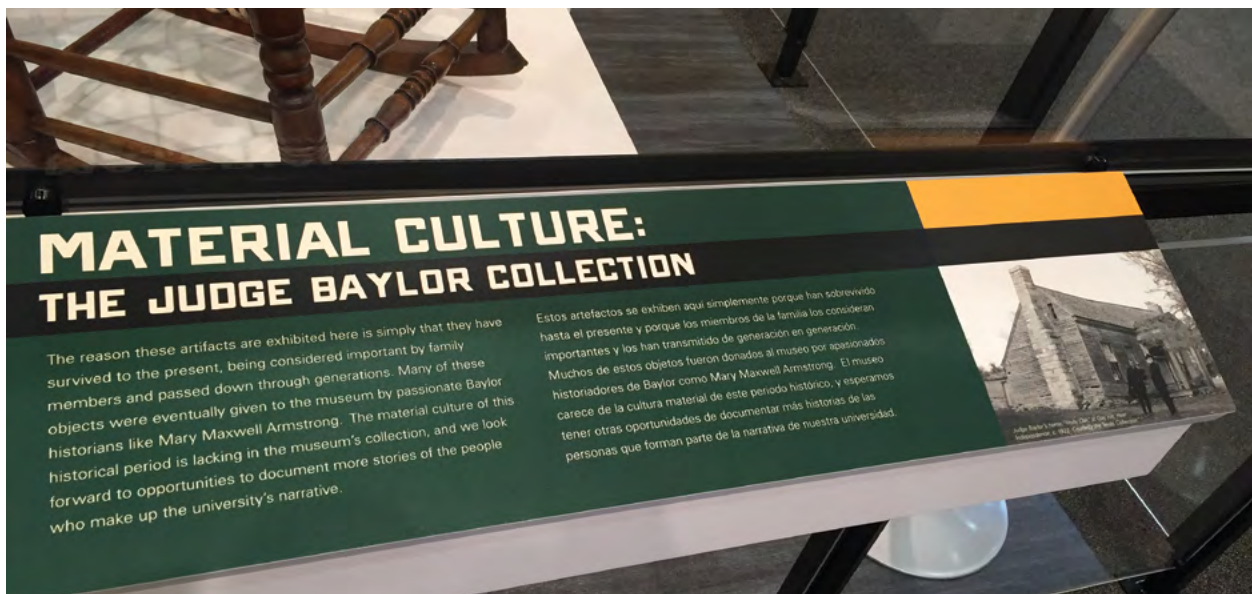
The face of the medal bears the likeness of Judge R. E. B. Baylor, with the inscription "Pro Ecclesia, Pro Texana" and the date

of the University's founding. The obverse bears the likeness of Pat Neff Hall with the inscription "Baylor University Founders Medal," in addition to the name of the recipient and the year of presentation.

As is the case with any use of the names or likenesses of the three men credited with being the founders of Baylor University (Baylor, Huckins, Tryon), each of whom were slave owners, the Founders Medal can be said to have a connection to slave ownership and, in the case of Huckins, to the Confederacy.^{164 165 166 167}

3. Mayborn Museum Exhibit on Baylor History

“Founding to Future: Bright Lights of Baylor University,” an exhibit that provides visitors with a tour through the University’s history, opened on February 1, 2020, at the Mayborn Museum Complex in honor of the University’s 175th anniversary. This photograph and those that follow provide samples of the objects on display and the exhibit’s panels.



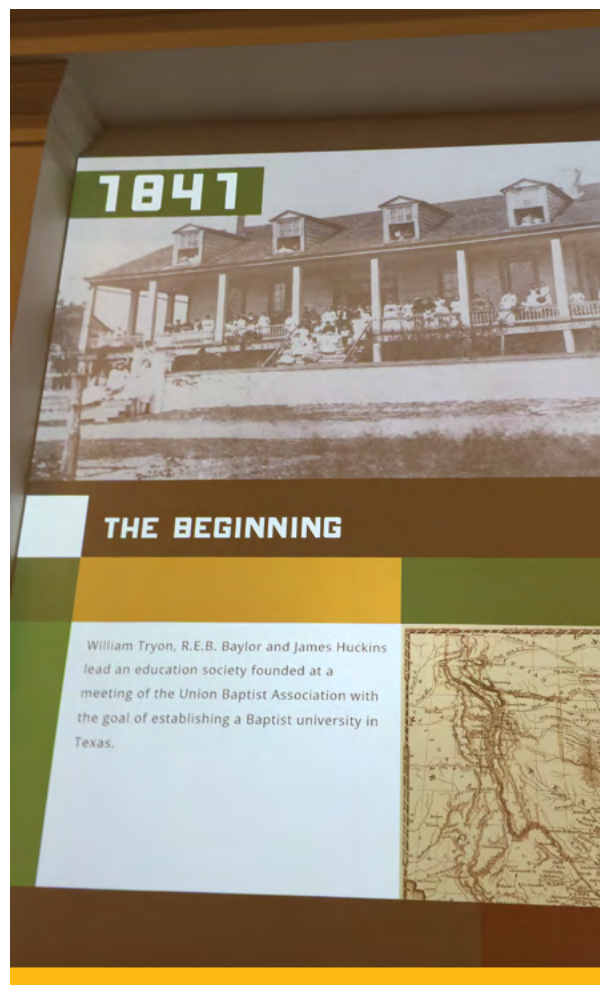
HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The “Founding to Future: Bright Lights of Baylor University” exhibit opened on February 1, 2020, at the Mayborn Museum Complex. Created to coincide with Baylor’s 175th anniversary, the exhibit provides visitors with a tour through the University’s history, featuring artifacts belonging to founder Judge R.E.B. Baylor, as well as inviting them to envision and participate in the institution’s future. It is intended to remain open for a number of years, serving as a permanent, yet flexible exhibit.

The exhibit is structured around five focus areas: Founding in Independence, Tradition, Innovation, Arts & Athletics, and

Christian Mission. The exhibit also features an interactive, visitor-controlled digital timeline of important moments in the Baylor story. Mayborn staff worked with a team of faculty, staff, and students across the University to include representative stories and to loan objects for the exhibit.

Financial support for the exhibit included a lead gift from Hughes Dillard, as well as gifts from Brazos Higher Education Foundation in honor of Murray and Greta Watson, Jim Foulks, The Harry and Anna Jeanes Discovery Center Endowed Fund, and the Sue Mayborn Building Fund.



Assessment and Recommendations Concerning Concerning Miscellaneous Historic Representations

Baylor University Mace

ASSESSMENT

The Baylor University Mace is composed of a gold-handled sword that belonged to Cyrus Alexander Baylor (an older brother of Judge R.E.B. Baylor), a walking cane that belonged to General Sam Houston, a walking cane that belonged to Baylor President Rufus C. Burleson, and the University Seal. The purpose behind the mace's creation was to combine what were considered precious artifacts into a symbol of authority and "noble ideals" that would play a significant role at the head of the procession of administrators and regents when they processed into commencement exercises and other major events during the academic calendar. As the symbol of authority, the academic procession stops after processing past the student body and faculty while the bearer of the mace moves onto the stage and places the mace in its special placeholder, where it remains until the end of that particular ceremony. At the conclusion of the



ceremony, the bearer of the mace takes that symbol back up and leads the procession out of the facility. The meaning of the symbolic nature of the mace is explained by the University President immediately after all of the academic leaders and regents are seated on the stage.

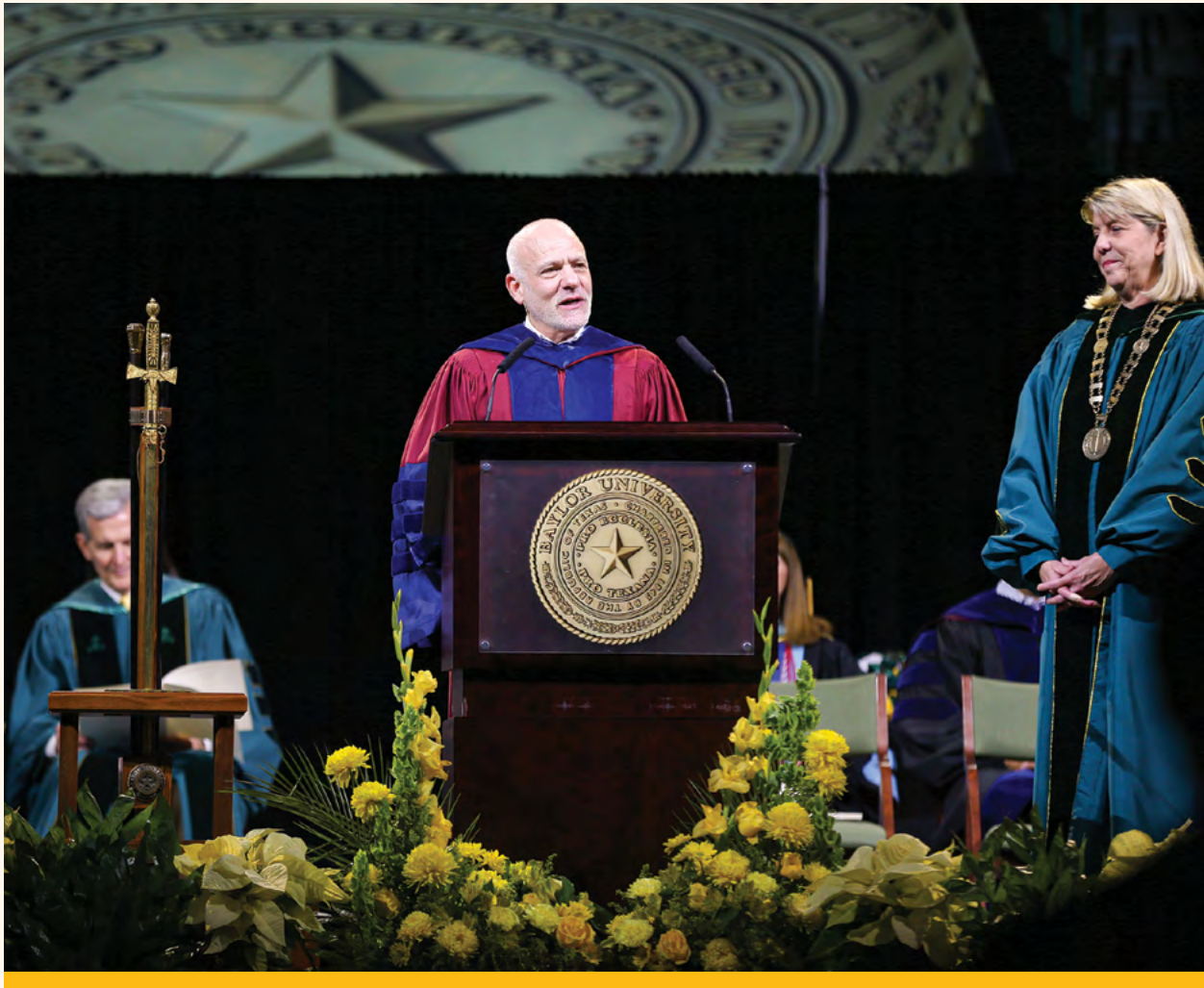
Originally meant to serve as a symbol for the "Christian principles upon which Baylor University was founded and operates today" the mace can be seen as exemplifying Christian paternalism, failing to recognize the lives of enslaved people, and serving as a constant reminder that Baylor's founders used scripture to justify the continued practice of enslaving Black people to their great economic advantage and the financial benefit to the University.

Baylor University must ensure that any item used to represent Baylor also represents the core values of the University as they exist today.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1 Immediately retire the current mace and place it in Mayborn Museum, where it can either be divided into its various historical components, with each component then being presented within its unique historical context, or be kept intact for display purposes while still providing context for each unique part.

2 Commission a new mace by seeking input from Baylor students, alumni, faculty, and staff to inform the creation of a new symbol of authority that represents all Baylor constituents. Share the story of the new mace at all University functions to articulate Baylor's Christian values. Wood for the construction of a new mace could be collected from one of the large trees that grace Baylor University's historic center when periodic trimming becomes necessary or a large branch is removed following a storm.



Founders Medal

ASSESSMENT

Established in 1969, the Founders Medal is among the highest honors bestowed by Baylor University. It has been presented to “those whose lives have been a testament to their love for the university.” Further narrative states that recipients “have given their service, time and talent in support of Baylor’s mission.”

On the front of the medal appears the profile of Judge R.E.B. Baylor with the inscription “Pro Ecclesia, Pro Texana.” On the back appears Pat Neff Hall and the words “Baylor University Founders Medal,” as well as the year and the recipient’s name.



RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 Remove the image of Judge Baylor from the front of the medal and replace it with the Baylor seal. On the back of the medal, include the recipient’s name and year and a short scripture passage selected to convey Baylor’s Christian mission.
- 2 Create greater clarity around the criteria for selecting Founders Medal recipients.
- 3 If the Founders Medal remains unchanged, then the full historical context of Baylor’s founders (Baylor, Huckins, and Tryon) needs to be understood by anyone receiving the award.

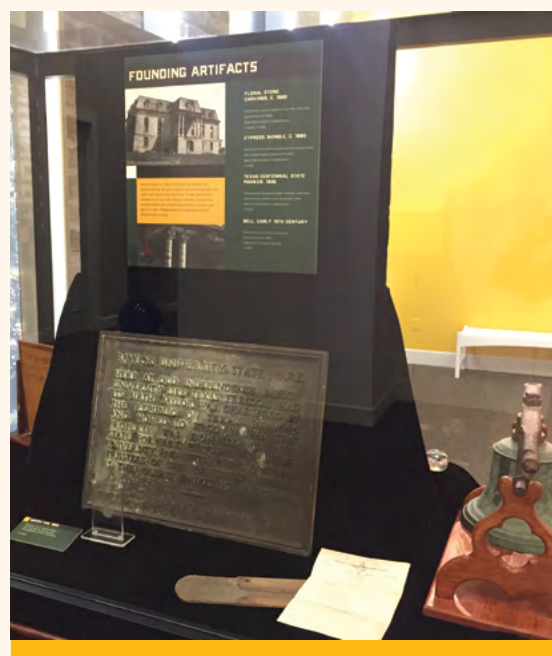
Mayborn Museum Exhibit

ASSESSMENT

Baylor University’s Mayborn Museum is a facility whose purpose is to allow the public to actively learn more about a variety of subjects, including the University itself. The museum is also a place where young children often first interact with information provided in its exhibits, creating formative experiences. As such, the museum is a pivotal location for opening the door of curiosity and knowledge for current and future generations. For these reasons, Mayborn Museum presents a unique opportunity to highlight the history of Baylor University and the State of Texas in a more complete and forthright manner.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1** Revise the exhibit on Baylor history “Founding to Future: Bright Lights of Baylor University” to include more information on slavery, race relations, desegregation, and faculty, staff, and students of color. The “Texas Lifeways” exhibit is currently dominated by stereotypes of Texas history: pioneers, Indians, buffalo, cattle, etc. The log cabin in that exhibit is the original cabin built by the Morgan family; however, the exhibit includes no information about the Morgan family’s slaves and slavery in Texas at that time. Future special exhibits could focus on people of color and women, the current special exhibit “Ofrenda Display: Celebrating Hispanic Heritage” being an example of such an emphasis. Future exhibits could expand to focus on slavery, the Civil War, emancipation, Reconstruction, Jim Crow segregation, and the ongoing civil rights movement.
- 2** Build a display that helps patrons understand what slave quarters looked like on the working farms of Baylor’s founders. The full story of the sacrifices and hardships endured by enslavement needs to be conveyed for assimilation and understanding.
- 3** Provide written summaries around new or existing exhibits that provide information detailing what took place on the early campuses in Independence as slave labor built the buildings and as students and faculty participated in the Confederacy.
- 4** Include displays that provide information on the economic impact of slavery, as Baylor’s founders amassed their wealth and influence by participating in the use of slave labor to grow, harvest, and sell cotton during the early history of the University.
- 5** Fortrightly convey Baylor founders’ use of scripture to justify the enslavement of Black people to build their wealth and power through audio and visual methods.
- 6** Make future changes or additions to exhibits more interactive. State-of-the-art technology should be employed so that exhibits appeal to all age ranges. Virtual opportunities to engage with the subject matter and the use of QR codes linking to additional information can enhance the museum’s impact for all who experience the exhibits.



Appendix 1

MISCELLANEOUS ONLINE RESOURCES

WEBSITE	TITLE/AUTHOR/AREA OF CONSIDERATION	SYNOPSIS
https://mellon.org/news-blog/articles/monuments-project/#:~:text=Press%20Releases-	Mellon Foundation	Mellon Foundation Quarter-Billion-Dollar Grant commitment for “Monuments Project” which will transform the way our country’s histories are told in public spaces. By reimagining and rebuilding commemorative spaces that celebrate and affirm the historical contributions of the many diverse communities that make up the United States.
https://inclusivehistorian.com/memorials-and-monuments	Memorials and Monuments - The Inclusive Historian’s Handbook	Memorials and monuments punctuate our lives. We know from our vantage point in the early twenty-first century that memorials, monuments, and other expressions of our nation’s complex public memory are not, in fact, as silent as we might suppose. We know too from decades of scholarship that memorials and monuments trade in all matter of perceptual trickery. Is there such a thing as a public memorial that respects the infinite diversity of the American public?
https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu	The Georgetown Slavery Archive	Georgetown University research into their connections to slavery and how they are working to deepen and extend knowledge of the descendants’ histories and to share their stories.
https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2014/11/19/slavery-economy-baptist	Book Excerpt: “The Half Has Never Been Told” by Edward E. Baptist	Edward Baptist argues that the forced migration and subsequent harsh treatment of slaves in the cotton fields was integral to establishing the United States as a world economic power. “Slavery continues to have an impact on America in the most basic sense. We don’t want to hear that at its root, the economic growth depends to a large extent on slavery”

WEBSITE	TITLE/AUTHOR/AREA OF CONSIDERATION	SYNOPSIS
https://www.furman.edu/about/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2019/11/Seeking-Abraham-Second-Edition.pdf	A Report of Furman University's Task Force on Slavery and Justice	<p>2018 report by Furman University going further than looking at their past by delving deep into an overwhelming Southern, pro-slavery and then confronting apathy with a proportional energy and redress.</p> <p>"New campus rituals, landscape changes, and university commitments are holistic, sweeping, and minimally needed to make the pivot. This is something that our nation needs to do, and institutions of higher learning can lead the way.</p>
https://www2.baylor.edu/baylorproud/2016/10/robert-gilbert-pastor-civil-rights-leader-and-baylors-first-african-american-graduate	Baylor Proud, 2016	Robert Gilbert: Pastor, civil rights leader, and Baylor's first Black graduate.
https://news.virginia.edu/content/president-jim-ryan-great-and-good-revisited	UVA Today, University of Virginia	University of Virginia President Jim Ryan's remarks on Board of Visitors resolutions including changes to the historic landscape.
https://theconversation.com/what-should-replace-confederate-statues-144174	The Conversation	<p>"Who is and isn't recognized on our campus? And why?"</p> <p>The story behind how, why and the eventual unveiling of a statue of Richard T. Greener, the first Black professor at the University of South Carolina.</p>
https://news.virginia.edu/content/photos-making-uvas-memorial-enslaved-laborers	UVA Today, University of Virginia	Photos: The Making of UVA's Memorial to Enslaved Laborers

Appendix 2

HOW OTHER UNIVERSITIES HAVE ADDRESSED CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS, AND STATUES

SCHOOL	CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS, & STATUES	ACTION
Florida State University	Francis Eppes VII, a grandson of Thomas Jefferson, founder of FSU and former mayor of Tallahassee Statue	A prominent statue of one of the school's slave-owning founders will be relocated from the school's front gates. The statue will be accompanied by a plaque that will mention Eppes' history of slave ownership as well as celebrate his contributions to FSU.
	B.K. Roberts Law Building	FSU school will seek legislative action to legally remove the name of B.K. Roberts, a founder of the university's law school and former Florida Supreme Court justice, from the FSU College of Law Building. B.K. Roberts was a pro-segregation Florida Supreme Court justice. Name is on the campus' law school building
	Eppe College of Criminology and Criminal Justice Building	FSU did not seek to change the name of a different campus building that bears Eppe's name—the school's College of Criminology and Criminal Justice building. The decision was based on Eppes' "significant contributions" to FSU, and Eppes Hall will soon include a marker with biographical information about Eppes that includes his slave ownership.
University of Pennsylvania	George Whitefield Statue	<p>The university voted to take down the century-old statue of George Whitefield from the Quad. Whitefield supported and advanced slavery in the American colonies.</p> <p>In addition to the removal of the Whitefield statue, Penn announced the formation of a Campus Iconography Group to research and advise the University about memorializations on Penn's campus.</p> <p>The Penn & Slavery Project revealed that of the 39 Residential Houses in the Quad, 10 are named after slave owners who helped the university in its early years. The university made no mention of this in the email, or of any intention to rename these buildings.</p>
Princeton University	President Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and a residential college	The university removed the name of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson from its School of Public and International Affairs and a residential college due to his record of supporting racist practices and segregation as president.

SCHOOL	CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS, & STATUES	ACTION
Rice University	Rice Monument	<p>Rice alums are working to rally enough support to convince the school's administration to remove the monument from the heart of campus</p> <p>Rice was unequivocal in his racism—his will stipulates that his fortune should be used to create an institution specifically for “the white inhabitants of Houston, and the state of Texas.”</p>
University of Texas	Statues of: Robert E. Lee Albert Sidney Johnston John H. Reagan	The university removed the statues of Confederates Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, and John H. Reagan.
Texas A&M University	Sul Ross Statue	Texas A&M has defended keeping the statue of Sul Ross on campus. “Without Sul Ross, neither Texas A&M University nor Prairie View A&M University would likely exist today.”
University of Houston	Calhoun Lofts	The university will rename its Calhoun Lofts dormitory, which are linked to white supremacy addressed in a statewide trend.
Duke University	Governor Charles B. Aycock Dormitory	In 2014, Duke returned an East Campus dorm to its previous name, East, removing the name of Governor Charles B. Aycock. Aycock is noted for his white supremacy viewpoints.
	Robert E. Lee Statue	The university removed the statue in August 2017 shortly after a vandal attacked it. Duke also created a procedure by which anyone could propose the reconsideration of any building or memorial on campus.
	Duke Chapel	In recent years Duke has carved the name of Black architect Julian Abele into the masonry of his masterwork, Duke Chapel, and renamed the West Campus quad for him (a granite engraving recently replaced the temporary metal plaque in the ground near the bus stop).
	Sociology-Psychology Building	On Oct. 3, 2020, Duke University named a building after Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke, one of the “First Five” undergraduate Black students to enroll at the university in 1963. The building actually predates campus integration by about 30 years.

SCHOOL	CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS, & STATUES	ACTION
Duke University	Julian Carr History Building	Duke created an ad hoc committee to consider the May 2018 unanimous request by the Department of History that the East Campus building remove the name of Carr and replace it with that of longtime professor Raymond Gavins, Duke's first Black professor of history and a beloved mentor throughout the Duke civil rights, human rights, and history communities. Carr supported the violent movement to suppress Black voters and Black progress around the turn of the twentieth century, publicly supported the dishonest Lost Cause mythology, proudly and publicly reflected upon his beating of a Black woman.
Brown University	Building J. Walter Wilson	<p>In 2018, Brown University renamed a building to honor Ethel Tremain Robinson and Inman Edward Page; two individuals who broke racial barriers at the university by becoming some of the first Blacks to graduate from the institution. The building, currently named the J. Walter Wilson Building, serves as a center of classroom activity, teaching and learning, according to News from Brown. James Walter Wilson was a biology professor at Brown for over 40 years and assisted his department in creating a national reputation for research and teaching. The renamed building will have a plaque inside to honor Wilson's accomplishments at Brown.</p> <p>University officials decided to rename the building to memorialize the hardships and accomplishments of its Black alumni and to acknowledge this year as being the 50 years since 1968, a controversial time in the Civil Rights Movement, with the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., civil actions at universities and Black student walkouts.</p>
Vanderbilt University	Building Confederate Memorial Hall	Vanderbilt University spent 14 years in court and raised \$1.2 million so that, in 2016, it could repay the United Daughters of the Confederacy for an original \$50,000 donation and thus be free to remove the word "Confederate" from what is now merely Memorial Hall.
Yale University	John C. Calhoun Residential College	In 2017, Yale renamed John C. Calhoun Residential College named for slavery defender.
	Stained-glass window of slaves placidly harvesting cotton	A furious worker in 2016 used a broom to attack a common-space stained-glass window of slaves placidly harvesting cotton.

SCHOOL	CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS, BUILDINGS, & STATUES	ACTION
Furman University	James C. Furman	<p>The “Seeking Abraham” Project was inspired by Abraham, a former slave of James C. Furman (the university’s first president), the “Seeking Abraham” project investigates Furman University’s historical connections with slavery.</p> <p>Furman has commissioned an artist to create a statue of Joseph Vaughn, the university’s first Black undergraduate student. The statue will be placed in front of the university’s library in a place of reflection and celebration, and is expected to be unveiled at the second annual Joseph Vaughn Day on Jan. 29.</p> <p>Furman expanded a scholarship named for Mr. Vaughn that provides need-based financial aid primarily for Black students from areas of South Carolina where Furman has had campuses throughout its history.</p> <p>Removed the name of James C. Furman from the building that currently houses classrooms and offices. The name has been changed simply to “Furman Hall” as a way to honor the other members of the Furman family and community who worked to support the university over time. Although James C. Furman was Furman’s first president and worked to save the university in difficult times, he was also a vocal proponent of slavery and secession.</p> <p>Renamed lakeside housing complex for Clark Murphy and added a plaque acknowledging the labor of Mr. Murphy, a much-loved member of the Furman community who was a long-time janitor, groundskeeper, and handyman at the Greenville Woman’s College, which later merged with Furman. This housing complex is the first physical structure on Furman’s campus named for a Black person.</p>

Appendix 2 Resources

Duke University

<https://alumni.duke.edu/magazine/articles/changing-name-erasing-history>

And the university did more than create a commission. Provost Sally Kornbluth sponsored a symposium in March, “American Universities, Monuments, and the Legacies of Slavery,” that for two days filled the Holsti-Anderson room in Rubenstein Library to overflowing, raising questions about how universities face these uncomfortable legacies.

Princeton and Slavery

<https://slavery.princeton.edu/stories/princeton-and-slavery-holding-the-center>

Princeton University, founded as the College of New Jersey in 1746, exemplifies the central paradox of American history. From the start, liberty and slavery were intertwined. After Finley died in July 1766.

Florida State University: Part of a larger movement

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/18/us/florida-state-statue-relocated-trnd/index.html>

The recent decisions at FSU are only the latest in a nationwide movement to remove Confederate monuments and rename buildings that bore the names of former slaveholders.

Penn announces plan to remove statue of slave owner George Whitefield from the Quad

<https://www.thedp.com/article/2020/07/penn-whitefield-statue-removal>

“Honoring him with a statue on our campus is inconsistent with our University’s core values, which guide us in becoming an ever more welcoming community that celebrates inclusion and diversity,” the email read. The bronze statue of Whitefield was created by R. Tait McKenzie in 1919.

Rice Alums Campaign to Remove Statue of the School’s Slave Owner Namesake

<https://www.houstonpress.com/news/rice-asked-to-remove-statue-of-slave-owner-namesake-11479143>

Due to William Marsh Rice’s oft-overlooked history as a racist and slave owner, recent Rice alums Gabrielle Falcon and Summar McGee are working to rally enough support to convince the school’s administration to remove the monument to Rice from the heart of campus once and for all.

Taking down statue of James McGill is only one step in fighting systemic racism, students say

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/james-mcgill-petition-1.5611769>

Petition launched last week calls for statue of university founder to be removed

When Heroes and Despots Are the Same Person

<https://www.texasmonthly.com/burka-blog/heroes-despots-person/>

Texas A&M president Michael Young and chancellor John Sharp defended keeping the statue of Sul Ross on campus. “Without Sul Ross, neither Texas A&M University nor Prairie View A&M University would likely exist today.”

Texas universities launch name changes, removals of artifacts linked to white supremacists

<https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Texas-universities-launch-name-changes-removals-11948680.php>

The University of Houston announced on Monday it will rename its Calhoun Lofts dormitory, joining other Texas colleges and universities in a nationwide recoil against statues and other monuments to slavery and white supremacy.

Furman “Seeking Abraham” Project

<https://www.furman.edu/seeking-abraham-project/>

Furman University is one of the first liberal arts colleges to designate a group to study its history regarding slavery.

Compiled by Dr. Mia Moody-Ramirez

Appendix 3

Required Reading List, Summer 2020

Copeland, Todd. *Baylor University's Connections to Slavery and the Confederacy*.

Prepared specifically for internal university use. While not exhaustive, the paper was written to provide a broad summary of Baylor University's connections to slavery and the Confederacy, both as an institution and regarding prominent individuals in Baylor's history.

Parrish, T. Michael. "Christian Paternalism and Racial Violence: White and Black Baptists in Texas during the Civil War Era." In *American Discord: The Republic and Its People in the Civil War Era*, edited by Megan L. Bever, Lesley J. Gordon, and Laura Mammina, 189-207. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020.

This essay, written prior to Dr. Parrish's work on the Commission for Historic Representations, describes the strengths of Christian faith among white and Black Baptists in Texas during the antebellum years, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. It also describes the clear limits of whites' Christian paternalism toward enslaved African Americans, particularly in various forms of racially motivated violence. In order to control and punish Blacks, whites routinely allowed their racism to eclipse their paternalism. But Blacks, strengthened by their faith, continually resisted.

Riddle, Jonathan D. "Masters and Ministers: Baylor University Leaders During the American Civil War." Graduate Seminar Paper, Department of History, Baylor University, 2015.

Written for a graduate seminar directed by Dr. Parrish, this essay is based on research conducted in the Baylor Texas Collection and other primary and secondary sources. It describes the attitudes and actions of Baylor leaders who enslaved African Americans, benefitted economically from slavery, and justified slavery in mainly religious, racial, and political terms.

Weaver, Doug. *Slavery, the Confederacy and the Origins of Baylor University*

Written for Perspectives in Religious Studies (2020-2021), this article looks at Baylor's origins and early history (1845-1870) and reveals a southern school's intimate ties to slavery, aggressive support for a pro-slavery reading of the Bible, white superiority, the Confederacy, and the development of the myth of the "Lost Cause". Research findings based on historical records of Baylor University, the Union Baptist Association, and the Baptist State Convention of Texas (the latter two groups intimately tied to the school).

Endnotes

¹ “Washington County,” *The Handbook of Texas* (<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/washington-county> : accessed September 10, 2020).

² Donald G. Nieman, “African Americans and the Meaning of Freedom: Washington County, Texas, as a Case Study, 1865-1886 – Freedom: Politics,” *Chicago-Kent Law Review*, 70 (1994): 543-44; digital images, *Chicago-Kent Law Review* (<https://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/cklawreview/vol70/iss2/6> : accessed September 10, 2020).

³ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, Baylor University Founders Series, vol. 3 (Waco: Baylor University, 1996), 10.

⁴ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 10-13.

⁵ A Guide to the Baylor Family Papers, Virginia Heritage (<http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf/view?docId=uva-sc/viu00032.xml> : accessed March 20, 2017).

⁶ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 27.

⁷ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 215.

⁸ 1860 U.S. census, Washington County, Texas, slave schedule, Independence, p. 6 (penned), lines 8-40, “Robt Baylor”; digital image, *Ancestry* (<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed March 1, 2017); citing NARA microfilm publication M653.

⁹ Anne Freeman Graves, *undated photograph, Independence, Washington County, Texas*; digital images, *The Portal to Texas History* (<http://texashistory.unt.edu> : accessed March 2, 2017); citing Star of the Republic Museum Objects, Star of the Republic Museum, Washington, Washington County, Texas.

¹⁰ 1860 U.S. census, Washington County, Texas, population schedule, p. 148 (stamped), p. 17 (penned), dwelling 98, family 98, line 11, “Robert Baylor”; digital image, *Ancestry* (<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed March 1, 2017); citing NARA microfilm publication M653, roll 1307.

¹¹ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 176.

¹² *Bill in chancery involving litigation over slaves with a seizure order signed by Judge Robert Emmitt Bledsoe Baylor, August 14, 1841, Milam County, Republic of Texas*; digital images, *Newton Greshman Library Digital Collections* (<http://digital.library.shsu.edu> : accessed March 2, 2017); citing The Texas Jurists Collection, 1837-1881, Newton Greshman Library, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

¹³ *Texas slave document signed by Judge Robert Emmitt Bledsoe Baylor, April 14, 1855, Texas*; digital images, *Nate D. Sanders Auctions* (http://natedsanders.com/texas_slave_document_signed_by_justice_r_e_b_bayl-lot33577.aspx : accessed March 2, 2017); citing lot 588, December 2014 auction, Nate D. Sanders Auctions.

¹⁴ A. Christian van Gorder, “Baylor’s History Mirrors Our Nation’s in Matters of Race,” *Waco Tribune Herald*, February 18, 2017; *Waco Tribune-Herald* (http://www.wacotrib.com/opinion/columns/board_of_contributors/a-christian-van-gorder-board-of-contributors-baylor-s-history/article_6b40f141-a9b0-5c42-b59d-01c63ced3272.html : accessed March 7, 2017).

¹⁵ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 205-206.

¹⁶ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 243.

¹⁷ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, Baylor University Founders Series, vol. 3 (Waco: Baylor University, 1996), 272-73.

¹⁸ “Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the War of 1812,” database with images, *Fold3* (<http://www.fold3.com> : accessed August 28, 2017), image copy, entry for “Robert Baylor,” 10 (Boswell’s) Kentucky Militia; citing Carded Records, Soldiers Who Served in Volunteer Organizations During the War of 1812, Compiled 1899-1927, Documenting the Period 1812-1815; Catalog 654501, Record Group M602, roll 0013; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

- ¹⁹ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, Baylor University Founders Series, vol. 3 (Waco: Baylor University, 1996), 241-42.
- ²⁰ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, 256.
- ²¹ “Looking Back at Baylor: Honoring Judge Baylor,” *The Texas Collection* (<https://blogs.baylor.edu/texascollection/category/people/pompeo-coppini/> : accessed September 14, 2020).
- ²² “1936 Texas Centennial Markers,” *Texas Historical Commission* (<https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/state-historical-markers/1936-texas-centennial-markers> : accessed September 14, 2020).
- ²³ “Baylor Monument Is Witness of Celebration,” *The Daily Lariat*, February 2, 1939, p. 1 (<https://digitalcollections-baylor.quartexcollections.com/documents/mirador/86517> : accessed September 14, 2020).
- ²⁴ *Find A Grave*, database with images (<http://findagrave.com> : accessed March 2, 2017), memorial 93499635, William M. Tryon (-1857), Glenwood Cemetery, Houston, Harris County, Texas; gravestone photography by Robert Hague.
- ²⁵ “Alabama, Marriages, Deaths, Wills, Court, and Other Records, 1784-1920,” database with images, *Ancestry* (<http://ancestry.com> : March 2, 2017), image copy, entry for marriage of “William M. Tryon” and “Louisa I. Higgins,” April 14, 1840, Montgomery County, Alabama; citing archive collection SG031432, roll 31, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.
- ²⁶ Lois Smith Murray, *Baylor at Independence* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 1972), 18-19.
- ²⁷ Lois Smith Murray, *Baylor at Independence*, 20-21.
- ²⁸ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, Baylor University Founders Series, vol. 3 (Waco: Baylor University, 1996), 108.
- ²⁹ “James Huckins,” *The Handbook of Texas* (<https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhu04> : accessed March 3, 2017).
- ³⁰ Jerry B. Cain, “The Thought and Action of Some Early Baptists Concerning the Negro,” *East Texas Historical Journal*, 13 (No. 1 1975): 3-12; digital images, *Scholarworks* (<http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol13/iss1/5> : accessed March 2, 2017).
- ³¹ *Find A Grave*, database with images (<http://findagrave.com> : accessed March 2, 2017), memorial 93499635, William M. Tryon (-1857), Glenwood Cemetery, Houston, Harris County, Texas; gravestone photography by Robert Hague.
- ³² “Optimism in the Midst of War: Baylor University’s Centennial Celebration,” *Baylor History Project* (<https://blogs.baylor.edu/hesabaylorhistoryproject/sydney-shields/> : accessed September 14, 2020).
- ³³ Eugene W. Baker, *In His Traces: The Life and Times of R. E. B. Baylor*, Baylor University Founders Series, vol. 3 (Waco: Baylor University, 1996), 108.
- ³⁴ Richard L. Elam, “Behold the Fields: Texas Baptists and the Problem of Slavery” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1993), 91.
- ³⁵ “U.S., Confederate Soldiers Compiled Service Records, 1861-1865,” database with images, *Fold3* (<http://www.fold3.com> : accessed August 25, 2017), image copy, entry for “James Huckins,” 1863; citing Carded Records, Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organizations, Civil War; Catalog ID 586957, Record Group 109, roll 0134; National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ³⁶ Eugene W. Baker, *Nothing Better Than This: The Biography of James Huckins*, Baylor University Founders Series, vol. 1 (Waco: Baylor University, 1985), 137.
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¹⁰¹ *Find A Grave*, database with images (<http://findagrave.com> : accessed August 25, 2017), memorial 9770349, Francis L. Carroll (1831-1906), Oakwood Cemetery, Waco, McLennan County, Texas; gravestone photography by Ruth M. Brown.

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