

GEORGE BARNARD'S BORDERLAND: ENTERPRISE AND DEVELOPMENT IN  
THE UPPER BRAZOS BASIN, 1838-1883

by

Cody Montana Londenberg, B.A.

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Committee Members:

Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez, Chair

José Carlos de la Puente

Louie Dean Valencia-García

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## **ABSTRACT**

This project highlights the importance of the frontiersman and businessman, George Barnard, in the area of the Upper Brazos River Valley. He quickly climbed the social ladder upon his arrival to Texas in 1838. By the 1870s, he was one of the wealthiest men in Central Texas. This is an in depth look at his life and business practices. Chapter one analyzes George Barnard's early life in Texas and his ultimate rise to prominence through his commercial ties with both indigenous peoples and Anglo-American military forces during the 1840s and 1850s. Chapter two focuses on George Barnard's later life and business activities, particularly on Barnard leaving the Indian Trade, helping bring the cattle and railroad industries to Central Texas, developing land in the Upper Brazos River Basin for settlement, and participating in regional politics. Primary sources utilized for this thesis consists of newspaper articles, business ledgers, personal papers, and correspondence, among other items, primarily found in the Barnard-Lane Papers at the Carrol Library at Baylor University in Waco, Texas.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In 1852 George Barnard, a trader amongst the Indians of Texas, bought his wife Mary a \$1400 piano from New York City and had it shipped all the way to Waco, Texas by way of Galveston. This piano would have cost a small fortune, approximately \$47,000 in the present day, the current mean salary in the United States.<sup>1</sup> If, as the existing historiography indicates, George Barnard was a merchant primarily engaged in the commerce of furs with indigenous peoples, or “savages” as his contemporaries called them, how was he able to afford such a magnificent and luxurious item as a gift and have it transported to a frontier backwater such as Waco in the middle of the nineteenth century fur trade crisis?<sup>2</sup>

By 1850, the profession of fur trading in the United States was practically dead and gone. The global market for cotton had relegated the fur trade throughout the United States. The United States' largest fur company, the American Fur Company, had liquidated in 1847. One of the most prominent trading companies in the West, the St. Vrain and Bent Company, had also ceased to exist in 1849. Where these companies failed, another prospered: the Tehuacana Creek Trade Post, thrived in the uncertain economic landscape surrounding the fur trade in the 1840s. The fur trade crisis roughly coincided with the Mexican American War. The war posed a burgeoning economic opportunity for George Barnard to capitalize on.

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<sup>1</sup> “Inflation,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, Accessed December 11, 2019, <https://www.bls.gov/bls/inflation.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> J.H. Abbot to George Barnard, 28 May 1852, Box 3, Folder 6, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

Earlier scholarship has established the centrality of George Barnard and his trade posts to the peace policy with Texas indigenous peoples during the 1840s and 1850s. What remains woefully understated in the historiography is Barnard's commercial connections to Anglo armed forces in Texas, and how these connections complemented his business with indigenous peoples. As this thesis will demonstrate, that complementary trade network permitted George Barnard to maintain a near-monopoly on, and profit from, the Indian trade at a time when rising global demands in cotton were displacing the fur trade in Atlantic markets.

This thesis project emanates from a profound lifelong interest in Native American and Texas history. Being from Waco, Texas, I have always been frustrated with the relative lack of scholarship on my hometown's area prior to its official founding in 1849. My quest to fill out that gap sent me down a rabbit hole in the direction of the Tehuacana Creek trade post. Primary sources for this thesis come from the Barnard-Lane Papers and Waco Village Collection housed in the Texas Collection at Baylor University in Waco, 1840s and 1850s Texas newspapers from the Library of Congress.

The trade conducted by George Barnard in Texas has been scarcely explored by historians. In most major works about the history of the Texas frontier, such as Gary Anderson's *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875*, or Kenneth Neighbors, *Robert Simpson Neighbors and the Texas Frontier*, the contributions of Barnard and his business enterprise's importance to the development of the Upper Brazos Valley are often glossed over. George Barnard, despite his long vanishment from the annals of Texas history, is a key figure in the early history of North Central Texas.

Only a few scholars have discussed Barnard, his commercial enterprise, and its importance to the state of Texas in some detail. Henry Armbruster primarily discusses the Torrey Brothers Company, Barnard's initial employer in Texas, and how their business applied its role in Texas-Indian relations, situating Barnard in crucial points of the narrative.<sup>3</sup> John Strecker provides a general overview of Barnard's life as an Indian trader in the Brazos River Basin.<sup>4</sup> John Willingham offers a succinct analysis of Barnard's trade practices, revealing some of the finer intricacies of his business with indigenous peoples.<sup>5</sup>

Primary sources utilized for this thesis include business ledgers, personal notes, and various types of correspondence. Most works that include Barnard primarily focus on his trade with the Indians, and often scathe over his accomplishments from his later life, such as his work on the railroad or the cattle industry. The majority of these documents are housed in the Texas Collection Archive in Waco, Texas. George Barnard's personal, business, and financial records are stored in the archive and provide very intimate details about his personal and social lives.

While contributing to the historiography on the Texas Indian Trade, this thesis reveals some of the more intricate nuances that made up the complex socioeconomic landscape of nineteenth-century Texas. The first chapter analyzes George Barnard's early life in Texas and his ultimate rise to prominence through trade with both indigenous peoples and the military. I provide an overview of the fur trade in Texas and discuss Barnard's importance as a merchant and supplier to military forces during and after the

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<sup>3</sup> Armbruster, Henry C., *The Torreys of Texas* (Buda: Citizen Press, 1968).

<sup>4</sup> Strecker, John K., *Chronicles of George Barnard: The Indian Trader of the Tehuacana and Other Bits of Texas History* (Waco: The Baylor Bulletin, 1927).

<sup>5</sup> Willingham, John, "George Barnard: Trader and Merchant on the Texas Frontier," *Texana* 12, (1974), 305-334.

Mexican American War. The chapter concludes with the reservation of several of the Texas indigenous groups, including Comanches, Wichitas, Caddos, and Tonkawas, along the Upper Brazos River, and Barnard adapting his business practices to the environment around him to make tremendous profits.

By the end of the 1830s, when George Barnard emigrated to Texas, the Lone Star Republic was in flux. Anglo settlement was fast expanding, largely through migration from the Old South, and relations with indigenous peoples were a paramount factor in the politics of the newly independent republic. Indeed, Barnard arrived at the Texas frontier during a crucial moment when two seemingly different worlds, indigenous and Euro-American, came to a convergence in the area of the Brazos River Basin. Barnard would become an instrumental agent in advancing Sam Houston's peace policy with indigenous peoples. At the same time, though, he managed to become the premier creditor for Anglo armed forces in Texas for the entirety of his career on the frontier, from 1843 to 1857.<sup>6</sup>

Chapter two covers Barnard's various business activities and political involvement from 1855 to his death in 1883. I explain how Barnard transitioned his business from an almost exclusive focus on the fur trade to multiple avenues of income, including real estate speculation, the cattle industry, and urban and regional development. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Barnard's legacy and his overall impact on the history of the Upper Brazos River Valley. George Barnard cunningly used his myriad relationships to seize the fur monopoly in Texas. In doing so, he helped to further develop a robust borderland economy that connected central Texas to the Atlantic

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<sup>6</sup> Gary C. Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 53, 91.

markets of the eastern United States. He was able to afford his wife a nearly \$50,000 piano because of his privileged mercantile status in Texas. Barnard had interests on many fronts. He indiscriminately conducted business with civilians, military personal, and indigenous peoples. He bought and sold items with anyone willing to make a transaction with him. He was an opportunist and a profiteer in every sense. "Fortune favors the bold" was not just a proverb to Barnard, it was a motto to live and get rich by.

## **II. BARNARD'S RISE TO PROMINENCE: MULTIETHNIC TRADE NETWORKS AND CONTINENTAL MARKETS, 1845-1855**

By the dawn of war between the United States and Mexico in April 1846, George Barnard was the primary Indian trader in Texas. He was no doubt the Torrey Brothers firm's most valuable employee. Barnard understood the socio-economic environment in Texas during his lifetime. He kept track of which indigenous groups were cordial or rivals with one another, and which ones were friendly or hostile with Texas Rangers and Euro-American settlers. Regardless of alignment and without prejudice, Barnard conducted business on many fronts with anyone willing. This is how Barnard was able to capitalize on the unpredictable nature of the fur trade in Texas, frivolously purchase a near-\$50,000 piano in 1852 as a gift for his wife and retire before the age of forty in 1857.

The Tehuacana Creek Trade Post, from which Barnard operated, was central to the official Texas Indian policy of Sam Houston during the early 1840s that promoted peace, trade, and coexistence between Euro-Americans and indigenous peoples. The post served as a bridge that linked Euro-American and indigenous spheres of influence. Indians from far away villages in the Llano Estacado and the Red River Valley came into contact with Euro-Americans from cities like New Braunfels or Houston at the Tehuacana Creek post.<sup>7</sup> The post stood as a symbol of peace between Indians and Texans during the mid-nineteenth century, an era of increasing racialization in the state. In part, the post attenuated the detrimental effects of thefts and raids from both sides by providing

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<sup>7</sup> H. Allen Anderson. "The Delawares and Shawnees and the Republic of Texas, 1820-1845," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 94, (1990): 231-235.

a neutral ground where indigenous peoples and Euro-American groups could meet peacefully and trade without disturbances.<sup>8</sup>

The Tehuacana Creek Post also provided a platform for ethnically different indigenous groups, such as the Penateka Comanches or the Tawakoni to conduct peaceful negotiations. The Torrey & Brothers Trade Firm, and specifically Barnard as its main agent in central Texas, traded a variety of items to the Indians, including beads, weapons, clothing, and food. The commerce of furs, however, was by far the most important and frequent transaction that occurred at the Tehuacana Creek Post.<sup>9</sup>

From 22 October 1836 to 10 December 1838, Sam Houston was the first president of the Republic of Texas, largely maintaining previous Spanish and Mexican policies of peaceful coexistence with the indigenous peoples. Trade was the cornerstone of Houston's peace policy with the Indians. He was sympathetic to the natives and understood the outside pressures imposed on them. Before his illustrious military and political career in Texas he had lived with, and been adopted into, a band of Cherokees from Tennessee. During that time, he became a full citizen of the Cherokee nation, took a Cherokee wife, and even opened his own trade post along the banks of the Neosho River in Indian Territory. When Houston was elected president of the Republic of Texas, he attempted to maintain policies that benefited both the indigenous peoples and the Texans.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> John K. Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard: The Indian Trader of the Tehuacana and Other Bits of Texas History* (Waco: The Baylor Bulletin, 1927). 19-21.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-82.

Perhaps it was luck or chance, or the fact that the newly established city of Houston, Texas, only had a population of approximately 1500 people in 1838, that Sam Houston became acquainted with John Torrey.<sup>11</sup> John arrived in Houston sometime in 1838. His brothers, David and Thomas Torrey, followed his trail in 1839 and 1840, respectively.<sup>12</sup> The Torrey brothers were originally from Connecticut, emigrating to Texas for the prospects of cheap land and burgeoning economic opportunity. In Connecticut they had been watchmakers and jewelers by trade; in Texas they became some of the most prominent merchants of the time.<sup>13</sup> John built the first frame house in Houston in 1838, using it as a general store and a post for the Indian trade. Houston treated the post as an essential component for maintaining peace with Indians and virtually granted the Torrey's a near-monopoly on the Indian trade.<sup>14</sup>

George Barnard, also from Connecticut, made his way to Galveston in 1838 and shortly thereafter found work as a clerk in the Torrey & Brothers trade firm in Houston. Barnard was a childhood friend of the Torrey brothers, growing up to adulthood with them. The eldest son of George Barnard Sr. and Jerusha Clapp Barnard, George was born into an upper-middle class family in Hartford on 18 September 1818.<sup>15</sup> Not much is known about his early life. He was a member of the Second Church of Christ of Hartford, and received a college education before migrating across the continent to Texas.<sup>16</sup> The prospect of owning land or living a life of adventure was bleak in New England, which

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<sup>11</sup> Houston.org, 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 4-5.

<sup>15</sup> Aside from a gravestone in Hartford, Connecticut, there are no relevant records mentioning the lives of George Barnard Sr. and Jerusha Clapp Barnard.

<sup>16</sup> "George Barnard", Waco Masonic Lodge, Accessed December 12, 2019, <https://www.wacomasonic.org/george-barnard/>.

no-doubt led Barnard to follow John Torrey to Texas in the hopes of forging his own destiny.<sup>17</sup>

The Torrey brothers' Indian trade out of Houston would not last long, however, due to the aggressive Indian policies of Mirabeau B. Lamar, second president of the Republic of Texas from 10 December 1838 to 13 December 1841. Lamar refused entry to indigenous peoples into Houston for any purpose.<sup>18</sup> In stark contrast to Sam Houston's peaceful approach, Lamar called for the "total extinction" of Indians in order to open their lands to Euro-American settlement. Using the failed 1838 Córdova Rebellion as an excuse, Lamar waged war against Cherokees and Comanches. The rebellion began on 4 August 1838 when Vicente Córdova, a former Mexican official in Nacogdoches, gathered a resistance of over one hundred disaffected Hispanic settlers to reestablish Mexican rule in the region. Several Cherokees were blamed by Anglo-Nacagdochians for helping incite the rebellion, although the evidence was scant.<sup>19</sup>

In 1838 and 1839, the Lone Star Republic and the Cherokees fought a war over East Texas.<sup>20</sup> A far more heavily armed Texan military routed a combined indigenous force, consisting primarily of Cherokees, Delawares, and Shawnees, at the Battle of the Neches on 15-16 July 1839. Chief Bowles, the principal chief of the Cherokees in Texas and a friend of Sam Houston, died in the battle. Subsequent skirmishes pushed the Cherokees north of the Red River, where they resettled in the Indian Territory by 1840. These events greatly hindered the Torrey Brothers' Indian trade, as some of their main customers in Houston were Cherokees and Shawnees. Cherokees, albeit in far less

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<sup>17</sup> Willingham, "George Barnard: Trader and Merchant on the Texas Frontier," 305-307.

<sup>18</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 29-33.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 170-177.

<sup>20</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 165-168.

significant numbers, resettled in areas of East and Central Texas in the early 1840s when tensions cooled with the Texan government.<sup>21</sup>

The following year, Thomas Torrey, hoping to expand his family's mercantile business to new horizons, was a member of the ill-fated Texas-Santa Fe expedition. Despite Lamar's aggressive stance towards Indians, he saw trade as a necessity for the Texas economy. He wanted a direct trade route to the West from Texas, and thus saw an opportunity in pressing the Texan claim on New Mexico. On 14 April 1840, he sent a letter to the citizens of Santa Fe outlining the benefits of joining the Republic of Texas, including citizenship in a new nation recognized by world powers like the United States and France. A party of 321 merchants and soldiers called the "Santa Fe Pioneers" formed in Texas over several months in preparation to seize New Mexico. On 19 June 1841, the party set out westward from Kenney's Fort, just north of Austin, Texas.

Barnard, who no-doubt followed Thomas Torrey in the endeavor, was also a member of the Texas-Santa Fe expedition.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, the expedition was a total disaster. It split into several groups, with the initial forward group reaching Hispanic settlements in eastern New Mexico, near Tucumcari, in September. The Texans were destitute by then, exhausted by the unremitting sun of the Llano Estacado (Staked Plains). The weary and dehydrated men expected a warm welcome from the locals but instead were met by armed Mexican regulars. The governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo, had received word of the wayward Texans weeks before their arrival. The entire party was arrested and forced to march across Mexico to Veracruz, where they were imprisoned at

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<sup>21</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 178-180.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

Perote Prison until April of 1842.<sup>23</sup> The Texas-Santa Fe expedition was a failure, but it greatly shaped Barnard's life. For example, he needed to use a walking cane for the remainder of his life due to a limp he acquired from the long march through Mexico.

The expedition showed Texans how far west the expanses of their republic truly reached, and the bounty of indigenous peoples that resided within its borders. Barnard and his fellow expeditioners traversed the territories of several indigenous groups on the way to New Mexico, learning of their lifestyles and cultures. While in Mexico, he also learned a smattering of Spanish. Most importantly, the expedition provided Barnard his first connections to military personnel in Texas.<sup>24</sup>

When Sam Houston was elected to a second term as the president of Texas at the end of 1840, the Torrey brothers were once again utilized as crucial mediators in his peace policy with indigenous peoples. The trading frontier in Texas kept moving farther and farther northwest as Euro-American settlement expanded. To reverse the damage done by the Lamar administration, Houston immediately set out to make peace with the indigenous peoples of Texas, concluding a series of peace treaties throughout the 1840s.<sup>25</sup>

The first treaty materialized in August 1842 after an agreement between the Republic of Texas and several Wichita groups around present-day Waco was brokered. It initiated a series of diplomatic encounters that would come to be collectively known as the Tehuacana Creek Councils. Another set of talks between delegates of the Republic of Texas and representatives of Delaware, Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Tonkawa, and Waco peoples occurred in March 1843. Representatives from the Anadarko, Biloxi, Chickasaw,

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 25-29.

<sup>25</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 201-203.

Cherokee, Keechi, and Ionie peoples signed a further treaty at Bird's Fort, near present-day Dallas, on 29 September 1843.<sup>26</sup>

George Barnard started his career as the premier Indian trader in Texas history at the Tehuacana Creek trading post. After the Bird's Fort Treaty, Houston commissioned the Torrey & Brothers Company to open a post in the Brazos River Valley. In December 1843, the post opened near Tehuacana Creek, at the site where the initial peace talks had taken place, at the intersection of several indigenous peoples' territories.<sup>27</sup>

From the establishment of the Tehuacana Creek Post, Barnard was its manager and sole permanent inhabitant, thus making Barnard the first permanent non-indigenous settler of today's Waco.<sup>28</sup> He must have felt some sort of sentimental attachment to the Central Texas landscape, considering he lived in the area for the remainder of his life.

The Tehuacana Creek Post stood as a symbol on the frontier, marking the edge of Anglo-American civilization in the far-reaching wilderness of Texas. The post's grounds consisted of a wooden trade house and several log-cabins for storing pelts and meat, living quarters, and a corral that housed all the post's livestock. The trade house was consistently stocked with blankets, clothing, and foodstuffs, indicating these items were some of the most highly demanded luxuries coveted by the Indians.<sup>29</sup>

The Tehuacana Creek Post became a borderland landmark and institution in every sense. Geographically, it signaled the northernmost boundary of Euro-American habitation in Texas for most of the 1840s. It was at the crossroads of several Indian trails.

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<sup>26</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 203.

<sup>27</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 11-12.

<sup>28</sup> Barnard made manager of the Tehuacana Trade Post, December 1843, Box 3, Folder 5, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>29</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 7-8.

The ethnic make-up of the post's inhabitants was extremely varied. Members of different indigenous nations, mainly Cherokees and Delawares, resided there Seasonally.<sup>30</sup>

Beginning in 1845, Barnard kept an African-American slave at the post for handiwork and deliveries.<sup>31</sup> He sometimes hosted slave auctions at the post.<sup>32</sup> Barnard also took in Mexican captives at the post frequently, either from indigenous traders or from Texas Rangers, and ransomed them for profit.<sup>33</sup> Finally, he hosted various Euro-American travelers and employees, none of whom stayed at the post permanently, but they all used Barnard's services, nonetheless.

The commerce at the post was extremely diverse as well, dealing in livestock, farming equipment, weapons, and dozens of slaves. However, the most important and abundant commodity dealt with at the Tehuacana Creek post was, by far, animal skins.<sup>34</sup> The highest volume of skins trafficked through the post were deer skins. In 1844 alone, over 2,000 pounds of deer skins were processed at the post.<sup>35</sup> Hides of buffalo, bears, foxes, and panthers were also sold at the post from time-to-time.<sup>36</sup> Indians would bring the hides and pelts of valuable animals, such as bears or bison, to the post in return for

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<sup>30</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 6.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14.

<sup>32</sup> Slave Bill of Sale, 13 August 1853, Box 6, Folder 23, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>33</sup> Sam Houston Prisoner Letter, February 1844, Box 3, Folder 5, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>34</sup> Ledger of deer skin sales, 2 January 1851, Box 6, Folder 19, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>35</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ledger skin sales, Undated, Box 11, Folder 4, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

manufactures, such as guns or riding equipment, blanket and clothes, food, or for store credit.<sup>37</sup>

The most frequent indigenous customers of the post were Cherokees, Comanches, Delawares, and Wichitas.<sup>38</sup> The Cherokees and Delawares of Texas were non-native to the region, much like Barnard. Both had made their way into Texas in the 1820s due to American encroachment and Indian removal policies that pushed Delawares and Cherokees out of their traditional territories in the northeastern and southeastern United States respectively.<sup>39</sup> The Texas Cherokee and Delaware groups lived closely, residing together and functioning politically as a single unit. They lived in east Texas in modern-day Rusk and Cherokee counties until Lamar's administration saw them removed in 1839. Most of the Texas Cherokees and Delawares found refuge in the Indian Territory. Some returned during the second presidency of Sam Houston, from 21 December 1841 to 9 December 1844, however, settling along the Brazos River east of the Tehuacana Creek Post.<sup>40</sup>

The Caddoan-speaking sedentary groups that inhabited the Brazos River Basin, including Kichais, Tawakonis, and Wacos were crucial to the sustainability of Barnard's mercantile activities. The Tehuacana Creek post was established near the remains of an old Waco village. In-fact, the name "Tehuacana" is a misspelling of "Tawakoni." These

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<sup>37</sup> Ledger of deer skins for credit, 23 November 1844, Box 11, Folder 4, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>38</sup> Indian trade receipt, 7 April 1845, Box 11, Folder 4, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>39</sup> David LaVere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 23.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-56.

Indians resided in permanent villages, making a living off farming, hunting, and trading.<sup>41</sup>

By the 1840s, Comanches inhabited a vast territorial expanse. This so-called *Comanchería* spanned most of western Texas, eastern New Mexico, southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, and western Oklahoma. They were nomadic hunter-gatherers, a highly mobile people, always following the seemingly endless herds of bison across the southern plains. Comanches living near the settled areas of Texas during the mid-nineteenth century were mostly from the Penateka division, meaning “honey eaters”. While the Penatekas were non-native to Texas either, they had entered the region far before the Cherokees or Delawares. These and other groups converged in the area of today’s Waco, providing Barnard with a sustainable business clientele.<sup>42</sup>

Because the Tehuacana Creek Post was located at a strategic interethnic crossroads, Barnard needed employees who knew the land and its native inhabitants. In order to foster cordial relations with his indigenous neighbors, he began hiring Indian scouts as trade intermediaries for the post in April of 1843.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps the most famous of these Indian intermediaries were the fabled Jim Shaw and Jesse Chisolm.

George Barnard employed Jim Shaw, a Delaware, as a negotiator, scout, and interpreter to conduct business with the indigenous peoples of the Brazos River Basin and beyond. Shaw worked extensively in peace and trade negotiations with other indigenous groups because of his unique skillset, conveniently suited to the Indian trade. Shaw knew

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<sup>41</sup> F. Todd Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indian of Texas and the Near Southwest, 1786-1859* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 178-185.

<sup>42</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 49-54.

<sup>43</sup> George Barnard to Jim Shaw, 14 April 1843, Box 6, Folder 17, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

the vast expanses of Texas extremely well, having travelled extensively across the area during his early life. He could speak English, Comanche, and Delaware, and knew the Indian sign language. Unsurprisingly, he served as an interpreter at the Treaty of Bird's Fort on 29 September 1843 and at the Tehuacana Creek Councils from 28 March 1843 to 16 November 1845, proving himself instrumental to Sam Houston's peace policy.<sup>44</sup>

When the business at the Tehuacana Creek began to take shape in 1844, Jesse Chisolm proved an important intermediary with the various indigenous groups who traded with Barnard. Chisolm was a part-Cherokee part-Anglo man who settled in Texas shortly before the Tehuacana Creek Councils began in 1843. It is likely that Chisolm became acquainted with Sam Houston during their time in the Cherokee country of the Indian Territory as traders near the Neosho River. Chisolm was a trailblazer, frequently travelling into Texas to trade with Cherokees residing there in the 1820s and 1830s. When Sam Houston initiated peace agreements with the tribes of Texas, Chisolm was at the forefront of the negotiations. He could speak English, Comanche, Delaware, and Cherokee, acting as a crucial intermediary in peace talks.<sup>45</sup>

Barnard's younger brother, Charles, came to Texas and joined him at the Tehuacana Creek Post sometime in 1844. The younger Barnard was another crucial cog in the Tehuacana post's business, where he acted as an assistant manager of sorts, overseeing trade negotiations in his brother's stead whenever necessary. As Charles grew more familiar with the Indian trade, the post's success increased dramatically. The same year he joined his brother at the Tehuacana Creek post, Charles married a redeemed

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<sup>44</sup> Rupert Richardson, "Jim Shaw the Delaware," *West Texas Historical Association* 20, (1927): 300-311.

<sup>45</sup> Stan Hoig, *Jesse Chisolm: Ambassador of the Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 53-56.

Mexican captive ransomed from the Comanche, named Juana Cavasos.<sup>46</sup> Comanche raiders kidnapped Juana on 15 August 1844 from her home in the Rio Grande Valley, and shortly thereafter sold her to the Tehuacana Creek post. Charles forged a respectable livelihood within the first few months he settled in Texas, he held an important position in his brother's business and was a newlywed. He arrived in Texas during the last year of Sam Houston's presidency, however, which meant that his newfound livelihood was shrouded in uncertainty.<sup>47</sup>

The last days of Houston's presidency casted an unpredictable cloud on the socio-political landscape of Texas, whose existence as an independent nation depended on the outcome of the 1844 election. George Barnard must have been concerned with how the election affected his business with Native Americans. The new Indian policies in Texas were contingent on the election. One of the candidates, Anson Jones favored peace with Native Americans, mirroring Houston's stance. The other candidate, Edward Burleson, favored policies of removal very similar to those of Lamar.<sup>48</sup>

Ultimately, Jones defeated Burleson by a margin of over 1300 votes in September 1844, succeeding Houston as the fourth and final president of the Republic of Texas on 9 December 1844. Jones's Native American policy echoed Houston's, and favored Barnard's business practices.<sup>49</sup> In July 1845, Jones appointed Eleazar Wheelock as Indian Commissioner with the purpose of fostering good relations with all indigenous groups

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<sup>46</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 35.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 208-212.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

within the boundaries of Texas for the purpose of making peace.<sup>50</sup> Jones was partially successful in his endeavor, as delegates from the Kichais, Tawakonis, Wichitas, and Wacos convened at the Tehuacana Creek post on 9 of October 1845 and 15 November 1845 to sign treaties of trade and peace with the Lone Star republic.<sup>51</sup>

On 16 November 1845, the Tehuacana Creek Councils concluded, allowing Barnard to strengthen preexisting trade networks with several indigenous groups in the Upper Brazos Valley. At this point, Barnard's trade began to develop into a far-reaching enterprise. Comanches from as far away as New Mexico and Caddoan peoples from the distant Indian Territory made their way to the Tehuacana Creek Post to conduct business.<sup>52</sup> From there, some of the products traded to Barnard by indigenous peoples, mostly animal pelts, were carted overland to the ports of Galveston or Houston, thence shipped to one of the many centers of commerce on the east coast.<sup>53</sup> For all intents and purposes, Barnard became the foremost merchant in Texas. The names "Barnard" and "trade" became synonymous.

It is crucial to emphasize that Barnard did not exclusively trade or conduct business with indigenous peoples. Independent Euro-American traders frequented the post, selling furs for a profit, stocking up on supplies for long overland journeys, or engaging in some other form of transaction. In one such case, on April 1845, a Mr. B. Horton hired several Cherokees from the post on the Tehuacana Creek to retrieve three

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<sup>50</sup> Anson Jones appointment of Wheelock as Texas Indian Commissioner, 14 July 1845, Barnard-Lane Papers, Box 11, Folder 25, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>51</sup> Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 208-212.

<sup>52</sup> H. Allen Anderson, "The Delaware and Shawnees and the Republic of Texas, 1820-1845," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 94, (1990): 231-238.

<sup>53</sup> Sales of 27 Packs of Deer Skins to New York. September 1851, Box 6, Folder 22, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

runaway slaves bound for Mexico.<sup>54</sup> Settlers in the proximity of the Tehuacana Creek used the post as a general store. Sometimes a trip to the post would serve to retrieve something as trivial as coffee and sugar.<sup>55</sup> The Tehuacana Creek post was the only supply station for over a hundred miles in any direction during the mid-1840s, if settlers in the area needed any goods, they got them from Barnard.

While Barnard's business was certainly assisted by the pro-Indian policies of Sam Houston and Anson Jones, it is difficult to say which side of the political spectrum Barnard swayed. On one hand, Barnard was intimately connected to indigenous peoples, trading with them at every opportunity. On the other hand, Barnard was creditor to entire companies of Texas Rangers, lawmen, and government officials; some of the individuals who wanted to push the natives out of Texas and see indigenous ways of life exterminated. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Barnard also sold several African-descended slaves at the Tehuacana trade post. It seems that Barnard's "politics" were based on economic considerations, acting as profiteer to the highest bidder.<sup>56</sup> Whichever way he leaned on the political spectrum, Barnard became embroiled in the Texas annexation saga.<sup>57</sup>

Annexation was a topic of heated debate during the 1840s, not only in Texas, but naturally also in the United States. Texas was a massive slaveholding region, making it a U.S. possession would mean adding another slave state to the Union. Furthermore,

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<sup>54</sup> Jesse Chisolm Slave Redemption Letter, April 1845, Box 6, Folder 11, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>55</sup> John Menifer in account with George Barnard, 4 October 1844, Box 6, Folder 17, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>56</sup> Slave Bill of Sale, 23 August 1853, Box 3, Folder 6, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 219-228.

annexation would almost certainly create conflict between the U.S. and Mexico. Both major American political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, were against annexing Texas into the United States, as it would add kindling to the already fiery sectional crisis. Nonetheless, President James K. Polk annexed Texas into the Union on 29 December 1845, causing the Mexican American War.

The conflict proved to be one of the most profitable business ventures George Barnard would ever be presented. He ran the premier trade post and supply station in Texas, and thus would act as one of the top suppliers to military forces passing through Texas on the warpath to Mexico. The role credit played in the war effort is crucial to the business activity at the Tehuacana Creek Post. Barnard outfitted entire companies of the Texas Rangers, who often bought items from the post on credit.<sup>58</sup> These credit purchases accrued significant interest over the course of the war. As a result, dozens of Rangers and other military men became indebted to Barnard.<sup>59</sup> Several of these men would go on to have illustrious careers in Texas as lawmen, politicians, and land barons. Barnard earned prominence as a man of wealth and status through these political and military connections that he brokered during the Mexican American War.

One such relationship Barnard fostered was to Middleton Tate Johnson. Johnson was a Texas Ranger captain during the Mexican American War, and later one of the founders of Fort Worth in 1849. His company bought large quantities of supplies on interest from Barnard during the war. For instance, a debt ledger attributed to Johnson and dated in August 1847, stating that his company received items on loan from Barnard

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<sup>58</sup> Texas Rangers in account with George Barnard, 10 April 1848, Box 6, Folder 19, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>59</sup> Collection of Ranger debts, 29 July 1848, Box 6, Folder 20, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

such as a mule, riding supplies, gunpowder, and preserved foodstuffs amounting to \$86.69.<sup>60</sup> Some of those debts remained unpaid several years after the war for a variety of reasons, such as members of the company either dying in service or defaulting on payment.<sup>61</sup> For instance, on 29 March 1849, Johnson acknowledged that he still owed \$562.50 to Barnard for six mules loaned to him from the Tehuacana Creek post, over a year after the war's end. The price of a single mule sold at the post was \$60.00.<sup>62</sup> This meant that the livestock Barnard loaned to Johnson accumulated \$202.50 in interest over a year and a half, equivalent to \$6,758.08 in the present-day.<sup>63</sup>

The Torrey & Brothers Trade Firm operated several posts and supply stores along the Texas frontier. Many of these businesses were strategically located in towns and settlements such as Houston, Austin, New Braunfels, San Antonio, and the Tehuacana Creek Post.<sup>64</sup> Each of these stations were located along different trails that connected the territories claimed by various indigenous peoples, including Comanches, Wichitas, Delawares, and Cherokees. While the Torrey & Brothers Trade Firm was heavily active in the Indian trade, each of the brothers took a very hands-off approach towards the trade dynamics of their business. The brothers were all trained as skilled workers during their childhoods, such as clerks or watchmakers. The skills they learned from these vocational trades translated well to the world of business, that in-turn, helped them establish themselves into prominent positions on the frontier. Trading with Indians on the frontier

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<sup>60</sup> Middleton Tate Johnson in account with George Barnard, August 1847, Box 6, Folder 19, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>61</sup> Collection of Ranger debts, 29 July 1848, Box 6, Folder 20, Barnard-Lane Papers, Baylor University Carrol Library Texas Collection, Waco, Texas.

<sup>62</sup> Ledger of loaned mules by Captain Middleton Tate Johnson from George Barnard, 29 March 1849, Box 6, Folder 21, Barnard-Lane Papers, Baylor University Carroll Library Texas Collection, Waco, Texas.

<sup>63</sup> "Inflation," Bureau of Labor Statistics, Accessed December 11, 2019, <https://www.bls.gov/bls/inflation.htm>.

<sup>64</sup> Henry C. Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas* (Buda: Citizen Press, 1968). 11-13.

did not necessarily suit them. Instead, this aspect of their business was placed on the shoulders of George Barnard.<sup>65</sup>

The Torrey Brothers trade stations throughout Texas were also frequented by various American armed forces, particularly during the war with Mexico. Soldiers who were sometimes tasked with long overland journeys totaling over a thousand miles often resupplied on rations and items at one of the Torrey Brothers' posts. This resulted in the firm playing an important role in the war effort. Through this trade, Barnard found himself in excellent position to make tremendous profits from the conflict.<sup>66</sup>

By the end of the conflict, the Torreys had grown wealthy enough from their trade posts that they retired from the fur business to pursue other endeavors further west. While trying to build his reputation in the Trans-Pecos region of western Texas, David Torrey was killed by Mescalero Apaches during a failed trade expedition on the Rio Grande outside of El Paso on 25 December 1849.<sup>67</sup> He was accompanied by a detachment of approximately one hundred Texas Rangers from the company of Jack Hays while searching for an adequate location to set up a post to benefit off the Santa Fe Trail trade. David's death left John Torrey as the sole inheritor to the Torrey family fortune. John safely migrated to California by the end of 1849 to pursue land speculation, a move that left his family's business activities in Texas to Barnard alone. John's California dream was short lived, however, as he later returned to New Braunfels in October 1850 to open

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<sup>65</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 3-5.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 11.

a wood mill and door factory. While he remained retired from the fur trade, Torrey continued to be a crucial business connection to Barnard for the remainder of the 1850s.<sup>68</sup>

The Torreys shaped Barnard into a savvy businessman throughout the 1840s. Under their tutelage, Barnard was trained in bookkeeping, management, and accounting. Beginning in 1845, the Torreys introduced him to their many East Coast business contacts.<sup>69</sup> Barnard travelled widely throughout Texas under their employment, which allowed him to form relationships with dozens of Native American groups, cross paths with countless Texas Rangers, and parley with high-ranking American military officers. For all intents and purposes, Barnard was fashioned as the Torrey brothers' heir-apparent to their trade practice, set up for financial success and a life of means.

The Mexican American War allowed Barnard to diversify his business to such a degree that he was able to set himself up as an autonomous businessman.<sup>70</sup> After Barnard was freed from his contractual obligations with the Torreys on 16 March 1849, he quickly moved to monopolize the fur trade in Texas as an independent merchant.

Barnard enjoyed a rapid rise to success largely due to his business approach. Initially, in the late 1840s, Barnard's trade was largely regional. His commercial activities were confined to trade with local Native American groups, Euro-American settlements, and frontier outposts of the Texas Rangers or U.S. Army while he was still just the Torrey's manager of the Tehuacana Creek post. After he started his own independent trade practice in 1849, Barnard widened his clientele every year, starting

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Strecker, *The Chronicles of George Barnard*, 24.

<sup>70</sup> John Torrey to George Barnard, 16 March 1849, Box 6, Folder 11, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

with commercial ties in Galveston later on in 1849, Houston in 1850, and New Orleans in 1851. By 1851 Barnard had established business connections throughout the East Coast facilitated by his relationship with John Torrey.<sup>71</sup>

The onset of the Mexican American War created an urgency on the Texas frontier that only George Barnard and his employers could satisfy. While the conflict was fought on several fronts, Central Texas played a crucial role in the conflict. The Rio Grande Valley and Northern Mexico were two of the areas where a brunt of the fighting took place from 1846 to 1848. Several Texan and American military forces that saw action in these areas stocked up on supplies at the Tehuacana Creek Post. Because of the scarcity of trade posts on the way to Mexico, essentially, every major post or supply station that armed forces passed by were either owned by the Torrey Brothers Firm or ran by Barnard.<sup>72</sup>

From 1846 to 1848 Barnard outfitted Texas Ranger companies under the command of Lt. Colonel Peter Hansborough Bell, Colonel Coffee Jack Hays, Captain Shapley Prince Ross, and Major Middleton Tate Johnson with items such as mules, riding supplies, weapons, and preserved foodstuffs.<sup>73</sup> As a result, several outfits of Rangers became indebted to Barnard. On several occasions, soldiers who could not afford to supply themselves while at the Tehuacana Creek Post bought items on credit. Items bought on credit sometimes put entire divisions of Rangers into Barnard's debt. The loaned items accrued hefty sums of interest, sometimes amounting to thousands of

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<sup>71</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 26-28.

<sup>72</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 39-43.

<sup>73</sup> Ranger Debt Ledger in Account with Barnard, May 1846, Box 8, Folder 6, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

dollars, as was the case with Major M.T. Johnson in June 1847.<sup>74</sup> Since some of these debts went unpaid well into the 1850s, Barnard effectively had some of the most powerful military and political figures in his pocket, and they often had special privileges bestowed upon him.<sup>75</sup>

During the war, Texas Rangers were mustered for either three-month, six-month, or one-year periods of service. These companies played crucial roles in the battles and skirmishes that led to American victory over Mexico. The companies under the command of Colonel Bell were belligerents in the battles of Palo Alto on 8 May 1846 and Resaca de la Palma on 9 May 1846 as well as several engagements in Northern Mexico, distinguishing themselves with honor at the Battle of Buena Vista on 23 February 1847.<sup>76</sup>

Captain Shapley Ross and Major Johnson commanded their own divisions within Colonel Bell's regiment. Each of these officers only saw six months of service at a time, returning to Texas for rest and relaxation between tours of duty. During their sojourns in Texas, these men would often restock their Ranger divisions on supplies at the Tehuacana Creek post. As a result, each of them forged longstanding business relationships with Barnard that lasted well into the 1850s.

Shapley Ross became associated with Barnard through his service under Colonel Bell in the Mexican American War in 1847. Ross visited the Tehuacana Creek Post in April 1847 and loaned over \$2,000 worth of supplies from Barnard, the equivalent of

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Promissory Note to Settle Debts in Account with Barnard, June 1849, Box 11, Folder 4, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>76</sup> Charles Robinson, *The Men Who Wear the Star: The Story of the Texas Rangers* (New York: Public House, 2000). 94-97.

some \$63,000 today.<sup>77</sup> This figure was a nearly insurmountable sum for most military men of the era, who earned about seven dollars a month during the Mexican American War.<sup>78</sup> Ross received his discharge from the military in January 1848, moved to Waco in 1849, and by 1850 operated a post office and a hotel in the settlement. Nonetheless, Ross still could not afford to settle his debts with Barnard. To square off his bill, Ross married his daughter Mary to Barnard on 27 December 1850, forming one of early Waco's most powerful and well-connected families.<sup>79</sup>

Middleton Johnson kept ties with Barnard years after the war. While Johnson never accumulated crippling debts to Barnard like many of his fellow officers did, both men maintained professional ties for the remainder of their lives. By 1850, Johnson was a Lt. Colonel in the U.S. Army and one of the most successful planters in Tarrant County, approximately one-hundred miles north of the settlement of Waco. Barnard and Johnson continued trading throughout the 1850s. Barnard sold weapons, mules, and farming equipment to Johnson and the army fort in Tarrant in exchange for cash.<sup>80</sup>

Peter Bell became one of Barnard's most crucial connections during the late 1840s and early 1850s. Since he heavily relied on Barnard for supplies during the American campaigns in Northern Mexico from 1846 to 1847, Bell returned the favor to Barnard after the war. Although the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 made the sale of liquor to Indians illegal, Barnard frequently ignored the law. In May 1852, Barnard was

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<sup>77</sup> Shapley Ross in Account with Barnard, April 1847, Box 6, Folder 11, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>78</sup> "How Much US Troops Were Paid in Every American War," Business Insider, Accessed 2/9/2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/how-much-us-troops-were-paid-in-every-american-war-2018-3>.

<sup>79</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*,

<sup>80</sup> Johnson in Account with Barnard, 29 September 1851, Box 6, Folder 8, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

accused by several residents of the Waco Village of having sold liquor to Indians at the Upper Brazos Post. The grievance barely went noticed as Peter Bell, who was elected governor of Texas on 21 December 1849, pardoned Barnard for the alleged crimes on 17 May 1852.<sup>81</sup>

Beyond politics, Barnard had powerful connections within the U.S. Military. Jack Hays was the commander of the First Regiment of Texas Rangers in the early days of the Mexican American war. Hays's regiment also stocked up on wartime supplies at the Tehuacana Creek post. The grandnephew of Andrew Jackson and a personal friend of Sam Houston's, Hays was an important figure at the time. Major Hays and his troops played a central role in the American victory at the Battle of Monterrey in September 1846. The First Texas Rangers served valiantly as scouts and snipers in the engagement.<sup>82</sup>

Victory was secured by American forces at Monterrey on 24 September 1846 and shortly thereafter in October, Major Hays's Ranger regiment was disbanded by General Zachary Taylor. From November 1846 to April 1847, Hays returned to his home in Seguin, Texas, while on leave from the conflict. Hays was called back into service, with the commission of Colonel, when his former regiment was mustered into federal service by General Taylor as the Second Regiment of Texas Mounted Rifles of the U.S. Army in January 1847.<sup>83</sup>

Beginning in May 1847, Colonel Hays' Second Mounted Rifles began patrolling the supply lines between Corpus Christi and Veracruz, participating in guerilla skirmishes

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<sup>81</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 15.

<sup>82</sup> James Greer, *Colonel Jack Hays: Texas Frontier Leader* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1952). 239-242.

<sup>83</sup> Greer, *Colonel Jack Hays*, 127-130.

with Mexican militias and roving Comanche bands. The route between Veracruz and Corpus Christi was crucial to American forces serving in Mexico as it was the shortest and fastest seaborne line of supplies. For most of 1847, Colonel Hays oversaw the Second Regiment of Texas Mounted Rifles' operations in the Rio Grande Valley. He sent small parties of troops north to either report Comanche or Mexican troop movements to government officials in Austin or restock on supplies at the Tehuacana Creek post. Although the Mexican American war was near its end, Barnard continued to make profits off the military forces engaged in the conflict.<sup>84</sup>

The war ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on 2 February 1848. Despite the cessation of the fighting, Barnard managed to strengthen his commercial ties to the armed forces who engaged in the conflict. Many of those forces remained in Texas after the treaty and Barnard was familiar with many of the high-ranking officials that stayed.

Just because Texas was no longer at war with Mexico, it did not mean its frontiers were secure. There were still dozens of Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa bands active in defending their territory from encroachment, disrupting the Texan economy through raids and theft. The armed forces that stayed in Texas allowed for Euro-American settlement to expand even further west, which created new socio-economic pressures for Native Americans and changed the autonomous nature of Barnard's business practices as an Indian trader.

A smallpox epidemic in 1848 and a cholera epidemic in 1849 swept through the southern plains and decimated the indigenous population of the Brazos River Basin,

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<sup>84</sup> Greer, *Colonel Jack Hays*, 240-245.

greatly affecting Barnard's fur trade in those years. While the epidemics impacted Barnard's business in the short-term, causing a significant drop in the traffic of furs through his trade post, he was still able to monopolize the trade taking advantage of the fact that his direct competition went out of business. The American Fur Company, America's largest fur company in the 1840s, liquidated in 1847. Barnard's main rivals in Texas, the St. Vrain and Bent Company, which briefly operated from Fort Adobe in far Northwest Texas, and Bent's Fort and Fort St. Vrain in Colorado, collapsed at the end of 1849 due to financial losses from the epidemics. During the slow fur-trade years onset by the diseases, Barnard managed to remain profitable due to the military connections he had made during the Mexican American War.<sup>85</sup>

After the war, Barnard diversified his business even further to adapt to the changing times. As the Euro-American settlement frontier expanded, he moved more of his business into towns and settlements that emerged in Central Texas during the early 1850s. He maintained his military connections and used them to constantly expand his business horizons. Furthermore, Barnard made a small fortune off the interest he accumulated from soldiers fighting in the war. The total amounts of debts owed to Barnard by Texas Rangers and Mounted Riflemen servicemen was around \$10,000, approximately \$330,000 today.<sup>86</sup>

While Barnard made tremendous profits off the Tehuacana Creek post during the Mexican American War, he simultaneously conducted many other types of business on multiple fronts. Settlements, like Fredericksburg, founded in 1846, Ft. Worth, founded in

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<sup>85</sup> Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005). 227-231.

<sup>86</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 18—20.

1849 or Waco, also founded in 1849, rapidly emerged in Central Texas during the middle of the nineteenth century as the frontiers were pushed further west by Euro-American migration. These new towns needed supplies to thrive, which conveniently placed Barnard in the position to forge longstanding connections with new clients.

Supplying frontier settlements was an intelligent, self-sustaining, business practice utilized by Barnard. Since there were new towns consistently springing up in the Brazos River Basin during the 1850s, there was always a demand for his services. When Barnard arrived in Texas in 1838, the total population was approximately 50,000 people. By 1845 the population had risen to 125,000 people, 135,000 in 1847, and approximately 160,000 by 1850. Barnard, simply put, was in the right place at the right time.<sup>87</sup>

From 10 December 1846 to March 1847, Barnard also furnished German settlers heading from the Texas coast to the new settlement of Fredericksburg. In December 1845, John Torrey met Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels and John Meusebach, the leaders of the *Adelsverein*, in Houston. The *Adelsverein* was a German immigration society geared towards aiding the relocation and settlement of Germans in Texas.<sup>88</sup> He promised that the Torrey Brothers Firm would supply German immigrants destined for the Hill Country with food, weapons, and wagons.<sup>89</sup> The supplies were sent from the Tehuacana Creek post by Barnard in December 1846 and reached New Braunfels in April of the same year. The German immigrants travelled to New Braunfels from Indianola or Galveston by their own means. They were given the promised supplies on the trip from

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<sup>87</sup> "Population Statistics," United States Census Bureau, Accessed 2/7/2020, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html>.

<sup>88</sup> Gelo, Daniel J., and Christopher J. Wickham. *Comanches and Germans on the Texas Frontier: The Ethnology of Heinrich Berghaus*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2017.

<sup>89</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 12-14.

New Braunfels to Fredericksburg. On 23 April 1846, one hundred twenty German families led by Meusebach left New Braunfels with the Torrey Firm supplies and reached Fredericksburg on 8 May 1846. Barnard sent regular monthly shipments of supplies to Fredericksburg for about a year after it was established, until March 1847.<sup>90</sup>

From March to April 1847, Barnard forged additional trade connections in Fredericksburg. Since he maintained many of the relationships with German settlers, he furnished who resided in Fredericksburg, the Torrey & Brothers Firm opened a branch store in there in April 1847. Marcus Trumble, a Torrey Firm employee and apprentice of Barnard's at the Tehuacana Creek post, served as the store manager.<sup>91</sup> The branch store primarily operated as a supply station for the locals, and while it was not uncommon for furs to be trafficked through the Fredericksburg store, it primarily served as a waystation for journeymen passing through to another destination. The most important asset of the store was its location; Fredericksburg was a major settlement located near trade routes that linked it to Houston and San Antonio, resting on the edge of the vast expanses of *la Comanchería*. As such, the town served as a crucial supply station, marking one of the edges of Euro-American settlement in Texas. Fredericksburg quickly became an important frontier settlement, boasting a population of around a thousand people by 1848.<sup>92</sup>

George Barnard grew wealthy enough from his trade enterprises with indigenous groups and Anglo *militaries* and towns that, on 16 March 1849, he purchased the

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<sup>90</sup> Shipments from the Tehuacana Creek to Fredericksburg, 22 February 1847, box 6, Folder 7, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>91</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 12.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

Tehuacana Creek Post for \$10,000 (today's \$334,200).<sup>93</sup> The post was visited by Ferdinand Von Roemer, a German-Texan scientist, on 8 May 1847. He described it as sitting on a wooded hill covered in pebbles that overlooked the Tehuacana Creek from a vantage point. From the top of the cliff that overlooked the Tehuacana, a viewer could see as far as thirty miles in all directions, and find two long wooden houses that stored dried pelts and meat, and a general store between the two that acted as Barnard's workplace.<sup>94</sup> At the time Barnard purchased the post, Euro-American settlement was growing rapidly in Central Texas. The post now catered to the needs of far more people than just his traditional indigenous customers. Barnard addressed the needs of early-Waco's indigenous, military, and civilian populations. People throughout the area relied on Barnard to provide the tools and supplies necessary to maintain a homestead. In 1843, Barnard had been the only non-indigenous resident in the middle and upper Brazos Valley; by 1850, approximately one thousand Euro-Americans called the area home.<sup>95</sup>

Waco was officially established as a village on 1 March 1849 after Shapley Ross purchased a one-hundred-acre plot of land and built the first house of the new settlement. From March to December of 1849, the layout of the settlement was plotted, and the first businesses and houses were built. The village of the Waco Indians was actually located approximately eight miles southeast from Barnard's trade post on the Tehuacana Creek and approximately twelve miles from the newly founded town.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> John Torrey Sells George Barnard the Tehuacana Creek Post, 16 March 1849, Box 11, Folder 3, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>94</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 14.

<sup>95</sup> "Population Statistics," United States Census Bureau, Accessed 2/7/2020, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html>.

<sup>96</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 40-41.

From February to April 1849, George Barnard opened the Upper Brazos Post in present-day Somervell County for his younger brother, Charles, who mostly traded with Penateka Comanches, Tonkawas and other Native Americans there, while the Tehuacana Creek Post remained a crucial outpost for military interests on the frontier. The new post was intended to maximize George Barnard's profits on multiple fronts and provide his brother with a business partnership. Charles ran a successful operation on the Upper Brazos. His transactions nearly doubled his brother's revenues each year the post existed from 1849 to 1854!<sup>97</sup>

For most of the early 1850s, Charles and his wife Juana were the sole non-indigenous inhabitants of West-Central Texas. The Upper Brazos Post was at the heart of Comanche territory. Consequently, Euro-American settlement was slow to reach the area. Charles mostly dealt in furs at the post and by 1850, he essentially cornered the fur trade monopoly in Texas for his brother, George.<sup>98</sup> The post consistently received and processed thousands of pounds of animal skins throughout the 1850s, with over 8000 furs passing through the post in 1851 alone. Seasonal workers stayed at the post in the spring and summer months to collect the furs and freight them overland to either Waco, Houston, or Galveston. William Marlin and Leonard Williams, two early-Waco settlers, were some of Barnard's most important freighters in the early 1850s. George Barnard employed several freighters during his years as the operator of the post, however, Marlin and Williams show up in his personal writings far more than any other person who

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<sup>97</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 18-22.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

shipped freight for him. In 1850 alone they freighted over 20,000 pounds of furs for the Barnard brothers.<sup>99</sup>

Barnard's trade post in Waco also served as a supply station for the settlers of Marlin, separated by only 23 miles. William Marlin's father, John, founded Marlin, Texas on 21 January 1851. Barnard employed William as a fur freighter in the 1840s before the town of Marlin was established. John Marlin chose the location of his new town because his son had become acquainted with the area while working with Barnard. Moreover, the town of Marlin depended on Barnard's trade and knowledge of the area for its early survival.<sup>100</sup>

Marlin was not the only settlement near Waco that relied on Barnard's business. Belton, named after Barnard's colleague, Peter Bell, was incorporated as a town by the Texas legislature in December 1851. Aside from its proximity to Waco, separated by just 45 miles, Belton played another important role to Barnard's business. There was a Ranger station along the banks of the Leon River, built in 1843, immediately next to the settlement of Belton. The station played a crucial role in patrolling the frontiers around Central Texas. Barnard saw the opportunity and, at the time of Belton's incorporation in 1851, he was the main supplier to the Leon River station.<sup>101</sup>

From January to March 1851, Barnard moved his primary trade post from the Tehuacana Creek to the burgeoning Waco Village, a sizeable settlement of 152 people at

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<sup>99</sup> Marlins and Williams Notice to Ship Freight for Barnard, 15 December 1850, Box 7, Folder 3, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>100</sup> John Marlin in Account with Barnard, May 1851, Box 7, Folder 3, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>101</sup> Barnard Sends Supplies to the Leon River Station, April 1851, Box 7, Folder 3, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

the time.<sup>102</sup> It supported farms, ranches, plantations, a Baptist church, and a river-port that ferried buyers and sellers to and from the town market. Relocating to Waco made the most sense for Barnard from a business standpoint. Increasing numbers of Euro-American settlers pushed the Texas frontier further west and Barnard's indigenous clients with them. Barnard mainly moved his side of the business to Waco since his brother, Charles, resided at the Upper Brazos Trade Post, near present-day Glen Rose, and lived much closer to the Native groups with whom they traded.<sup>103</sup>

Although Texas was on the winning side of the Mexican American War, its' frontiers were not deemed safe by the federal government. From 1848-1849, Major General George M. Brooke was commissioned to establish a line of forts spanning from the Rio Grande to the Red River to protect the Texas frontier from Native American depredations. Maj. General Brooke was a veteran of the Mexican American War and familiar with the landscape of Texas. These forts strategically divided the state into two parts, areas settled by Euro-Americans, and "free land" still inhabited by indigenous peoples. In theory, the forts protected Euro-American settlements from Indian raids coming from the north and west and potential threats from Mexico from the south. The fort line comprehensively spanned Texas, with each fort capable of supporting a garrison of up to 1,200 men, although several forts, such as Fort Graham, only housed a few dozen soldiers at a time. If a threat was ever posed anywhere on the frontier, a fighting force could be mustered in a matter of hours.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 34.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 234-237.

On 27 March 1849 Fort Graham was established immediately west of Waco as a scouting station on the edge of Anglo settlement in Texas. Fort Graham was important to Barnard because it laid between the Waco Village and the Upper Brazos Post. While Barnard and his brother traded with Indians, their shipments on the frontier were not always safe from indigenous raids on their way to market. Fort Graham provided Barnard protection, and thus helped his business grow. Furthermore, he opened a supply store in the fort that he regularly stocked. From this store, Barnard directly traded with settlers and army clientele that resided at the fort. Barnard maintained his business activities at the fort until it was closed in 1853 due to its residents moving further west.<sup>105</sup>

On 6 June 1849 Fort Worth was established as a frontier military outpost to curb indigenous raids from the southern plains. Barnard's associate, Middleton Ross, was one of the primary founders of the fort. Ross and Barnard kept correspondence after the war well into the 1850s.<sup>106</sup> While Barnard did not make as much profits off his enterprises at Fort Worth as he did at his stores in other frontier forts, his ties to the area remained strong. One of his longstanding employees at the Tehuacana Creek Post, Jesse Chisholm, occasionally worked as liaison between Barnard and the military forts in the Brazos River Basin, acting as a scout and supply runner during the early 1850s. Chisholm would later become a central figure in Fort Worth's burgeoning cattle industry during the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Fort Graham Account and Inventory Book, Undated 1853, Box 11, Folder 3, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>106</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 41.

<sup>107</sup> Chisolm to Barnard from Fort Worth, January 1851, Box 6, Folder 7, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

On 24 June 1851 Fort Belknap was founded as a midway point between Fort Worth and the Waco Village and as a protection measure for Euro-American settlements against indigenous encroachment from the Indian Territory or the Llano Estacado. Another one of Barnard's well-established employees, Jim Shaw, permanently moved himself and his family to a plot of land in the area of Fort Belknap in 1852. He served as Barnard's representative in the north in addition to fulfilling roles as a fort scout due to his knowledge of the frontier and linguistic skill; Shaw could speak Spanish, Lenape, and English, and knew Indian Sign Language. Barnard opened a supply store at the fort in June 1853, ran by Shaw. Barnard's subsidiary company model ensured that he always had a steady cash flow, an important factor considering the fur market was consistently unpredictable.<sup>108</sup>

Barnard catered to indigenous groups from as far away as New Mexico or the Indian Territory. Comanche bands often travelled hundreds of miles east and south to trade at Barnard's post on the Upper Brazos. Cherokees and Wichitas from the Indian Territory braved a harsh journey, sometimes up to 350 miles, through hostile Anglo territory in the Trinity River Valley in North Texas or through Rusk County or Nacogdoches in East Texas, to trade at Barnard's posts. Whatever their reasons, Barnard's Tehuacana Creek post was important to countless indigenous people's economic practices. Barnard mostly exchanged mules, hatchets, beads, and clothing to Native Americans in return for primarily animal skins. From March 1851 until February

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<sup>108</sup> Ft. Belknap Status Report, 20 July 1853, Box 7, Folder 6, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

1854, Indians who traded with Barnard conducted their negotiations solely at the Upper Brazos Post ran by his brother, Charles.<sup>109</sup>

The lucrative Indian trade would be short-lived. On 6 February 1854, the Texas legislature passed a law that set aside over 35,000 acres of land for the purpose of creating and sustaining Indian reservations along the Brazos River. On 26 April 1854, the land was divided equally between two reservations, totaling 18,576 acres each. The one which came to be known as the Brazos Indian Reservation was located between Fort Belknap and Fort Graham, and housed Caddo, Tonkawa, Wichita, and Anadarko Indians. The other one, called the Comanche Indian Reservation, was placed on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River, and was inhabited mainly by members of the Penateka Comanche division. This area corresponds to present-day Young and Throckmorton Counties, respectively.<sup>110</sup>

In May 1854, Barnard opened another branch store at the Brazos Indian Reservation. It was home to approximately 2,000 Indians. The residents were primarily Anadarko, Caddo, Tonkawa, and Waco Indians. The store offered simple items such as blankets and canned foods for sale to the Indians. The new reservation policy, however, greatly restricted Barnard's business practices. About a quarter of his clientele was forced onto the reservation and no longer had autonomy in their hunting and trapping activities. The Indian trade Barnard had once made his wealth off was in jeopardy because of the new reservation policy.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 48.

<sup>110</sup> Neighbors, Kenneth F. *Robert Simpson Neighbors and the Texas Frontier, 1836–1859*. Waco: Texian Press, 1975.

<sup>111</sup> Barnard Opens a Branch Store on the Reservation, May 1854, Box 7, Folder 11, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

The Comanche Indian Reservation was far less successful than the Brazos reservation. Only around 450 Penatekas settled on the reservation. Residents would often leave the reservation either to trade or to seek greater protection from “wild” Comanches and Kickapoos. The Penatekas still frequented the nearby Upper Brazos Trade Post, keeping Barnard’s fur trade alive. After 1854, however, primarily just Penatekas were trading furs to Barnard. By this time, he essentially was no longer a frontier fur trader, but instead was a wealthy and well-connected businessman in the city.<sup>112</sup>

Throughout the early 1850s, Barnard primarily shipped freight to the port of New Orleans. His links to that city dated back to 1842, when he was shipped there from Perote Prison in Veracruz, Mexico for his role in the 1841 Texas-Santa Fe Expedition. In 1853 New Orleans, he on average fetched seven dollars per pelt at the market, where he would only earn two dollars on average in Houston.<sup>113</sup> Another benefit to New Orleans was that it was not far by sea from Houston, where Barnard had deep ties. From a business standpoint, it made more sense for him to utilize the much larger trade-market in New Orleans that was not present in Galveston or Houston.

Barnard inherited the Torrey Brothers’ previous connections in the city after he bought their business in 1849. One of the valuable connections he made was to the merchant George Kendall, who had had a long relationship with the Torreys in Houston for much of the 1840s. New Orleans became a crucial hub in Barnard’s business. The city served as a starting point to expand his business further east. By 1851, however, Barnard

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<sup>112</sup> Neighbours, *Neighbors and the Texas Frontier*.

<sup>113</sup> New Orleans Market Prices, 28 February 1853, *The Texas Republican Newspaper*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

ran two successful trade posts and several subsidiary stores across Texas; he began to think beyond the Port of New Orleans.<sup>114</sup>

In order to meet growing demands in the fur trade, Barnard expanded his business to new places in the east in 1851. Barnard could fetch more money for furs in the East than he could at markets in Houston or New Orleans. Raised in Connecticut, Barnard was familiar with East Coast merchants' culture and trade firms. His former employers, the Torrey Brothers, were also from New England. They did business with several trade firms in New York City and Boston in the 1840s. Barnard inherited most of these ties after the Torreys' retirement.

On 10 January 1851, Barnard forged a trade partnership with Grant & Barton Company, a New York City-based trade firm. Since Grant & Barton specialized in all matters related to the fur trade, the partnership between Grant & Barton and Barnard was a match made in heaven. Barnard had furs carted overland from his posts in the Waco Village and along the Upper Brazos to Houston or Galveston, largely by William Marlin and Leonard Williams, and then subsequently shipped to Grant & Barton in New York.<sup>115</sup>

Grant & Barton shipped over 20,000 of Barnard's furs from Texas to New York City from 1851 to 1854. This made up a fifth of the total amount of furs Barnard handled in the 1850s. Through this newfound partnership, Barnard reached new levels of wealth. He made an average of \$2000 per fur shipment from 1851-1854 and averaged a shipment a month. The Grant & Barton Firm opened Barnard's business to a brand-new playing field accompanied by tremendous wealth. Before Grant & Barton, Barnard was simply a

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<sup>114</sup> Armbruster, *The Torreys of Texas*, 30-32.

<sup>115</sup> Barnard and the Grant & Barton Firm Join Together, 10 January 1851, Box 11, Folder 7, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Waco, Texas.

frontier merchant and regional businessman. After he made business ties to them, however, Barnard's commercial activities became a national enterprise.<sup>116</sup>

On 3 February 1851 and 8 March 1851, to satisfy the growing demands of his company, Barnard acquired two freight ships totaling \$50,000 from the ports of Galveston and Houston called the Stephen F. Austin and the Star Texas Republic.<sup>117</sup> While the ships were a sizeable investment, Barnard sometimes paid up to \$1200 in transportation fees per shipment. The prices received from shipments constantly varied, demands in fur oscillated. Worms sometimes got into the furs on the long ship journey from Texas to New York and ate through them, almost entirely devaluing the pelts. To combat losing profits on lost merchandise, Barnard offered five cents more per barrel of furs to create a larger inventory to be shipped during much of the early 1850s. By the time the fur market slowed down in 1854, coinciding with the establishment of the Indian reservations in Texas, Barnard had accrued an astounding amount of wealth, equivalent to millions of dollars in the present-day. Throughout the early 1850s, Barnard began to utilize his wealth in manifold ways.<sup>118</sup>

In February 1852, Barnard became a charter member of the Waco Masonic Lodge. The founding fathers of the lodge included prominent Waco residents such as John Marlin, Shapley Ross, and Neil McLennan. McLennan was the second Anglo-settler to immigrate to the area of present-day Waco after Barnard, and the first to buy land in

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<sup>116</sup> Grant & Barton Firm Skin Sales, 22 July 1853, Box 8, Folder 4, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>117</sup> Barnard Receives Word of his Ships, 30 June 1851, Box 7, Folder 6, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>118</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 37-39.

1845. Many of Barnard's business associates were heavily involved with the lodge, Barnard no doubt used his membership to advance his economic prospects.

On 12 May 1852, Barnard added land speculation to his business repertoire buying a one-hundred-acre plot in Waco for \$1,000.<sup>119</sup> The land was located outside the cultivated area of the settlement. Barnard plotted off several multi-acre sections of the property from 1852-1854 to sell for a profit and expand the Waco Village in the process. By the time he resold all the land, he had more than tripled his investment.<sup>120</sup> On 28 May 1852, Barnard bought a piano for \$1,400 from New York City as a belated wedding gift for his wife, Mary. He accumulated such a degree of wealth that he could frivolously purchase a gift that cost far more than what most people wished to make in several years.<sup>121</sup>

By 1853 George Barnard had forged business connections with at least thirteen mercantile firms, primarily in the American Northeast, through his prior affiliations with the Torrey brothers. These firms were in New Orleans, Boston, and New Orleans. Some of the firms Barnard entered a higher degree of transactions with were the DuBois Firm from New Orleans, Berrett and Company from Boston, and the Grant & Barton Company and the Long Island Fur Traders of New York City. By July 1853, Barnard regularly shipped furs to warehouses in New Orleans, Houston, Boston, and New York City. From December 1850 to December 1855, Barnard and his associates shipped and sold over 100,000 pounds of furs to the Atlantic market.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 37-40.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Barnard Buys Mary a Piano, 28 May 1852, Box 6, Folder 7, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>122</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 38.

Barnard managed to keep his business model balanced, pulling in income on several fronts. He pounced on every professional opportunity that ever presented itself to him. His account book for 1853, for instance, indicates that over thirty percent of his business transactions for the year were with the Army forts in North-Central Texas. Fifty percent was tied up into the Indian trade, and the last twenty percent was associated with land titles, general store profits, and livestock sales.<sup>123</sup>

While Barnard enjoyed financial success on many fronts, he closed the Upper Brazos Post in March 1854, largely due to the new reservation policy. For all intents and purposes, this forever ended his role as a fur trader. Barnard served as the Texas frontier's premier Indian merchant and fur trader for over a decade. Although this was a blow to his business, he invested into his other companies and professional pursuits to recuperate.

Barnard became the owner of Waco plot number one on 12 September 1854. The one-hundred-acre plot was given to him by Shapley Ross because of an outstanding debt amounting to \$2000. Perhaps Ross still owed Barnard debt payments from loaned goods during the Mexican American war, or maybe it was a gift for being a good husband to his daughter. Nonetheless, that plot is where George and Mary Barnard built their permanent residence. Their descendants still live there today. By the end of 1854, Barnard was a prominent landowner in the Waco Village. He accumulated hundreds of acres of land in

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<sup>123</sup> Barnard's 1853 Account Book, 20 December 1853, Box 6, Folder 8, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

the area during the 1850s and subsequently sectioned it off into plots and sold them for a hefty profit.<sup>124</sup>

While Barnard grew wealthy from the fur trade, the reservation policy greatly restricted his business. Even though his partnership with the Grant & Barton Company lasted until his retirement, he lost one East Coast connection after another after the Indian reservations were established in the Brazos River Valley in 1854. By the beginning of 1856, he primarily conducted business with military forces and law enforcement officers in Texas. His business outside of Texas slowly died off since he no longer had access to a constant supply of animal pelts.

In sum, between 1838 and 1855, George Barnard became one of the most successful merchants in Texas. He began his life in Texas as an Indian trader but quickly capitalized on the growing military presence in Texas in the context of the Mexican American War. By the start of the 1850s, Barnard led a respectable enterprise as an independent businessman and was responsible for supporting the needs of a heterogeneous and numerous assortments of people along the Upper Brazos.

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<sup>124</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 40-43.

### **III. GEORGE BARNARD'S LATER LIFE: BUSINESS, DEVELOPMENT, AND POLITICS, 1855-1883**

After Fort Graham closed in 1853, George Barnard began to focus on strengthening his ties in North Central Texas, approximately the area between Fort Belknap and Fort Worth, in order to continue exercising his near monopoly on the regional trade. The wealth and good favor he earned from his business with the military allowed Barnard to operate freely in trade negotiations with indigenous peoples. As the Euro-American population in the area of the Upper Brazos River Valley between Waco and Fort Worth rapidly expanded in the mid-1850s, Barnard seized the opportunity to make a profit.

Barnard and his brother began to heavily invest in the development of the Upper Brazos Valley. They increased their real estate investments between present-day Glen Rose and Waco in 1855 buying vast amounts of land and selling large portions of it to incoming Euro-American settlers. Since the new settlers arriving in Central Texas were dependent upon the Barnards for supplies, they served as their new client base almost immediately after losing a large percentage of their Native American patrons to the reservations. The Barnards also traded with, and sometimes provided scouts to, the forts in the area. The multifaceted business operated in many capacities in several areas of Texas; such as the fur trade, acting as pseudo military contractors and suppliers for the Texas Fort Line, and furnishing the growing Euro-American population in the Upper Brazos Valley with land, food, and supplies during the 1850s.

George Barnard made a fortune from the fur trade, giving him the financial security and flexibility to pursue other business ventures. Charles Barnard had been

crucial to his brother's business since he migrated to Texas in 1844. In the 1840s, Charles acted primarily as assistant manager to George; in 1850, he was elevated to full partner in his brother's business. During the 1850s, Charles's and George's roles in their business were very similar. They traded with Native Americans, military forts, and Euro-American settlers. They also maintained a complex network of trade with Atlantic markets that provided frontier settlers in Central Texas with the latest fashions and trends from the east. George, however, remained the leader of the organization.

When the Upper Brazos Post closed operations in 1854, George Barnard still owned a trade license to operate in the area, that he later sold to his brother. Charles remained active in the Upper Brazos Basin years after the post's closing, he built a homestead and lived there with his wife, Juana, and continued to trade with reservation Indians and independent Comanches on the frontier. Charles used the license to legally operate a trade operation in the Upper Brazos Valley, which made him irreplaceable not only to his brother, but also to the Euro-American settlers and indigenous peoples of Central Texas.<sup>125</sup>

George frequently made visits to his brother's home, approximately sixty miles west from the Waco Village, where he maintained his relations with Comanches. On these voyages, George grew extremely familiar with several Penateka Comanche bands that travelled through Central Texas on their ways to Mexico. On one occasion, he even saved Waco from the might of the Comanches after he was warned by an unspecified chief that they planned to make a raid in the area for livestock, something Barnard relayed to the area's Texas Rangers who ensured residents stowed their livestock indoors

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<sup>125</sup> Jim Kimmel, *Exploring the Brazos River: From Beginning to End* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011). 94-95.

for the night. While the Comanche were his clients, so were the white settlers in the Waco area. Any sort of conflicts between the regions' Euro-American and indigenous populations would be extremely detrimental to his business activities.

Charles took a liking to the trade much like George. Apparently, George decided to live a more urban lifestyle starting in the late 1850s. He was a wealthy man by then and wanted to invest his money and time elsewhere. The reservations took away a large percentage of Barnard's clients in the mid-1850s, therefore it did not make much sense for him to invest his business heavily in the fur trade anymore. George finally decided to leave the fur and Indian trade responsibilities of his business to his brother, Charles, in 1857.<sup>126</sup>

Now that George and Charles's roles were clearly defined, their simple frontier business evolved from a trade firm to a multifaceted company. They had interests on many fronts, including trade, military contracting, and real estate. Charles ran the fur trade and some of the military fort trade, while George lived lavishly in Waco and ventured into other business opportunities. Over the course of the next decade, George worked on projects such as land development, frontier scouting for the Army, and bringing the railroad to Waco.

Beginning in 1855, George almost entirely left the Indian trade dynamics of his business to his brother and focused on real estate investments and his interests with the military. George not only traded with the military and operated stores in some of their

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<sup>126</sup> John K. Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard: The Indian Trader of the Tehuacana and Other Bits of Texas History* (Waco: The Baylor Bulletin, 1927). 27.

forts, like Fort Graham, but also acted as a scout and negotiator on several occasions in U.S. Army excursions in many areas of North-Central and West Texas.<sup>127</sup>

George Barnard's real estate operations were nominal at the beginning of the 1850s, only possessing a few hundred acres. By 1856, however, he owned over a thousand acres in the area of Waco and began developing the land into one acre parcels to facilitate the growing number of Euro-American migrants to the area. Incoming settlers bought and leased land from Barnard. Many of the new settlers in the Upper Brazos came from impoverished areas of the Deep South, like Eastern Tennessee or Western South Carolina, and Western Europe, such as the German states, and could not afford to purchase land from Barnard. Therefore, they essentially became tenant farmers. By this point, Barnard was not only wealthy, but also a prominent and powerful figure in much of Texas.<sup>128</sup>

Despite leaving the fur trade to his brother and flirting with other business in the late 1850s, George Barnard also maintained strong business connections in San Antonio, Houston, and Fredericksburg. His ties at the port of Houston were crucial to the transportation of the cargo he sent to Atlantic markets. His trade stores in San Antonio and Fredericksburg remained integral subsidiary companies to his business model that always promised profits. He ran a multi-faceted company that not only made him and his brother wealthy men, but also helped develop the frontiers of Central Texas.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> Kimmel, *Exploring the Brazos*, 95.

<sup>129</sup> Barnard's Daybook, Undated 1855, Box 7, Folder 2, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

Beginning in February 1855, the number of troops stationed at Fort Belknap increased to protect the line of Euro-American settlement in Central and North Texas from Comanche and Kiowa raids. The area between Fort Worth and Fort Belknap, or approximately the large area between the Upper Brazos and Upper Trinity rivers, was being rapidly developed for settlement. Hundreds of settlers made their way to the area every year in the mid-1850s. Fort Worth, McKinney, Denton, Waco, and Dallas were all settlements of over one hundred people by 1856.<sup>130</sup>

Euro-American settlers in this region were highly exposed to Native American encounters during the 1850s. Occasionally, Comanche and Kiowa warriors raiding between the Upper Brazos and Upper Trinity River Valley took livestock and sometimes captives. These raids and attacks contributed to the hostile atmosphere that existed between Euro-Americans and Native Americans in the late 1850s.<sup>131</sup> Fort Belknap was only a few miles away from the Brazos Indian Reservation and bordered the easternmost fringes of *Comanchería*. As a result, Euro-American settlers on the Texas frontier were brought into close contact with indigenous groups who resented encroachment on their lands. Newspapers across Texas mentioned the recurrent racial violence on Native Americans in the area of Fort Belknap. Increasing hostile interactions, in-turn, greatly fueled the reciprocal animosities between these groups.<sup>132</sup>

Relations between white settlers and Native Americans were not always antagonistic, however. Many settlers felt sympathy for the Indians that were forced to

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<sup>130</sup> Gary C. Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 288.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Indians Killed by the Erath Company, 29 January 1859, Dallas Herald, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

leave their traditional lands for the reservations. Indians from the Brazos Reservation, including Caddos and Tonkawas, would likely take up arms against Comanches if a raid occurred, in this case their interests aligned with Euro-Americans. Conversely, reservation Indians were often blamed as a convenient scapegoat by Euro-American settlers for stolen or missing livestock if the real culprit could not be found. People like Robert Neighbors, however, were advocates for reservation Indians and took many strides at ensuring their safety and agency in a society weighted against them. Many Euro-Americans took indigenous spouses, as is the case with Jim Shaw and Jesse Chisholm with their wives. Relationships between whites and Native Americans were a polarizing subject in Euro-American communities in Central Texas during the 1850s.<sup>133</sup>

Barnard tried to appease all parties in the Upper Brazos. Peace only meant more profit for him. He operated separate areas to trade with Euro-Americans and indigenous peoples in his posts and stores throughout Texas. Barnard thought, “out of sight, out of mind”. He would give information about the Comanche to the forts, then would give information about the military to the Comanche. Barnard’s motive was never vindictive, he did not wish for the army to wipe out his indigenous customers based on his information, nor did he want the Comanche to kill, kidnap, or steal from white settlers and servicemen. He wanted to keep all groups separate to try to maintain a situation that was best for his business.<sup>134</sup>

Barnard went to such great lengths to ensure the sustainability of his business that he even joined up with the military in service against the Comanches. During the late 1850s, Comanche raids were extremely prevalent on the frontier of Texas, so frequent

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<sup>133</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 286-290.

<sup>134</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 18-19.

that they were bad for Barnard's business with the military and Euro-American settlements. By the mid-1850s, the profits Barnard made from Euro-Americans and military servicemen far outweighed the profits he made from trade with the Comanche. As a result, Barnard frequently accompanied Captain Earl Van Dorn on his operations against Comanches during the late 1850s.<sup>135</sup>

Earl Van Dorn was a career military man from Mississippi, well connected in Southern society. He was a great-nephew of President Andrew Jackson and brother-in-law of John C. Calhoun, Jackson's Vice President from 1829 to 1832 and a U.S. Senator of South Carolina from 1832-1843, and again from 1845 to 1850. Because of his connections, Van Dorn was educated at West Point and granted the commission of second lieutenant in the U.S. Army in 1842. Van Dorn was an officer in Peter Bell's Second Mounted Riflemen from 1846 to 1847. During this time, Van Dorn met Barnard in March 1846 while the Second Mounted was stocking up on supplies at the Tehuacana Creek Post. He served with bravery and distinction in many battles of the Mexican American War, learning his way around the Texas frontiers in the process. While the war provided Van Dorn his first taste of Texas, he would not return until 1855. In the interim, he primarily fought against the Seminole in Florida and trained soldiers in the southeast. Van Dorn was recognized by his superior officers as a very efficient Indian fighter and a masterful recruiter. It was because of these skills that Van Dorn was brought back to the Lone Star State. He was sent from East Pascagoula, Mississippi to New Orleans in January of 1855 and was back in Texas by March.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 286-287.

<sup>136</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 314-315.

On 3 March 1855, Van Dorn was granted the commission of Captain of the Second Cavalry by Lt. Col. Albert Johnston while stationed at Fort Belknap. Johnston was his commanding officer during the Mexican War and wanted someone of Van Dorn's skillset leading troops against Indians in Texas. Van Dorn was perfect for the job, he was somewhat familiar with Texas, he had battle experience against several indigenous groups, and was acquainted with the most prominent Indian trader in the state. Van Dorn was tasked with protecting Euro-American settlements in North Central Texas from increasing Comanche and Kiowa movements in the area. He immediately began whipping the garrison at the fort into shape for combat readiness. He realized he would need people who knew the area and his enemy. As a result, Van Dorn sought out the services of Barnard and several of his part-indigenous associates.<sup>137</sup>

In April 1855, Captain Van Dorn and his detachment of riders began scouting and patrolling North-Central Texas between Dallas and Waco. This was the first time Barnard supplied Van Dorn with crucial information, informing him of important locations that might need protection from raids, like the burgeoning cattle ranches between Fort Belknap and Waco.<sup>138</sup> For most of 1855, Van Dorn and the Second Cavalry primarily operated out of Fort Belknap as scouts and security details for Euro-American settlers. Some of Barnard's employees and longtime associates assisted in scouting the area for the army including the Delawares, John Conner and Jim Shaw.<sup>139</sup> After settlement in the area of Fort Belknap were deemed safe, they were sent to help establish and oversee a

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<sup>137</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 286.

<sup>138</sup> George Barnard and Shapley Ross to Earl Van Dorn, April 1855, Dallas Herald, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

<sup>139</sup> Indian Operations, 9 August 1856, Dallas Herald, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

new army fortification, Camp Cooper, on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River in early 1856.<sup>140</sup>

Lt. Col. Johnston, under orders of the U.S. Army, established Camp Cooper in January 1856 to monitor the Comanche Reservation on the Clear Fork of the Brazos. Van Dorn and his detachment of the Second Cavalry arrived at the camp in the beginning of February. Shortly thereafter in March, the remainder of the Second Cavalry, under the command of Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee, met the rest of the garrison at Camp Cooper. The Barnard brothers informed them of Comanche movements and acted as the camp's primary supplier. On 1 July 1856, tipped off by Barnard, Van Dorn's mounted division intercepted and defeated a small Comanche band outside of Fort Belknap.<sup>141</sup>

Van Dorn continued to patrol North Central Texas for the remainder of 1856 and 1857 on Barnard's information. Barnard even joined Van Dorn on one of his expeditions against the Comanche on 12 September 1858. The operation deemed "The Wichita Expedition" was tasked with bringing the Penateka chief, Buffalo Hump, to justice for the years of raids he carried out in Texas.<sup>142</sup>

The U.S. Army conscripted one hundred thirty-five warriors, led by Barnard's brother-in-law Lawrence Ross, from various indigenous groups in the Brazos Indian Reservation to accompany the two hundred twenty-five Second Cavalry soldiers led by Van Dorn. Barnard primarily acted as an interpreter and intelligence provider for the group. On 1 October 1858, based on Barnard's and Indian auxiliary information, the

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<sup>140</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 286.

<sup>141</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 285-288.

<sup>142</sup> Major Van Dorn's Expedition, 12 September 1858, Dallas Herald, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

group encountered a Comanche force of around five hundred warriors camped outside of a Wichita Village along the Canadian River in the Indian Territory. After several hours of fighting, seventy Comanches were killed and sixty stolen horses were recovered by Van Dorn and his men. The expedition was hailed as a success, making Van Dorn famous and adding to Barnard's already prominent and reliable reputation.<sup>143</sup>

On 3 April 1857, Peter Bell's last term as a U.S. Congressman ended. Bell allowed Barnard to frequently break Indian trade laws during his terms in office. Without Bell, Barnard lost a crucial piece to his business, government protection. Although Barnard had primarily transitioned the trade dynamics of his business to his brother, he still enjoyed its profits. The end of Bell's political career greatly impacted Barnard's business, it was the deciding factor for him to move away from the Indian and fur trade altogether and leave it to his brother, Charles.<sup>144</sup>

In April 1857, Barnard sold his business in Waco to the Fox & Jacobs Firm.<sup>145</sup> The firm, the first Jewish company in Central Texas, primarily built frame houses, ran trade stores, and dealt in real estate. They were crucial in the early development of Waco, Fort Worth, and Dallas, largely based on the contacts they inherited from Barnard. They developed much of the infrastructure in the area. Barnard was left to enjoy and invest his wealth. In selling his side of the business to the Fox & Jacobs firm, Barnard officially retired from his career as a merchant, however, he remained active on many fronts throughout the frontier until his death in 1883. Barnard continued speculating in land,

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<sup>143</sup> Charles M. Robinson, *The Men Who Wear the Star: The Story of the Texas Rangers* (New York City: Random House, 2000). 117-119.

<sup>144</sup> Todd Smith, *From Dominance to Disappearance: The Indians of Texas and the Near Southwest, 1786-1859* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 224.

<sup>145</sup> Barnard Sells Waco Store to Fox & Jacobs, April 1857, Box 12, Folder 2, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

occasionally crossing paths with the Fox & Jacobs firm, and his business with the military.<sup>146</sup>

Throughout the mid-1850s, the Barnards purchased thousands of acres of lands between the Waco Village and the Upper Brazos Post. They developed a brilliant business strategy. Since much of their indigenous patrons were now living on reservations and no longer had the freedom to hunt and move freely, they brought in their own clientele by selling plots of land in the Upper Brazos to Euro-American settlers.

Charles primarily bought tracts of land in the Upper Brazos Valley, approximately in the area where his post was located. George continued to buy land in the greater Waco area, collecting over three thousand acres by the start of 1857. Their idea was to buy as much land as possible to create one giant tract of land between Milam County and the Waco Village for Euro-American settlement. They created a self-sustaining business model and their own mini monopoly. They controlled all means of production, owned all the land, and carried all the supplies settlers needed to build a homestead.<sup>147</sup>

Charles Barnard and his associate, Herman Quimby, served as land surveyors for the enterprise. Since 1845, they were the only Anglos that permanently resided in the Upper Brazos. As a result, they were extremely familiar with the area and picked the most suitable locations for settlement. After choosing the locations, the pair plotted out tracts of land ranging from fifty to one hundred fifty acres per plot.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 56.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> Land Surveys on the Upper Brazos, Undated 1857, Box 7, Folder 4, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, University.

In 1857, Barnard opened his vast tracts of land between Milam County and the Waco Village for settlement. Hundreds of pioneers made their ways to his land in Milam County, approximately four miles north of the Upper Brazos Post. The settled area was along a tributary of the Brazos River that was traditionally inhabited by Comanche groups. By 1858, Barnard established and supported a small Euro-American settlement along the tributary called George's Creek, between present-day Cleburne and Glen Rose in eastern Somervell County. For most of the late 1850s, Barnard sold land in and around George's Creek. The settlement thrived and remained profitable for Barnard until his death.<sup>149</sup>

On 1 October 1858, Barnard's longtime employee and colleague, Jim Shaw, fell from the roof of his house and died. Shaw was not only one of Barnard's last Indian connections to the fur trade, he was also the manager of Barnard's store at Fort Belknap and one of his most crucial intermediaries with the military. Shaw was also a massively important figure on the frontier. He monitored the Brazos Indian Reservation and served as an example of indigenous agency in a Euro-American dominated society. His death signaled that change was on the horizon for the Barnards business.<sup>150</sup>

Throughout 1858, tensions surrounding the Texas Indian reservations reached a boiling point. Hundreds of horses and livestock had been stolen and over a dozen Euro-American settlers were murdered. While these crimes were no doubt carried out by both Indians and Euro-Americans, reservations Indians took a brunt of the blame. There was nothing Barnard could do to mitigate the situation. His contacts with the Indians were either dead or moved on to other business and he lived too far-away from the action to

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<sup>149</sup> Kimmel, *Exploring the Brazos*, 92-96.

<sup>150</sup> Death of Jim Shaw, 1 October 1858, Dallas Herald, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

make an impact. Interethnic violence increased steadily and on 11 June 1859, an agreement was announced between the federal government and the state government of Texas to remove all reservation Indians north of the Red River.<sup>151</sup>

In July 1859, Robert S. Neighbors, the resident Indian agent on-site at the Brazos Indian Reservation, was appointed by Governor Hardin to lead all reservation Indians out of Texas. From 31 July 1859 to 14 August 1859, Robert S. Neighbors, accompanied by Texas Rangers and U.S. Army soldiers, led approximately one thousand reservation Indians into the Indian Territory. When Neighbors returned to Fort Belknap from the Indian Territory on 14 September 1859, he was shot point-blank in the back of the head and killed by a local resident, Edward Cornett, who was unhappy that Neighbors helped the reservation Indians to safety.<sup>152</sup>

By the end of 1859, Barnard's business had fully transitioned from an Indian trade firm to a real estate and military contracting company. The Indian trade in Texas was essentially over and Barnard accumulated enough wealth to live comfortably. Upon his pseudo-retirement, it seems he wanted his brother to achieve the same financial success he did.

After the reservation Indians were removed from Texas by August 1859, Barnard began to set up his younger brother and business partner, Charles, in a position to take over their business independently. By this time, George was firmly rooted in Waco with his sights aimed at retirement. Charles lived on the frontier with his wife, Juana, trading and interacting with nomadic Indians and Euro-American settlers alike.

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<sup>151</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 314-319.

<sup>152</sup> Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas*, 319-326.

In January 1859, George sold his title to the Upper Brazos Post to his brother, Charles, for \$3,950. This allowed Charles to run his very own legal trade operation in the area. For most of the late 1850s, the Barnard brothers had been selling land in the area for Euro-American settlement. George had primarily been the one to supply the incoming settlers. Now that Charles owned the license, he was their primary caretaker.<sup>153</sup>

In January 1860, George and Charles Barnard bought six hundred and forty acres of land along the Paluxy River in Milam County, approximately eight miles away from the original Upper Brazos Post. Charles meant for this section of land to develop into a settlement, much like George's Creek approximately twelve miles to the south. They developed the land and throughout 1860, George and Charles built a grist mill and townhome in the Upper Brazos, called Barnard's Mill.<sup>154</sup>

Charles began to sell tracts of land surrounding his homestead in February 1860. By March 1860, Barnard's Mill grew into a settlement, attracting over a hundred Euro-American settlers to the area. People came to the area because a tributary of the Brazos River flowed straight through the settlement. There was bountiful wildlife and rich, black soil to sew crops in.<sup>155</sup>

In May 1860, Charles opened a fully licensed trade store at the mill to satisfy the settlement's growing population. The settlement was thriving. There was a market, ranches, farms, and an active slave-auction. By this point, Charles ran his own business, independent from George, and was successful at it too. Barnard's Mill continued to grow

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<sup>153</sup> George Sells License to Charles, January 1859, Box 7, Folder 4, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>154</sup> Kimmel, *Exploring the Brazos*, 95-97.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

for the remainder of the nineteenth century, becoming the present-day town of Glen Rose.<sup>156</sup>

George Barnard's involvement with the Masonic Lodge increased dramatically in the 1860s. Although he had been a member of the lodge since 1852, Barnard was too busy with his myriad enterprises to participate heavily in the chapter. After he retired from much of his business in the late 1850s, Barnard became more involved with the lodge. It was a practical move for him because he was intimately tied with many members of the lodge, either through family relation or prior business dealings. The lodge was the home of the rich and powerful of antebellum Waco, it seemed only fitting that Barnard take part.

In the early 1860s Barnard became a supporter of the Democratic Party. Many members of the Masonic Lodge No. 92 in Waco, such as Shapley Ross and Neil McLennan, were staunch Democrats. Democrats were in power throughout Texas, including the Waco Village. For both personal and financial purposes, Barnard supported the party. It was in Barnard's best interests to join, he clamored for wealth and notoriety. By the onset of the Civil War in 1861, Barnard had climbed to the rank of Master, or leader, of the Waco Masonic Lodge.<sup>157</sup>

Barnard, like other Texas Democrats, supported the secession of Texas from the United States. By this point, most of Barnard's business was in the state, he already moved away from his Atlantic contacts. In terms of profit, it made more sense for Barnard to keep his interests local rather than national. The Civil War did little to slow

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard*, 27.

Barnard's business, in-fact, he thrived. Barnard and other members of the Masonic Lodge No. 92 were active in developing the cattle and rail industries in Waco. To them, the livestock and railroad businesses were one in the same. Powerful Wacoans realized that if the city were to prosper, it needed a railroad. To ensure these industries came to Waco during the 1860s, Barnard and the members of the lodge were heavily active in local and state politics.<sup>158</sup>

In April 1864, Barnard and other members of the masonic lodge petitioned the Texas Legislature for the construction of a suspension bridge over the Brazos River in Waco. The suspension bridge was to be the first suspension bridge in the United States west of the Mississippi River. In theory, the bridge increased economic productivity in Waco, laying the infrastructure for the future cattle and railroad industry that dominated the city in the late nineteenth century.<sup>159</sup>

Beginning in 1865, Waco became a major stop in the cattle trade that spanned from South Texas to the Indian Territory. One of Barnard's former employees, Jesse Chisholm, was at the forefront of the industry, blazing many of the trails from Texas to the Indian Territory. Because of this crucial connection, Barnard played an integral role in helping develop the Waco cattle industry during the 1860s.

In March 1866 the Texas Legislature granted Waco permission to build the suspension bridge and lay the foundations for rail-lines. Initially the area of Waco had been a vital trade node that linked indigenous and Euro-American worlds together, now it was a burgeoning settlement of massive importance. It was located at the middle of the

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<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

cattle trails between Austin and the Indian Territory and was the midway point on the rail from Houston to Dallas. For the remainder of the 1860s, Waco developed into one of the most prosperous cities in Texas.<sup>160</sup>

On 5 November 1866, Barnard became a charter member of the Waco and Northwestern Railroad Company. Since the Texas Legislature granted the railway to Waco a few months prior, Barnard and other investors moved quickly to ensure their own profits. Barnard spearheaded the railroad movement in the city, he even drove the first stake when construction of the railway began later in the month.<sup>161</sup>

By the end of the Civil War, George Barnard had transcended the profession of Indian trading and transitioned into the role of business mogul. He accumulated massive wealth, the 1860 Census shows that his worth was \$56,540, or \$2,149,085 in the present day.<sup>162</sup> He conducted business with the military throughout Texas, helped develop Central Texas, and was integral in developing the cattle and rail industries of Waco. Barnard started out as a miscellaneous middling journeyman, but through the life he secured through the Indian trade led him to become a millionaire, rich in land and capital.<sup>163</sup>

In the 1870s, the Upper Brazos Valley was a burgeoning area of economic and urban development. By then, nearly all of the Indians of Texas had been forcibly removed from their territories and new Euro-American towns and settlements, like Glen Rose, sprung up along the many creeks and water sheds of the Upper Brazos. George

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> Kimmel, *Exploring the Brazos*, 95-98.

<sup>162</sup> "1860 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 2/25/2020, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html>.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

Barnard was well established as one of the top entrepreneurs in Central and North Texas. Barnard brought urbanization, industry, and civilization to Central Texas through his actions and business activities in his later life.

Throughout the 1860s and well into the 1870s, the Barnard brothers contributed substantially to the development of the Upper Brazos Valley. George's business endeavors were primarily centered on bringing a viable railroad to Waco that connected the area's booming cattle industry to markets in the Southwest and Midwest. He also focused on developing George's Creek into a legitimate settlement. His brother and business partner, Charles, was headquartered in Barnard's Mill, approximately fifteen miles down the Brazos River from George's Creek, where he surveyed and sold land to settlers and ran a gristmill that dominated the local economy.

The cattle industry in Central Texas was heavily promoted by George Barnard's previous years of trading with the area's indigenous population. For years, the trade of animal hides, including cowhides, was Barnard's main business undertaking.<sup>164</sup> When most Indian groups were placed in reservations on the Upper Brazos, however, he adapted his business practices. He began supplying the reservations with shipments of beef from the Waco Village and employed Delaware and Cherokee ranch hands to drive the product to market.<sup>165</sup>

Many of these indigenous ranch hands went on to play important roles in Texas history and the history of the American West, but none is better known than Jesse Chisholm, whose longstanding ties to Barnard and his businesses began in the early

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<sup>164</sup> Business and Legal: General 1861-1872, Undated 1866, Box 3, Folder 9, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

1840s.<sup>166</sup> Chisholm grew familiar with the groups detained in the Texas Indian Reservations before they were forced to march to the Indian Territory in 1859. Chisholm also had extensive knowledge about the Indian Territory itself, having been raised there by his mother several decades earlier.<sup>167</sup>

Chisholm and Barnard worked closely together after the Civil War ensuring Waco would be a center for the Texas cattle industry.<sup>168</sup> By this time, Chisholm resided in Kansas and regularly made cattle runs, trekking down to Texas then back through the Indian Territory on the return voyage home.<sup>169</sup> He became acquainted with the terrain of Texas and the Southwest in-part because of his close working relationship with Barnard. Barnard recognized the depth of Chisholm's frontier knowledge and ranging skills and maintained commercial ties to him until Chisholm's death on 4 March 1868.

The trails and paths blazed by Chisholm became crucial highways and avenues for Texas cattle to reach markets as far away as Missouri and Kansas, and beyond.<sup>170</sup> Cattlemen flooded to the area of the Upper Brazos, where Barnard and his brother conveniently sold land. So many cattlemen and ranchers moved to Waco by the 1860s, that the city gained a rowdy reputation as a major cattle town. Waco earned the nickname "The Six Shooter Junction" because of the high volume of brothels, gambling houses, and saloons that were located in the city's downtown to appeal to the cowboys.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Stan Hoig, *Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 54.

<sup>167</sup> Hoig, *Jesse Chisholm*, 7-16.

<sup>168</sup> Hoig, *Jesse Chisholm*, 157.

<sup>169</sup> Hoig, *Chisholm*, 162-165.

<sup>170</sup> Hoig, *Chisholm*, 148.

<sup>171</sup> William H. Curry, *A History of Early Waco with Allusion to Six Shooter Junction* (Waco: Texian Press, 1968), 12.

Chisholm's network of trails and routes tied the cattle economy of Texas to the burgeoning frontier economies in the American West and the well-developed industrialized economies of the Midwest and Northeast. The trail served as an avenue for ranchers to drive Texas cattle to terminals in Kansas and Missouri, such as Abilene and Kansas City, where the cattle was then shipped off further east or west, to places like Chicago and San Francisco. The long distance of the trail, a 1600-mile roundtrip voyage, or approximately the distance from Waco to Kansas City, in addition to the vast number of ranchers that migrated to Central Texas, exacerbated the need for a railroad to expedite the economic turnover of the cattle drives.

The Chisholm Trail was so popular among new arrivals that a solution was needed to cope with the sheer traffic of immigrants and cattle moving into and through Waco. By 1865, over 500,000 head of cattle were driven through Waco to the Indian Territory.<sup>172</sup> Up until this time, all cattle drives stemming from the Upper Brazos involved the use of slow moving wagon caravans that could sometimes take several months to reach its destination.<sup>173</sup> Not only was the voyage long, but it was also treacherous. Cattlemen had to traverse scorching landscapes that sometimes crossed straight through Comanche and Kiowa ranges.<sup>174</sup> Barnard and his colleagues found a solution: bringing the railroads to Waco.

The idea of a railroad for Central Texas was not new. In 1867, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company began construction on the rail lines that connected the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth to markets in Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory, in the West and

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<sup>172</sup> Cattle Records, Undated 1861-1872, Box 3, Folder 9, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> Hoig, *Chisholm*, 120.

Jefferson City, Missouri, in the East.<sup>175</sup> Waco was long the missing link in the chain that connected Houston to Dallas, and hence, the West. Houston had a rail line dating back to 1853 but its service was limited to the area surrounding the city, as far away as Galveston, with no rail lines stretching to the West.<sup>176</sup> To remedy this problem, Barnard and other privileged Wacoans successfully lobbied the State Legislature in 1866 for the right to lay rail from Houston to Waco.<sup>177</sup> A railroad in the vicinity of the Upper Brazos would expedite the transportation of cattle to faraway markets that would in-turn lead to higher profits and quicker returns for the investors.

Having grown up in Hartford, Connecticut, in the 1820s and 1830s, Barnard was conscious that the heart of New England, the areas between Hartford, Boston, and Providence, experienced rapid industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century. They were located at the heart of a major rail line, the Boston & Lowell Railroad, that dated back to 1835 and was one of the first railroads in New England. They also were major factory cities that lay at the center of the American textiles and fishing industries. Conversely, the area of the Upper Brazos had very little industry aside from agribusiness. The lack of industry was a major fighting point in the minds of many Texans during the dark days of the Civil War, something Barnard knew he could help bring to Central Texas, as he was a respected member of the Waco community well connected in the highest echelons of Texan society .<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Rosenberg, LJ, "Dallas and Its First Railroad," Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, (1976), 35-36.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> John K. Strecker, *Chronicles of George Barnard: The Indian Trader of the Tehuacana and Other Bits of Texas History* (Waco: The Baylor Bulletin, 1927). 25-26.

One of the main issues the state government historically ran into while bringing the railroad to Central Texas was that the area, unlike New England, lay at the crossroads of dozens of indigenous peoples. This impediment, however, was largely resolved when most of those Indians were forcibly removed from the Upper Brazos to the Indian Territory in 1859. While Barnard had for years made a living by trading with the area's Indians, he also understood that their ways of life were fast disappearing in Texas. He knew that he would have to adapt to the new times. The stage was set for Barnard to help usher Waco and its surrounding area into the modern, industrial age.

Construction of the railroad in Waco commenced almost immediately after confirmation from the state legislature arrived on 5 November 1866.<sup>179</sup> The massive project not only ensured that Waco became a crucial node of the Texas railroad system, but also secured the right for the city to build the first suspension bridge west of the Mississippi River.<sup>180</sup> The Central Texas cattle industry had a pressing need for a suspension bridge due to the geography of the area.

Waco and its hinterland lay at the confluence of two major water ways in Central Texas, the Bosque and Brazos rivers, and their far-reaching tributaries. These water ways acted as a boundary that cut Waco and its surrounding area off from Fort Worth and Dallas, the two other major regional cattle towns in Texas and crucial stops en-route to the Indian Territory, and ultimately from the route's final terminal in Kansas City. This made the need for a suspension bridge extremely necessary for the citizens of Waco.

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<sup>179</sup> James P. Baughman, *Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), 146.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

The Brazos River is an unpredictable water way. It is characterized by periods of extreme drought and flooding, with an average water depth of approximately twenty feet. During the hot and barren summer months between June and October, several of the river's streams in Central Texas can shrink to just a few inches, resembling nothing more than simple puddles or trickles of water. For example, the average annual rainfall for Waco in the month of July is just 1.6 inches, in comparison to the wettest month of April with an average of 5.9 inches. The wet and rainy season of Central Texas, typically from February to May, saw the Brazos River swell from flooding and table runoff. It is very common for the river to drastically change courses immediately after periods of drought and during times of flooding. This made the Brazos River an extremely dangerous and unpredictable boundary for ranchers to face.

Without the suspension bridge, cattlemen and cowboys risked losing their herds to the unpredictable waters. A cowboy leading a herd had to make the decision to either cross the rivers and risk losing valuable heads of cattle, or circumnavigate them, prologuing the voyage several weeks or even months. The bridge provided safety and allowed transporting a herd faster to market, thus increasing profits for the likes of Barnard.<sup>181</sup>

Diverse conjunctures delayed the construction on the railway and bridge. The original company authorized to build the rail was called the Waco Tap Railroad Company. Construction in Waco began in 1866.<sup>182</sup> The area, however, suffered heavy flooding in the late 1860s. Many of the surrounding towns had extremely poor roads and

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Baughman, *Southern Transportation*, 154.

infrastructure, even by nineteenth-century standards.<sup>183</sup> The Waco Tap Railroad Company suffered many setbacks in the late 1860s. As a result, the construction of the rail was slow. Between 1866 and 1871, only 140 miles of rail was completed between Houston and Waco, at an average of 28 miles of track laid per year. Furthermore, the company defaulted on several of its loans in the late 1860s. Ultimately the Waco Tap Railroad Company went bankrupt on 6 August 1870, and the company's shares were transferred to a newly founded company, subsidized by the Houston & Texas Central Railroad Company, called the Waco Northwestern Railroad. The Waco Northwestern Railroad was intended to be the midway point between Dallas and Houston.

The Southern Pacific launched its first train in Dallas on 16 July 1872 along what was called the Dallas Central Expressway, in what is now Mesquite, Texas. The population of Dallas was estimated to be just around 800 residents in 1871, a year before the railway was completed. By the time the expressway opened in mid-1872, the population of Dallas was reported to be around 1500 people, a factor of almost one hundred percent population growth in the span of just a year. Waco was then the last missing piece of the of the railroad that eventually helped transform the regional Texas cattle industries into a national economic force. Much like Dallas, Waco would see unprecedented booms in population during the construction of the railroad and in the subsequent years after its completion.

While the construction of the Waco railroad and suspension bridge were underway, the Euro-American population of Central Texas exploded. In 1859 Waco only supported a population of 749 free Euro-American residents and 2404 slaves. According

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<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

to the census of 1870, a little over a decade later, the Euro-American population had more than quadrupled to 3008, while the African American population nearly doubled to 4627.<sup>184</sup>

Under the new guise of the Waco Northwestern Railroad Company, the railroad was completed on 18 September 1872. Barnard, generally acknowledged as a key figure in bringing the railroad to Waco, drove the final stake into the rail to celebrate its opening.<sup>185</sup> With the Waco rail line finally completed after several years of lobbying and construction setbacks, Barnard and his brother Charles turned their attentions to further developing the infrastructure and industry in the Upper Brazos Valley.

Land in the Waco Village was relatively expensive by the standards of the time. A downtown property, parceled at one acre per lot, between first and fifth street cost \$10, while a property between fifth and eighth street, on the outskirts of the settlement, cost approximately \$5.<sup>186</sup> This amounts to about \$5,400.96 in today's currency per acre.<sup>187</sup> Conversely, across Texas, the homestead system in the 1870s granted 160 acres to male heads of household after completing three years of residency on a given tract of land.

The Barnard brothers provided an easy solution for fortune seekers arriving to the area: settle on Barnard land in the hinterlands of Waco for a fraction of the price of settling in town. George advertised cheap land in newspapers across the state offering to

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<sup>184</sup> "1870 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 9/2/2020,

<https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870a.html>.

<sup>185</sup> "George Barnard", Waco Masonic Lodge, Accessed 8/29/2020, <https://www.wacomasonic.org/george-barnard/>.

<sup>186</sup> Land Records, April 1872, Box 7, Folder 7, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>187</sup> "Inflation", Bureau of Labor Statistics, Accessed 9/2/2020, <https://www.bls.gov/bls/inflation.html>.

sell all the land he owned on a first come, first serve basis.<sup>188</sup> . Moving to the area was attractive for immigrants due to the boom of Waco and the increasing demand for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers in the fast-growing cattle, rail, and mercantile enterprises there.<sup>189</sup>

Immigrants or new arrivals had the option to lease land from the Barnards or buy property from them outright. Land was far cheaper in George's Creek and at Barnard's Mill than it was in the much more developed and populated settlement of Waco.<sup>190</sup> George charged \$0.25 cents an acre at George's Creek; a new settler in the area could buy forty acres outside of Waco for the same price of one acre in the city's downtown area.<sup>191</sup>

George's Creek was quickly established as a cattle town that supported and was reinforced by the agricultural economy of the much larger settlement of Waco. People made their way to the area from a diverse array of places. One settler of George's Creek, A.J. Berry from Nacogdoches, alone owned over 600 head of cattle in 1870. Some Germans from the Texas Hill Country and Euro-American, mostly Scotch-Irish, settlers came to the area from places further east in the United States like Tennessee and Kentucky.<sup>192</sup>

The same rowdiness characteristic of Waco at the time was present in the microcosm of George's Creek due to the prevalent cowboy culture of the region. Bar

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<sup>188</sup> Land Advertisements, 1 September 1871, Waco Democrat, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

<sup>189</sup> Curry, *Early Waco*, 16-20.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> Land Deeds, Undated 1867, Box 2B107, Folder 5, Carrol Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>192</sup> "1870 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 9/2/2020, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870a.html>.

fights, tussles in the street, and the dominant cowboy mentality led its inhabitants to nickname the settlement Fort Spunky to honor its feistiness.<sup>193</sup> Despite the boomtown environment of the area, with dozens of new settlers arriving each year, cattle always outnumbered the number of people in the town.<sup>194</sup>

Charles, on the other hand, developed Barnard's Mill somewhat differently. While residents of Barnard's Mill also raised cattle, they were mainly crop farmers.<sup>195</sup> Most of the residents settled there because of the rich black soil enriched by the abundant water shed of the Brazos River. The primary crops grown in the area were wheat and corn, that in-turn fed the settlement and nearby cattle industry. Charles developed a brilliant economic strategy: charge people \$0.10 cents per bushel to process the grains into flour at his mill. Since Charles owned the only Gristmill in all of McLennan and Hood Counties, there was huge demand for his services.<sup>196</sup>

Charles, like his brother, also charged \$0.25 per acre to settlers coming to the Mill.<sup>197</sup> By 1872, approximately 2,000 people had settled in the area of Hood Country between George's Creek and Barnard's Mill.<sup>198</sup> Hood County now boasted a comparable population to nearby Waco, however the settlement pattern in Hood County was far more

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<sup>193</sup> Thomas Ewell, *A History of Hood County, Texas, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present, Together with Biographical Sketches of Many Leading Men and Women Among the Early Settlers, As Well as Many Incidents in the Adjoining Territory* (Granbury: The Granbury News, 1895), 52-54.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> Ewell, *A History of Hood County*, 54-57.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> Land Records, April 1872, Box 7, Folder 7, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>198</sup> "1880 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 9/8/2020, [https://www.census.gov/.../1880\\_1.html](https://www.census.gov/.../1880_1.html).

dispersed than in McLennan County, where almost everyone resided within a few city blocks.<sup>199</sup>

Residents of Barnard's Mill grew so disgruntled with the unincorporated status of their settlement that by the end of 1872, several signed a charter petitioning the Texas Legislature to incorporate their town into its own separate county with its own jurisdiction and mayor.<sup>200</sup> Charles, realizing the situation at the settlement and the sheer importance of the mill itself, sold it to Major T.C. Jordan from Dallas on 24 April 1874, for an astounding \$65,000, approximately \$1.4 million in today's figures!<sup>201</sup> As per the conditions agreed by Charles when he bought the land from George several years earlier, George received forty percent of the funds generated by the land sale to T.C. Jordan. Charles took his wife Juana and their children a few miles downriver, took up residence in a homestead on land that he personally owned and disappeared from the documentary record until his death on 22 June 1900.<sup>202</sup>

George Barnard recognized another opportunity to increase his wealth with the new owner of Barnard's Mill. When Barnard's Mill was under the peerage of Charles, since Waco was nearby, he never really intended for it to become a large-scale settlement. After it was sold to T.C. Jordan, though, it became apparent that city planning was on the agenda. An urban infrastructure needed to be built.

The residents made preparations to see the settlement transition into a town. In July 1874, George Barnard was contracted to help build the settlement's post

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<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> Ewell, *A History of Hood County*, 62-64.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 65-67.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

office.<sup>203</sup> In addition to this, already owning land at Barnard's Mill, George built a satellite general store to supply the growing settlement with various supplies such as nails, wagon wheels, and sugar.<sup>204</sup>

The residents of Barnard's Mill finally saw their wish fulfilled on 15 March 1875 when the Texas Legislature incorporated their settlement as the town of Glen Rose and the county seat of the newly formed Somervell County.<sup>205</sup> Despite no longer owning the gristmill or the majority of the land in town, Barnard's name still carried weight in Glen Rose. T.C. Jordan owned land in the New Mexico Territory and frequently stayed there, leaving Barnard with great sway in the town. The first paved street in Glen Rose, on which the post office and general store were located, was completed in June 1875. It is still called Barnard Street.<sup>206</sup>

Barnard remained active in the socio-political landscape of Glen Rose almost until the end of his life. Given the growing population in the area, the first schoolhouse in Glen Rose was erected with the help of Barnard in 1877. Many of Barnard's acquaintances and colleagues from Waco migrated to Glen Rose during the 1870s, including several freemasons. So many freemasons found their way to Glen Rose that he opened the Masonic Lodge No. 525 on 11 December 1880 for them to conduct their meetings and business.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Ewell, *A History of Hood County*, 70-72.

<sup>204</sup> Glen Rose General Store Supply List, January-December 1874, Box 10, Folder 3, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Waco, Texas.

<sup>205</sup> Ewell, *A History of Hood County*, 137-140.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> "George Barnard", Waco Masonic Lodge, Accessed 8/29/2020, <https://www.wacomasonic.org/george-barnard/>.

In the 1870s Barnard managed his time fairly equally between his businesses at George's Creek, Waco, and Glen Rose. He had diversified his assets and activities so much, that it is difficult to label him with any profession at that point. Barnard grew so wealthy from the myriad entrepreneurial ventures he engaged in throughout his life and accumulated so much clout and respect from his frontier reputation that he began to actively engage in regional politics.

Since 1866, Barnard was the headmaster of the Waco Masonic Lodge.<sup>208</sup> Many of the community's rich and powerful who were also members of the lodge, like Shapley Ross or George Erath, looked to Barnard as their leader. He spearheaded the movement to bring the railroad to Waco and helped foster the cattle economy of the area. In short, Barnard helped his Free Mason colleagues get rich and was placed in privileged positions as a result.

Barnard was elected as a Waco city councilman in 1876 and went on to serve in that capacity for two more terms until 1880.<sup>209</sup> During this time, Barnard's oldest son, George M. Barnard enjoyed the fruits of his father's labor, which saw him quickly transcend into positions of power in Waco. In 1875, at just 20 years old, George M. Barnard was an officer in the Waco Fire Brigade.<sup>210</sup> In 1880 he was listed in the Texas Census as the Constable of the Waco Police at just the age of 25.<sup>211</sup> The younger George Barnard no doubt enjoyed the perks of having a prestigious name at a young age in Waco.

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<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> Barnard's City Council Hours, January 1880, Box 12, Folder 5, Barnard-Lane Collection, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>210</sup> Young Waco Firemen, Undated 1875, Waco Tribune Herald, Waco, Texas.

<sup>211</sup> "1880 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 9/8/2020, [https://www.census.gov/.../1880\\_1.html](https://www.census.gov/.../1880_1.html).

During his time as city councilman, George Barnard Sr. helped Waco develop even further into a modern city. He helped see through projects that brought major improvements to the city, including paved roads and factories along the Brazos River. He also helped drive down the price of land in Waco, so much so that the 1880 census reported nearly 7,500 residents residing in the city, a population growth of approximately 150% over the span of a single decade.<sup>212</sup> Barnard's last term as city councilman ended in December 1880. Shortly thereafter, he finally retired from all of his entrepreneurial endeavors to live out a quiet life with his tremendous wealth and the large family he sired.

In January 1880, Barnard placed a full-page advert in the Waco Democrat Newspaper announcing his retirement.<sup>213</sup> At the end of the month, a ball was thrown in his honor at City Hall by the Waco Police Department and the Waco Fire Brigade to commemorate his life and achievements. Many of Waco's elite were in attendance, including Shapley Ross, Neill McLennan, and George Erath along with many other Texas Rangers, former Confederate officers, and local politicians.

Barnard was now out of the public eye and able to enjoy his wealth and family. He made a sizeable donation of \$5,000 to Waco University for the construction of a campus library in 1880.<sup>214</sup> Since the Trinity River Baptist Association had founded the university in 1857, it had always had funding issues, changing its name three times before

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<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Barnard's Retirement Notice, January 1880, Box 3, Folder 12, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>214</sup> Sawyer, Amanda, "Waco University," Waco History, (2015), 1-10.

1866.<sup>215</sup> Barnard's eldest son, George M. Barnard, was educated there in the early 1870s. Perhaps supporting his son's alma mater was the reason for the donation.

Furthermore, Barnard also co-sponsored a campus center at Waco University, along with several other contributors, in the Spring of 1880.<sup>216</sup> The campus center's construction was completed in 1882. The event center was open to the public and located at the core of the university's campus. These buildings would not prove to be lasting testaments to Barnard's legacy, however, as Waco University was bought out by Baylor University in 1886 when the latter relocated to Waco. The campus buildings that Barnard helped erect were remodeled or destroyed after Waco University was absorbed into Baylor.<sup>217</sup>

After only a few years enjoying the returns of his labor, George Barnard fell ill in the Spring of 1883. He died in his sleep in his home on first street in Waco on 6 March 1883 and was subsequently buried at the nearby Oakwood Cemetery, approximately one mile away from the Barnard family home. The Yankee migrant become frontiersman, Indian trader, and the first white settler of Waco passed at 65.<sup>218</sup>

Barnard's death sent shockwaves across Central Texas. A full-page advertisement was posted in the Waco Democrat mourning his passing.<sup>219</sup> He was hailed as a true visionary and an instrumental figure in the development of Waco. Several Texas Rangers, local law enforcement officers and politicians, and the entire Waco Fire Brigade showed out to his funeral to send him off with honors.

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<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> Barnard's Funeral Notice, 6 March 1883, Box 3, Folder 17, Barnard-Lane Papers, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

Interestingly, Barnard drafted a will a few months prior to his death, in 1883. He had twelve children, seven of whom were adults at the time of his passing. He very broadly delineated that each of his children would receive twenty acres of land and a sum of \$2,000. The only child who he deliberately singled out to receive a larger amount was his eldest, Ellen Ross Bernard McLarty, who received \$20,000 and 200 acres even though she was already married to a husband who was expected to provide for her. Barnard never deliberately mentioned any favoritism amongst his children in any of his personal writings, so it is unclear why he made this exception in his last will and testament. Perhaps it was because Ellen gave birth to George's first grandchild a year prior to his death in 1882. This was the only grandchild Barnard ever lived to see.<sup>220</sup>

George Barnard was one of the most important figures in developing Waco into a modern and industrialized city during the late nineteenth century. He helped bring the cattle industry, the railroad, and settlers to Central Texas, reorienting his business practices at every step to adapt to the changing circumstances. As a figure so important to the fabric of a place, one would expect his legacy to be remembered well past his death.

This simply has not been the case for many reasons. Barnard's beneficiaries largely squandered his wealth after his death. His brother died bankrupt in 1900, only able to leave his six surviving offspring 200 acres between them all.<sup>221</sup> The only children of Barnard's that seemed to have remained prosperous well after his death were his eldest daughter, Ellen Barnard Ross McLarty, and his eldest son, George M. Barnard. Ellen lived comfortably off her inheritance until her death in 1929, while George opened his

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<sup>220</sup> Barnard's Last Will and Testament, January 1883, Box 3, Folder 17, Barnard-Lane Collection, Carroll Library Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>221</sup> "1900 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 9/12/2020, [https://www.census.gov/.../1900\\_1.html](https://www.census.gov/.../1900_1.html).

own furniture factory in 1888, a leather factory in 1890, and remained on the police force until four years before his death in 1920.<sup>222</sup>

Barnard's last surviving child, Catherine Barnard Lane, died in 1950. In all, Barnard had twelve grandchildren. Just recently, on 8 June 2020, Barnard's eldest living direct descendent passed away, Mary Ellen Dodson Barnard. She was born in 1934 and lived and died in Central Texas. She is survived by her sons Roy and Carl Barnard, and her daughter, Lisa Barnard --the last surviving descendants of George who carry the name Barnard.<sup>223</sup>

George Barnard became one of the most prominent businessmen of his time in Central Texas during the 1850s and 1860s. He expanded his business practices beyond trading and moved into several economic ventures. In the 1860s and 1870s Barnard primarily focused on real estate and bringing settlers to the Upper Brazos, along with developing the Central Texas cattle industry, and helping bring the railroad to Waco. By his death in 1883, he had amassed a massive wealth by the standards of the time and invested heavily in the infrastructures of early Waco and Glen Rose. Even though Barnard remains a little-known figure in the history of Texas, he contributed decisively to the initial settlement and development of the Upper Brazos River Valley.

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<sup>222</sup> "1920 Census," U.S. Census Bureau, Accessed 9/12/2020, [https://www.census.gov/.../1920\\_1.html](https://www.census.gov/.../1920_1.html).

<sup>223</sup> Mary Ellen Dodson Barnard Obituary, 8 June 2020, Austin Statesman, Austin, Texas.

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