

Jonas Gilman Clark (1815–1900)

Daguerreotype by J.H. Young, New York, c. 1858. Courtesy of Clark University Archives.

A Massachusetts Entrepreneur in Gold Rush California: Jonas Clark and the Economic Foundations of Clark University

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Abstract: *Most studies of Americans in the California Gold Rush era focus on those migrants from the eastern U.S. who remained in the newly acquired territory and became prominent in political or economic affairs. Few studies have been made of those who participated successfully in the economic and political development of California but who made profitable investments which, liquidated at the time they returned to the East, were reinvested in the burgeoning East Coast cities of the post–Civil War period. Fortunes begun in California could be used to raise the migrants’ status and permitted them to engage in European travel, book and art collecting, and philanthropy. This article describes the California years of Jonas Gilman Clark, who in 1887 founded a new university in central Massachusetts. Dr. Koelsch is Emeritus Professor of History and Geography at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.*

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Many books and articles have been written about easterners stricken by “gold rush fever” who remained in the Golden State until their deaths. Not so much has been written about those New Yorkers and New Englanders who went out to California in the 1850’s to seek their fortunes and returned, either flat broke or successful enough that they could contribute to the economic and social development of their home regions.¹ Among the latter group was Jonas Gilman Clark (1815–1900), a regional entrepreneur from Hubbardston, Massachusetts who returned from his eleven-year California sojourn (1853–64) with the beginnings of a substantial fortune. That fortune enabled him to invest in land and other economic activities in New York, Boston, and Worcester, to make several trips to Europe, to donate a library and town hall to his native town, and eventually to found a university in his home county.

THE YOUNG MASSACHUSETTS ENTREPRENEUR

Clark, the son of a prosperous farmer and stock raiser, attended Hubbardston’s winter district schools, worked with his father on seasonal farm tasks, and occasionally traveled with his bachelor uncle, a prosperous Boston merchant, on business trips. His only formal education was in the district school. But from an early age, young Jonas was encouraged to become an avid reader by his mother, who was a great reader herself. He began with the Bible and old political pamphlets and continued to add to his collection. Old books that area farmers brought to town along with their produce added to his library. One of the purchases he made from his mother’s legacy after her death in 1857 was a Doré Bible. As we shall see, he eventually began to collect many books and to join and then to build libraries to house them.

At sixteen, Clark apprenticed himself to a wheelwright and learned the art of carriage building, and after five years established his own carriage factory. In 1836 he married Susan Wright (1816–1904), a neighbor. As the town’s farmers began to manufacture wooden chairs in the off-season, Clark began trading carriages for chair stock, and from 1835 onward began marketing both carriages and chairs in Boston and elsewhere in New England.²

Around 1845, discovering there was a better profit margin in “tinware” than in furniture, Clark sold his carriage and chair shop and transferred his capital into the manufacture and sale of tinware and hardware. By 1845 he had taken his brothers into the business, put twenty-five teams on the road, and was selling his products throughout rural New England. Leaving



Susan Wright Clark (1816–1904)

Daguerreotype by J.H. Young, New York, c. 1858. Courtesy of Clark University Archives.

one brother to manage the manufacturing end, he expanded into general hardware and building supplies, opening retail stores in Hubbardston, Lowell, and, in partnership with a brother-in-law, Milford.

Jonas and Susan Clark were also active in the social reforms of the time. Clark was interested in the common school movement and was an admirer of Horace Mann. They were members of the Hubbardston Unitarian Church, where Jonas Clark taught a class in its church school. In the early 1840s

he and Susan Clark, along with his sister Caroline and her husband, James Alson Waite, became active in William Lloyd Garrison's New England Anti-Slavery Society, attending meetings both in Hubbardston and nearby towns, as well as the New England Anti-Slavery Conventions in Boston. The Clarks became officers of the North Division of the Worcester County Anti-Slavery Society, contributed money to the cause and hosted both black and white speakers in their Hubbardston home. They also knew Adin Ballou and others in the antislavery Utopian colony of Hopedale, Massachusetts. Clark was also a vigorous opponent of the American war with Mexico, begun in 1846.³

Around 1850 the Clarks moved to Boston, where Jonas Clark became interested in the possibilities of the newly lucrative California trade. In 1851 he sold his share in the tinware business to his brothers and also sold his stores. The following year he formed a partnership with Isaac Church, a partner in a Boston store selling crockery and glassware. Church and his brother had caught "California fever" and went out to California as the San Francisco managers of the firm of Clark and Church. Clark remained in Boston, using his capital from his earlier businesses to purchase and ship such staples as provisions, furniture, nails, hardware, farming tools, and miner's supplies via clipper ship around Cape Horn. Church had no independent entrepreneurial experience, however, and whether he was unskilled in management, incompetent, dishonest, or simply got caught in a downturn in the boom-and-bust cycles of early San Francisco, the firm experienced heavy losses and was out of business by early 1853.⁴

Clark then formed a second, happier partnership with a young Hubbardston, Massachusetts, native, George B. Wilbur. Using Clark's remaining capital, the new firm of Clark and Wilbur was able to ship out large consignments of miners' supplies and other goods. Late in 1853, the senior partner went to California himself to reestablish the office of his commission business there. Wilbur, who had some capital but no business experience, remained in Boston to do the purchasing and shipping, but under Clark's direction. It was a good year to restart the commission business. In 1853, 35 million dollars' worth of goods were imported to San Francisco, and an estimated fifty-seven million gold dollars were exported through that port city.⁵

THE MOVE TO SAN FRANCISCO, 1853

Susan Clark accompanied her husband on this still risky journey; the Clarks were among some 34,000 people arriving in San Francisco by sea in 1853. Their first time out the Clarks went by ship via Jamaica to cross the Isthmus at Nicaragua, crossing by river steamer and mule-back, surviving

the health hazards of disease-ridden tropical swamps without incident.⁶ Planning to remain about three months, they initially rented part of a house on Stockton Street, then a fashionable residential area, and near the Unitarian Church, which had been dedicated on July 19 of the same year.⁷

The city's economic situation at that time remained chaotic, but that business environment was not unsuited to a cautious investor like Jonas Clark. Many Eastern consignors, like Clark himself, had blamed their California agents for the losses that had followed the monetary crisis of 1850-51. Yet the unpredictability of the local market, compounded with the fact that it took six months and two trips around Cape Horn for an order to be filled, wreaked havoc with everyone's business forecasts. (This was before the completion of the Panama Railroad in January 1855). By late 1853, San Francisco was once again enjoying a temporary boom, that being the year of the largest yield of gold from the mines. Beginning early in the following year, however, San Francisco experienced a local period of depression that lasted into 1856. After a brief recovery, the national effects of the Panic of 1857 began to affect the local economy.⁸

For his first two and a half years in San Francisco, Jonas Clark continued as a commission merchant, importing and selling goods from the East. Hanging over him at the start were the debts of his failed partnership with Church and the necessity of re-establishing his credit both in San Francisco and Boston. The bitter experience of business failure in association with a comparative stranger had taught him a lesson he did not forget. Yet even the persons to whom he owed money had confidence in his honesty and business ability, and the energy and care with which both partners conducted their business affairs brought them favorable comment in spite of the lingering debt.⁹

In surviving family letters, Clark is apologetic about not having written because of the pressures of business. In late February 1854, he apologized to his parents for not writing earlier because of "so many business letters to write." Anecdotal evidence for that period suggests that he led a hard-charging business life that often kept him at his office until midnight or later. Every two weeks, on the nights before the mail steamer left for Panama, he would go to the post office with gold to send back east just before the mails closed. Susan Clark often told her nieces later that, since in those days "a man accompanied by a woman was safe from attack at any time on the streets in San Francisco," she would escort her husband for his protection. On mail nights they would reach home after 2 a. m.¹⁰

Busy as he was, Jonas Clark found time for his avocation: books and reading. The San Francisco Mercantile Library had been founded in January

1853 by a group of business and professional men, a number of whom had been members of the Vigilance Committee of 1851. It was a membership library, but open to the public (both men and women). The directors had set aside twenty free memberships for “meritorious young men” who might not be able to afford the membership fee of \$3.00 per quarter. The 1854 collection of 3,000 volumes grew to nearly 12,000 by 1860. In addition to its books, the Library offered literary and historical lectures, and others on current affairs. Jonas Clark is listed as a shareholder as early as 1854, and the President’s Report of 1857 reveals he had become a Life Member during the previous year.¹¹

During the depression, falling real estate prices (declining by 20–50%), declining rental rates in the business area, and lowered building costs meant that Jonas Clark could find space in a large and prominent downtown building and commence manufacturing with only a modest capital outlay. Since wages in the building trades declined with demand and construction prices, he was able to hire skilled craftsmen at lower wages as well.¹²

As historian Rodman Paul has noted, in 1850s San Francisco “it took courage to venture upon manufacturing.” But, having paid his remaining debts and accumulated some working capital, Jonas Clark abandoned the larger part of his commission business and, in 1856, now doing business as Jonas G. Clark & Co., embarked on the manufacture of furniture, and restricted his imports to fine furniture and nails, the latter still not locally manufactured, thereby engaging in both wholesale and retail sales. The center of his operations was the four-story “Clipper Warehouse” on Washington Street, a principal retail street favored by local businessmen and their wives for shopping and dining.¹³

Clark subsequently opened a store in Sacramento, which had daily shipping service from San Francisco, as well as retail outlets in Stockton and San Jose. He advertised his stock as “the largest ever offered on the Pacific Coast,” and in 1856 had furniture on hand valued at \$200,000, an enormous inventory for those days. In an autobiographical sketch, Clark tells us that he had virtually a monopoly on furniture wholesaling on the West Coast, “a business built up,” he boasted to his father in 1859, “by my own energy and perseverance.”¹⁴

By 1858 reporters for Dow and Co pointed to the firm’s large stock, saying it was “doing an enormous business,” and was the largest furniture dealer in San Francisco, though there was some question as to its profitability. By 1859, J. G. Clark and Co. had virtually monopolized the trade; “doing well”, one source reported to Dow, with “little competition.” According to one obituary, the Clark firm’s furniture distribution extended to Los Angeles, San

1859.] SAN FRANCISCO ADVERTISEMENT. i

JONAS G. CLARK & CO.
 Importers and Manufacturers
 —OF—
FURNITURE.

128 WASHINGTON STREET,
 SAN FRANCISCO.



WE ARE NOW MANUFACTURING
Our Finest Furniture,
 AND WOULD INVITE THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC TO
OUR PRESENT STOCK,
THE LARGEST EVER OFFERED
 ON THE PACIFIC COAST.
JONAS G. CLARK & CO.

49 and 51 FOURTH STREET, between J and K,
 S A G R A M E N T O .
 HUNTER STREET, between Main and Levee,
 S T O C K T O N .
 FIRST STREET.....SAN JOSE.

Jonas G. Clark & Co., Advertisement

Source: *State Record and Year Book for the Year 1859* (San Francisco, 1859).

Diego and other California cities, as well as western Mexico and Hawaii. In 1860, the firm was described as “the pioneers and most prominent” furniture manufacturer in the state, employing fifty men, and the writer opined that the workmanship of Clark’s furniture would “favorably compare with the most costly manufactured at the East.” Clark won contemporary praise for using native Californian and West Coast woods and his contribution to West Coast economic development.¹⁵

That he strove successfully for quality as well as volume is suggested by accounts of the first and third Mechanics Institute fairs, in 1857 and 1860.

BOGARDUS' ILLUSTRATED CALIFORNIA ALMANAC. 3



JONAS G. CLARK & CO.
IMPORTERS, MANUFACTURERS,
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in every description of
FURNITURE & BEDDING
IN GREAT VARIETY.

Rosewood, Mahogany, Walnut, Oak, Parlor and Chamber Sets; Sofas, Ottomans, Lounges and Easy Chairs; Work, Card, Centre, Dining, Extension and Fancy Tables; Merchants', Lawyers' and Standing Desks; Book Cases, Secretaries, Bureaus, Side-boards and Whatnots; Mirrors and Plate Glass; Chairs of all qualities, newest style and most approved make.

We are receiving by every vessel, regular and complete invoices of goods adapted to the wants of the Interior and Coast.

Goods purchased sent to Steamers and Vessels, and every part of the City, free of charge.

JONAS G. CLARK & CO.,
49 & 51 4th Street, between J and K, Sacramento.
And 128 Washington Street, San Francisco.

Jonas G. Clark & Co., Advertisement

Source: *Bogardus' Illustrated California Almanac* for 1857 (San Francisco, 1857).

The judges at the 1857 exhibition described Clark's rosewood furniture as "of exquisite workmanship and most elegant design," and awarded him a "Diploma" for "the best specimens of its class, produced or manufactured within the State of California." The California State Agricultural Society awarded him their trophy for the best furniture exhibited at the State Fair of 1859. Clark's elaborate black walnut and rosewood furniture drew an elaborate encomium from the judges, who called it "an honor and credit to the State, a splendid token of the generous enterprise of the manufacturers, and a beautiful mirror of the artistic skill and taste of California mechanics."¹⁶

Increasing wealth and business success brought social prestige in early California. San Francisco city directories from 1858 onward list the Clarks as boarding at the International Hotel on Jackson Street, an “elegant” and fashionable building opened in the spring of 1854. According to one Californian’s memoir, it was here that “many of the distinguished men of the state made their homes.”¹⁷

The Clarks were also members of the Unitarian Church, whose minister after 1860 was Thomas Starr King. The congregation contained some of the wealthiest men in the city and their wives. James King of William (so-called to distinguish him from other James Kings), the controversial editor whose murder triggered the 1856 Committee of Vigilance, was a member, and his funeral was held there. Other congregants were the writers Bret Harte and Charles Warren Stoddard. John Swett, a noted educator who in 1862 became California’s second State Superintendent of Schools, was superintendent of the Unitarian Sunday School.¹⁸

In May 1856, Jonas Clark was elected to membership in the second San Francisco Committee of Vigilance. This was a paramilitary organization formed to rid the city of crime and corruption and to hold the city government accountable for its actions. San Francisco businessmen disgusted with the corruption and incompetence of the municipal government were leaders of this movement, though recent research has revealed a broad distribution of its six to eight thousand male members. At this time Clark made the acquaintance of Collis P. Huntington, later a member of the “Big Four” (builders of the Central Pacific share of the transcontinental railroad). Later, beginning in 1869, Clark became associated with Huntington as an investor in Huntington’s acquisition of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and, as a director of the company, in its management. Leland Stanford, future Governor and founder of another university, was also a member of the 1856 Committee of Vigilance. In his later years Jonas Clark, who had also sold the committee some of the furniture for its offices, would often reminisce about those exciting times.¹⁹

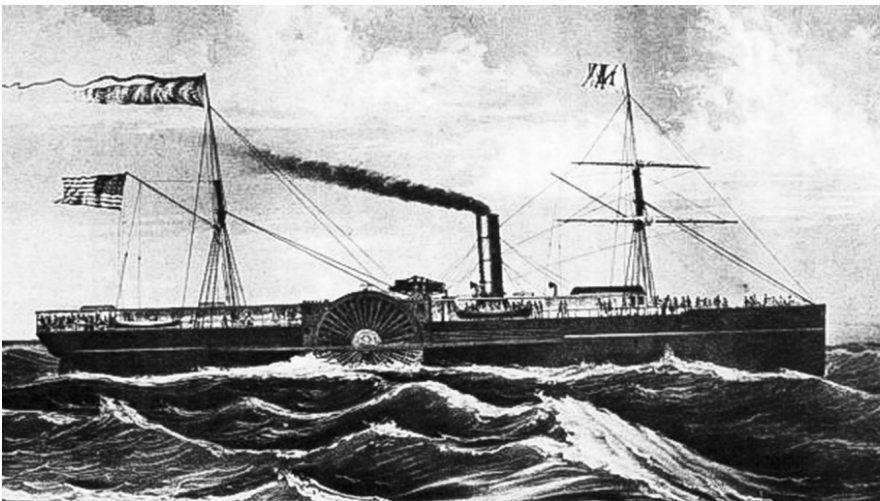
During this period, the Clarks may have begun their keen interest in theatre, which was well supported by wealthy San Franciscans and also by the miners in the camps. The actor Edwin Booth was in San Francisco at the same time as the Clarks, making his earliest appearances in the Shakespearian roles for which he became famous. According to a niece’s later testimony, these times of “planning, economizing and gradually accumulating their wealth” were “really their happiest days.”²⁰

In 1858, the Clarks made a trip home via Panama, leaving San Francisco on the steamer *Golden Age* on April 20. Jonas Clark’s mother, Elizabeth,

had died late in 1857, and the visit seems to have been made in large part for family reasons. On their return trip, in August 1858, the Clarks took ship from New York, occupying the best cabin on the steamer *Star of the West*, later famous for its role in the unsuccessful attempt to resupply Fort Sumter in the waning days of the Buchanan administration.²¹

In spite of this respite, Clark's business cares increased as he successfully fought the undertow of the Panic of 1857 while steadily expanding the scope of his responsibilities. "I have as much business as I can turn my hand to," he wrote his father in June 1859, "and this everyone cannot say." Yet the cost was great: "I neglected everything but business," he wrote in the same letter. In his autobiographical sketch, he was characteristically laconic, telling us that he sold his business in 1860, "finding it important to have some rest from care." His close friend and pastor of later years, Rev. Calvin Stebbins, indicated that Clark had completely broken down to the point where "he could neither eat, sleep nor work. It was simply stop or die."²²

Although Jonas Clark had laid the foundation of what, given ten years more, might have been a substantial fortune derived from furniture manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing, he stopped. Because of the large inventories on hand, however, the process of liquidating the furniture operation was an extended one. The Sacramento business was sold to a local



Star of the West

Jonas and Susan Clark took the *Star of the West*, a sidewheel steamship, back from New York in 1858. The ship figured prominently years later for its role at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, the first Union ship fired on by the South.

firm, Grimes and Felton, which advertised itself as “Successors to Jonas G. Clark & Co.,” probably to be understood as recognizing the quality of Clark’s furniture. During this period, Clark maintained an office at 722 Montgomery Street in the commercial hub of the city (in a building later owned by well-known attorney, Melvin Belli). By discontinuing the manufacturing segment, importing only a few more lots of furniture from the East to complement what was on hand, and selling from inventory, Clark closed out the major portion of his furniture business by the spring of 1861, at which time he and Susan made another trip east and went from there to an extended stay in Europe.²³

CLARK’S INVESTMENTS IN THE BAY AREA

Clark invested the profits from the sale of his furniture business in a variety of ways. In the winter of 1860–61, Clark was one of twenty “gentlemen of known wealth and business integrity” invited to become shareholders in and financial guarantors of California’s first public insurance firm. The California Mutual Marine Insurance Company was incorporated in February 1861; Clark remained a shareholder until 1863, when he began liquidating some of his holdings preparatory to returning East. Clark also invested in one of the earliest private water supply companies serving San Francisco. The Spring Valley Water Works had been formed in 1858, but accomplished little until it was taken over by a syndicate of prominent San Franciscans two years later. Its Vice-President, William H. Coleman, had headed the Committee of Vigilance. A number of wealthy former Vigilantes, including Stanford and Huntington, also invested in that highly successful venture. When Clark liquidated his holdings, according to a 1900 obituary, he cleared “a profit of several hundred thousand dollars.”²⁴

One of his investments made Jonas Clark a large landowner in the East Bay region. During 1861 and 1862, Clark lent substantial sums of money to José de Jesus Vallejo, secured by land Vallejo owned in the East Bay. Vallejo was a member of a prominent family of “Californios,” or Mexicans living in what had been Alta California. In 1842 Don José had been granted the 17,705-acre Rancho Arroyo de la Alameda, which comprised both hill and valley lands. The land Clark acquired was the 10,000 acres remaining unsold, to which the U.S. Government had confirmed title in July 1857. In May, 1862 Clark’s Alameda County attorney, Edwin B. Mastick, sued Vallejo in Clark’s name for defaulting on the loans. The Third District Court of Alameda County found in Clark’s favor, and ordered that the property be sold to satisfy Clark’s interest. At a sheriff’s sale in August 1862, Clark thus

acquired title to the 10,000 acres of hill land and adjacent portions of the valley for just under \$100,000, or about \$10 per acre.²⁵

Over the ensuing twenty years, Clark's hill land was largely rented out to cattlemen for grazing purposes. Clark sold 200 acres of his valley land to the "Big Four" for a town site on their Central Pacific subsidiary, the original Western Pacific Railroad. In 1868 he donated a piece of land on the Mission Road to the newly formed Cosmopolitan School District as the site for a district school, his first known gift to education. For a number of years a portion of the adjacent land, known as Dry Creek Grove, was leased to various proprietors as a popular picnic grounds and recreational area. In the early 1880s, Clark ordered Mastick to have the remaining East Bay lands surveyed and sold. About 1700 acres of the Dry Creek portion were sold to August May in December 1883 for about \$29.00 per acre, or about three times what Clark had paid for it. (In 1979, May's surviving granddaughters donated the tract to Alameda County for what is now the Dry Creek Pioneer Regional Park.)²⁶

The Clarks returned east via the Isthmus of Panama in 1861, and sailed for Europe in October on the Cunard line's most modern and luxurious steamship, the *Persia*. According to Henry Adams (a *Persia* passenger in 1858), it was "the newest, largest and fastest ship afloat." From 1856 to 1862 it held the coveted "Blue Riband" for the fastest Atlantic crossing. They remained abroad for about nine months, visiting France, Italy, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Austria, and the German states. They returned to New York in the summer of 1862, Clark's insomnia permanently cured, on the *Persia's* new sister ship, the *Scotia*.²⁷

Remaining for several months at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on Madison Square, then the most fashionable hotel in New York City, they were back in San Francisco by the Spring of 1863. Problems had arisen in the process of liquidating the furniture business, and Clark had to take it over briefly in order to settle his affairs at a profit. As he wrote one of his brothers, "I found it more work than I had anticipated in closing up our affairs." While there, the Clarks lived at the new Occidental Hotel, "furnished in great elegance," and currently the city's leading residential hotel. Mark Twain, in San Francisco from May to July 1863, stayed at the Occidental during that time, characterizing it as "Heaven on the half-shell."²⁸

CLARK'S CIVIL WAR COMMITMENTS

Early in the Civil War, when Union victory was at best problematic, Clark had invested heavily in U.S. government bonds and urged other San Francisco businessmen to do so. This seems to have been primarily a patriotic gesture stemming from his anti-slavery background, rather than the profit-

making venture it later became for him. Because of the shaky finances of the federal government at the time, the interest rate on government bonds was 2½ % per month. He also lent money locally on short-term mortgages, the prevailing interest rates for which ran from one per cent per month to as high as three per cent per month, or 36% per year.²⁹

In this last period in California, Jonas Clark became active in two other Civil War-related causes, the Soldiers' Relief Fund (which became the California Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission) and the Union League of California. His pastor, Thomas Starr King, was a leader in Unionist activities in California, as were many of Jonas Clark's acquaintances, including Leland Stanford, who by this time had become the state's Governor. The Clarks had been in Europe when the Soldiers' Relief Fund was established in the fall of 1862. But Starr King, discouraged with the decline in contributions under its original managers, had called a public meeting on October 31, 1863, after which a number of new members, including Clark, were added to the now expanded Executive Committee.

On November 9, Clark cosigned an "Appeal for the Relief of Wounded Soldiers," and ten days later cosigned another appeal, to "The People of the State of California." He also spent much time during the next few months actively canvassing for funds in the area assigned him in the business district. As he wrote his father in November, "I have for some weeks been spending all the time I could in collecting funds for the sanitary fund." Clark also gave a personal donation of \$1,000 to the fund drive, one of the largest individual gifts. By the end of the year, two months later, the revitalized Executive Committee had raised \$200,000.³⁰

Jonas Clark was also one of the founding members, and the first Grand Treasurer, of the California Branch of the Union League of America, an organization formed to encourage support for the Northern crusade against what Clark regarded as the twin evils of "Rebellion and Slavery." He was elected treasurer at the organizational meeting of the group, on April 13, 1863; his pastor, King, was elected a member of the Grand State Council two days later. King was a powerful speaker on behalf of the Union throughout the state until his untimely death on March 4, 1864. Numerous local units were created, each obligated to pay a \$20.00 annual fee. By the annual meeting on August 4, 1863, Clark was able to report receipts of nearly \$1,700.00, with disbursements of over \$1,200.00 to date. Since the meetings of the officers were held every Saturday evening, the activity of the State Council must have consumed much of his time. He continued to serve until resigning on April 30, 1864, preparatory to his permanent return East.³¹

According to some accounts, on their final trip from California the Clarks brought a large amount of gold with them, which was sold at a premium in New York markets. Gold had been the normal mode for business transactions in California, and after the federal government introduced paper currency in 1863, California's businessmen pushed through a law that same year permitting all contracts to specify payment in gold. Since the new "greenbacks" fell steadily in value as the Civil War dragged on, California merchants continued to pay for Eastern goods and federal tax obligations in paper currency while insisting on payment in gold for obligations due them.³²

RETURN TO MASSACHUSETTS

The Clarks returned to Boston in 1864, where Mr. Clark invested in urban land, principally in commercial properties in the city center. The Studio Building on Tremont Street (now the site of the Suffolk University Law School), which Clark and Wilbur bought in 1864 for \$300,000, was sold in January 1872 for half a million dollars. After two more trips to Europe, he and Susan settled in a newly built mansion at 560 Fifth Avenue (at 46th Street) in 1868. While traveling in Europe, he began serious book collecting. It was evidently while settled in New York that he also began purchasing works of art. The Clark collection eventually amounted to over a hundred paintings, largely contemporary landscapes and genre paintings. Clark also invested in land in Manhattan and other sites in the New York area. He subsequently sold the Fifth Avenue mansion, and the Clarks returned temporarily to the Fifth Avenue Hotel before moving back to Massachusetts.³³

After his move to Worcester in the late 1870s, Clark concentrated his investments in that city. He sold his remaining New York properties, including, in May 1881, a tract of land on upper Fifth Avenue to John D. Rockefeller for \$425,000, making a profit of \$170,000 over what he had paid for it. In Worcester, Clark built two commercial buildings in the downtown area. In 1883 he was elected to the Board of Directors of the Providence and Worcester Railroad. According to a niece later, although he had refused the presidency of the railroad, his guidance of its affairs, negotiating a 99-year lease with the New York, New Haven, and Hartford, Railroad, at a return of ten per cent, had resulted in a rise in its stock from \$70 to over \$200 per share.³⁴

In 1873, before he returned to New England, Clark had constructed a brick and granite building in Hubbardston for a combined town library and town offices as well as rental space, the initial income of which was to provide a \$10,000 fund (to which he contributed \$1,000) to support the library. He

began it with a donation of some 2,000 books, and added almost a thousand more before his death in 1900. After moving to Worcester, he became a Director of the Worcester Free Public Library, his only public office.³⁵

Clark's own book collection was to a substantial degree bought on the trips he and Susan Clark made to Europe. He was especially interested in works of history, travel, literature, and art, though his collections also featured fine printing, particularly of various editions of the Bible. He had a number of incunabula as well as several bound manuscript books. He became interested also in fine bindings, and some 2,000 of his volumes fell into this class. Many of the more valuable parts of his book collection survive in the Special Collections room in Goddard Library, Clark University.³⁶

The sale of his New York and East Bay lands during the early 1880s provided Clark with additional money, which he used to make investments in Worcester and elsewhere. He built two large commercial blocks in the downtown area. Between 1881 and 1885, Clark quietly purchased property in a then largely unbuilt area on Main Street, south of the center of Worcester. In this way he was able to assemble a site that would permit buildings to be set well back from the street, capturing the maximum amount of each day's sunlight. This became the campus of the new Clark University in 1887, for which Clark supervised the construction and furnishings of its first buildings.

Jonas Clark's life experiences influenced his choices concerning his proposed university. His original plan for the institution was to create a four-year undergraduate college to open in 1888, serving graduates of the Worcester High School, the private Worcester Academy, and young men from surrounding towns. He had observed in San Francisco and elsewhere that the entrepreneurial leadership in the burgeoning late 19th-century city came, like himself, from rural and small-town backgrounds. In the late 19th century, however, the district schools were not enough. Beyond the college, its graduates would then be able to continue in professional and advanced education in departments of the university to be created, with the help of others, beginning in 1892. The model was based on those he had visited in Europe, particularly the universities of France and Prussia, and the three American universities where he had either family or personal connections: Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and the announced plans for Stanford.

The agreement he had made with the new President, G. Stanley Hall, was to begin with the graduate school, and to add the college after the first three years. By 1892, however, Hall was determined to disregard the agreement, and the Board of Trustees backed him. Consequently, after the 1892-93 academic year, Clark provided no further financial aid beyond the land and buildings, his initial \$600,000 endowment, with an additional \$100,000

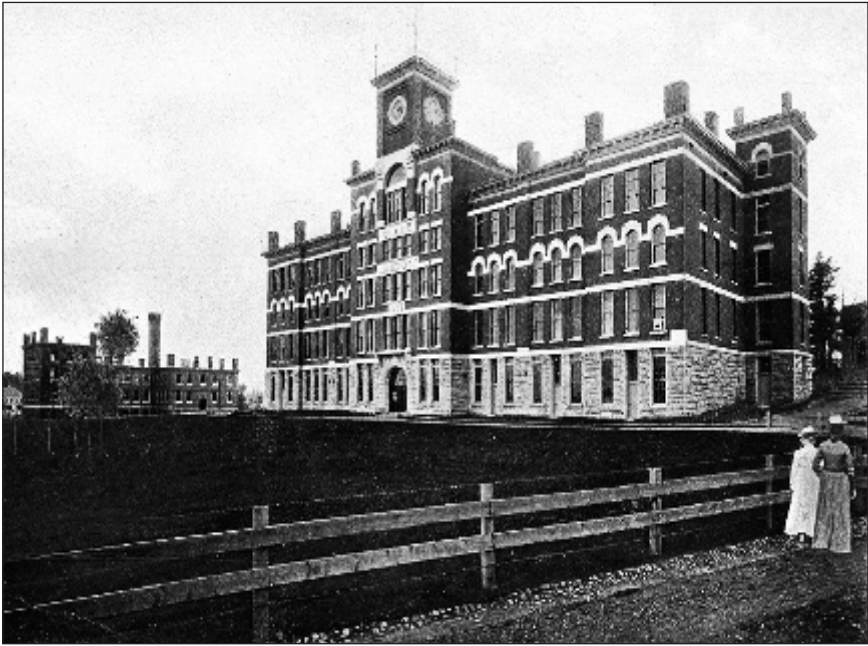
endowment for the library. Neither Hall nor the Trustees nor wealthy Worcester citizens raised or contributed further money during the 1890s; indeed, the Worcester elite did not take an active interest in Clark until the 1950s. Meanwhile, in a will and series of codicils, Clark made provision for a new three-year college for men, with a separate President and faculty. The will provided half his remaining fortune as an endowment for that college, \$150,000 for a new library building and an increased library endowment (bringing it to just under \$800,000). Only a quarter of the bequest was added to the university proper (the graduate department). Since the college was tuition-free for the first year (and nominal thereafter), it attracted seventy-nine students in its first year, thirty-two more than any other Massachusetts college had ever enrolled at its opening.³⁷

JONAS CLARK'S ACHIEVEMENT

Clark's various purchases and entrepreneurial activity in Boston, New York, and Worcester *increased* his wealth, but were not the origin of it. Until he launched his much-needed furniture business in San Francisco in 1856, he had been no more than a moderately comfortable local and regional entrepreneur. His California activities gave him the income to become a shrewd investor in urban properties and in the greatest technological development of his time, the expanding railroads. This enabled him to move from a comfortable middle class existence to become a man of substantial wealth (though not on the scale of a Rockefeller or a Stanford), with all the accoutrements that came with it — trips to Europe, a Fifth Avenue mansion, libraries, an art collection — and ultimately a social role as a philanthropist.

In his launching of Clark University, Jonas Clark had given it three distinctive things beyond his money. First, he wanted a modern institution that would fit students from his home region for citizenship and responsibility in the larger world of affairs. In his will, he summed up what had been his life experience:

The sons of New England represent the higher commercial interests in almost every part of the world, and that her Institutions exert a powerful influence in shaping the future of so many communities...., [which were important] not only as to their business interests and institutions, but in all their means for intellectual and social development and improvement....³⁸



Clark Hall

Jonas Clark Hall was named for the university's founder, who intended the college to be molded after those he'd visited in Europe and American schools such as Johns Hopkins and Cornell, where Clark had personal connections. Undated photo.

Second, he specified that his new foundation have “the utmost breadth and freedom both of teaching and of investigation,” that it “be free from all trammels and hindrances, without any religious, political and social tests,” and that “everything approaching religious, political, or social bias shall be excluded” from its faculty and students. These requirements appear to be products of his Unitarian faith (Unitarians were regularly excluded from boards or memberships, such as in the YMCA) and his early abolitionist commitments and friendships with both black and white abolitionist activists.

Third, the unusual commitments to separate endowments for libraries, stemming in the first instance from his love of books and reading and for the relevance of libraries in educating workingmen (in San Francisco), rural people (in Hubbardston, Massachusetts) and Worcester (both in the city's library and for the benefit of students). To assure this last, he both separately and generously endowed the university's library collection, donated thousands

of rare and valuable books to it, and provided adequate and attractive housing for it.

Jonas Clark never forgot his roots. As a New Englander, a Massachusetts man whose grandfathers had fought in the Revolutionary War, he had taken sides on the great questions of his own time—slavery, secession, and war. He had represented the commercial interests of his time in newer portions of the country. But in the end he came back to Massachusetts, to invest all that he had in the founding of a university.

HJM

Notes

1. Among the few studies of such men is Virginia Bell's, "Tenor Park: A New Englander in California," *California History* 60, no. 2 (1981): 158–171. Park was a Vermont lawyer who, at age 28, moved his family from Bennington to San Francisco in 1852, became a successful financier and investor, and returned 11 years later to settle in Vermont but spent most of his business activity in New York City. Bell does not mention any philanthropy. Robin W. Winks', *Frederick Billings: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) is a study of another Vermont lawyer who made a fortune in investments in San Francisco after 1849 before becoming a railroad executive. He made several contributions to his home town, Woodstock, including extension and renovation for his church and its parsonage. Collis P. Huntington, born in Harwinton, Connecticut and later a member of the "Big Four," settled in New York in 1863 and invested further in land and railroads. He contributed to the Hampton Institute and built a library in Westchester, NY, and a chapel in Harwinton in memory of his mother. His second wife also contributed to Tuskegee Institute. His first wife, Elizabeth, was one of twenty women who joined Mrs. Edwin Chapin in establishing the Chapin Home for the Aging. (Huntington probably contributed, since he asked his friend Clark to supervise its construction.)
2. For biographical data, see Jonas Clark, "Autobiographical Sketch" (ms.) c. 1895. Jonas G. and Susan Wright Clark Papers, Clark University Archives (CUA), (also printed in Stebbins, appendix 2, below); [Susan Wright Clark, compiler], *In Memoriam: Jonas Gilman Clark* (New York: Atlantic Publishing & Engraving Co, 1900), unpaginated; [G. Stanley Hall], "Biographical Notes on Jonas Clark" [c. 1900–1905?] (ms.), unpaginated, G. Stanley Hall Papers, CUA; Amy B. Tanner, "The Life of Jonas Clark," pp. 1–14 of Tanner, "History of Clark University Through the Interpretation of the Will of the Founder," ms. dated May, 1908, CUA; Silvanus Hayward, "Jonas Gilman Clark," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 50 (1901) lxxiv–lxxvi; Calvin Stebbins, "Rev. Calvin Stebbins' Address," in "Founder's

Day, Clark University,” *Publications of the Clark University Library* 1, no. 6 (April 1905): 138–160 and appendices; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, s.v. “Clark, Jonas Gilman” and *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Clark, Jonas Gilman.” (Jonas Clark is not included in *American National Biography*.)

3. Clark, “Autobiographical Sketch”; Tanner, “History of Clark University,” 1; William A. Koelsch, “Grass-Roots Garrisonians in Central Massachusetts: The Case of Jonas and Susan Clark,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 73–89 and references.

4. Massachusetts, vol. 3/2 (1852–73), 93, R.G. Dun & Co., Credit Report Volumes, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Clark, “Autobiographical Sketch,” CUA; Tanner, “History of Clark University,” 2. The earliest Boston city directories to list Clark and Church are those of 1853. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*. 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1892), 6: 523, points to “the absence of reputable consignees” as a general problem in San Francisco at the time; Winks, in *Frederick Billings*, 49, writes that in 1850s San Francisco, “well over half of all merchants failed.”

5. Clark, “Autobiographical Sketch,” CUA; Clark and Wilbur entry, Ledger, Boston, Vol. III/1, 93 (Dun Collection). Boston city directories from 1854 on give various addresses for Clark and Wilbur, for several years at 188 Hanover Street. San Francisco port data from Frank Tuthill, *The History of California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1866), 354 and John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 196. Westward migration in search of economic opportunity was common to Northeasterners of Clark’s generation: see Thomas R. Walker, “Economic Opportunity on the Urban Frontier: Wealth and Nationality in Early San Francisco,” *Explorations in Economic History* 37 no. 3 (2000): 258–277.

6. The hardships of the Isthmian crossings in the 1850s are detailed in the pioneering book of Oscar Lewis, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949); see also David A. Folkman, Jr., *The Nicaragua Route* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972); Aims Maginnis, *Path of Empire: Panama and the California Gold Rush* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008) and numerous traveler’s accounts. For the Clarks’ own experience, see Jonas Clark to William S. and Elizabeth Clark, February 26, 1854 in Stebbins, “Address,” appendix 3: 165–167.

7. Stockton Street residence from Jonas Clark’s obituary in the *Worcester Evening Gazette*, May 24, 1900. For the early prestige of Stockton Street, see Lell Hawley Wooley, *California 1849–1913* (Oakland, CA: DeWitt and Snelling, Publishers, 1913), 46; Col. James J. Ayers, *Gold and Sunshine, Reminiscences of Early California* (Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1922), 148 and Roger Lotchin’s classic *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 26.

8. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855); Tuthill, *History of California*, 381; Hittell, *San Francisco*, 211, 233; Bancroft, *History of California, 1860–1890*. 7 vols. (San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1886), 7: 108, 172–174; Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire: A History of Banking in California*, 4 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1927) 1: 151–152, 171–173, 196; Lotchin, *San Francisco*, chap. 3; and Peter R. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), part 1. See Oscar Shafter, *Life, Diary and Letters of Oscar Lovell Shafter*, ed. Flora Haines Loughhead (San Francisco: Blair, Murdock & Co., 1915) for a merchant's view of the San Francisco economy during this time.
9. Ledger, Boston Vol. III/1, 93; California Vol. A (1851–1872), 84 (Dun Collection).
10. Jonas Clark to Parents, February 26, 1854 and to William S. Clark, June 20, 1859, in Stebbins, "Address," appendix 3: 165, 169; Helen Birgen to Calvin Stebbins, January 15, 1905, Clark Papers, CUA. "Steamer Days": Benjamin E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1876), 519–521; Samuel D. Woods, *Lights and Shadows of Life on the Pacific Coast* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1910), 90–91; Ernest A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1938), 32; and Rodman W. Paul, *The Far West and Great Plains in Transition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 70–72.
11. Bradford Luckingham, "Agents of Culture in the Urban West: Merchants and Mercantile Libraries in Nineteenth Century St. Louis and San Francisco," *Journal of the West* 17 no. 2 (1978): 32–34; *Constitution of the San Francisco Mercantile Library Association, With a Brief History of the Association, and a List of Members* (San Francisco: Mercantile Library Association, 1854), 10, 35; *Annual Report of the President of the Mercantile Library Association of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Mercantile Library Association, 1857), 9.
12. Early business cycles in San Francisco are discussed in Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *Annals*, 499–500, 543; in Lotchin, *San Francisco*, chap. 3; and in Decker, *Fortunes and Failures*.
13. Manufacturing: Paul, *Far West*, 72. Early San Francisco industry: David J. Sinclair, "The Gold Rush and the Beginnings of California Industry," *California History* 77 no. 4 (1999): 185–208. Martyn J. Bowden, "The Dynamics of City Growth: An Historical Geography of the San Francisco Central District, 1851–1931," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, 1966, points out that, especially in the early period, "large wholesalers and importers of furniture and carpets continued to engage in a large retail trade" (p. 252). Washington Street: Woods, *Lights and Shadows*, 104.
14. Clark's furniture manufacturing and retail operations: Clark, "Autobiographical Sketch" and Jonas Clark, letters to William S. and Elizabeth Clark, February 19,

1857, and to William S. Clark, June 20, 1859, in Stebbins, "Address," appendix 3: 167, 169. San Francisco and Sacramento city directories between 1856 and 1864 give useful information, as do the advertisements for Jonas G. Clark & Co. on the back covers. Value of Clark's inventory: *Colville's San Francisco Directory, 1856–1857* (San Francisco, 1856), liv.

15. Descriptions of Clark's furniture business: *Colville's San Francisco Directory, 1856–1857*, liii–liv; [H. G. Langley, comp.], *The San Francisco Directory for 1858* (San Francisco, 1858), 44; [Langley, comp.], *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing January, 1860* (San Francisco, 1860), 40; *The State Register and Book of Facts for the Year 1859* (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley and Samuel A. Morison, 1859), 305; and Clark and Wilbur entry, Ledger, California Vol. A (1851–1872), 84 (Dun Collection). Distribution of products: "Career of Jonas G. Clark," *Worcester Evening Gazette*, May 24, 1900.

16. Clark's exhibits at the 1857 Mechanics Institute fair: *San Francisco Mechanics Institute, Report of the First Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco (7–26 September 1857)* (San Francisco: [Mechanics Institute], 1858), 38–39. State Fair exhibit: *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society During the Year 1860* (Sacramento, CA: C. T. Botts, State Printer, 1860), 244–245. Mechanics Institute Fairs: Langley, *San Francisco Directory, 1860*, 40; Nora Leishman, "The Mechanics Institute Fairs, 1857–1899," *The Argonaut: Journal of the San Francisco Historical Society* 10 no. 2 (Fall, 1999): 40–57; and Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the American West, 1846–1906* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), chap. 4.

17. Residential use of luxury hotels: Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), chap. 18. International Hotel: Woods, *Lights and Shadows*, 101 and Charles A. Murdock, *A Backward Glance at Eighty* (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co., 1921), 103.

18. Unitarian Church in San Francisco and Thomas Starr King: Glenna Matthews, *The Golden State in the Civil War: Thomas Starr King, The Republican Party, and The Birth of Modern California* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and references; also Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) for Swett (pp. 87–88) and King (pp. 97–105), and (for the Unitarian Sunday School), John A. Swett, *Public Education in California* (New York: American Book Company, 1911), 132–133.

19. Lotchin, *San Francisco*, 260–263; Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1887), vol. 2; Josiah Royce, *California: A Study of American Character* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., [1886], 1914), 432–465; Philip S. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), chaps. 2 and 3; Jonas G. Clark & Co. to Vigilance Committee, 13 May 1856, Bill no.

- 236, Paid Bills, 1856–1858, and Form of Application for Enrollment. No. 1897 [Jonas G. Clark[e], both in Records of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance, 1856, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Mary C. Waite to Calvin Stebbins, December 29, 1904, Clark Papers, CUA. Huntington's membership: David Lavender, *The Great Persuader* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 65–66, 253; Stanford's membership: Robert Maxwell Brown, *Strains of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 163–164, 366 note 75. Clark's role in the Chesapeake and Ohio purchase: Cerinda E. Evans, *Collis Potter Huntington*. 2 vols. (Newport News, VA: Mariner's Museum, 1954) 2: 509–513; Lavender, *The Great Persuader*, 244–253.
20. Helen W. Birgen to Calvin Stebbins, January 15, 1905, Clark papers, CUA. [Hall], "Biographical Notes" (Clark's interest in theater "and still more so of the opera.")
21. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 20, 1858; Jonas Clark to William S. Clark, August 29, 1858, in Stebbins, "Address," appendix 3: 168. *Star of the West*: Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 435–437 and Philip S. Klein, *President James Buchanan* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), 388–390.
22. Jonas G. Clark, "Autobiographical Sketch"; Stebbins, "Address," 144, 165; Jonas Clark to William S. Clark, November 20, 1860 and Jonas Clark to Leonard Clark, November 25, 1863 in Stebbins, "Address," appendix 3: 169, 171.
23. Grimes & Felton took over Clark's building and his Sacramento stock: *Sacramento Directory* for 1861 and 1862 (Sacramento 1861), back cover. Melvin Belli purchased the 722 Montgomery Street building in 1958 and renovated it for his law offices.
24. California Mutual Marine Insurance Company: [Langley, comp.], *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing September, 1861* (San Francisco, 1861), 36; Caspar T. Hopkins, "The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 26 no. 3 (1947): 264; Hittell, *Commerce and Industries*, 142–145. Spring Valley Water Company: Robert W. Righter, *The Battle Over Hetch-Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 35–37. Jonas Clark holdings: "Career of Jonas G. Clark," *Worcester Evening Gazette*, May 24, 1900.
25. For details of the Clark-Vallejo transactions, see Toma Elizabeth Akers, "Mexican Ranchos in the Vicinity of Mission San José," unpublished MA Thesis, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, 1931, pp. 160–164, 166, 168–172, 176–179, 180–182. (This study is based on a thorough search of the land records in the Alameda County Hall of Records, Oakland, California.) See also Roy E. Kern, *The Vallejos of Mission San José* (Fremont, CA: Mission Peak Heritage Foundation, 1983), 92–94, 139–140; Joseph E. Baker, editor, *Past and Present of Alameda County, California*, 2 vols. (Chicago, S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1912), 1: 447.

26. Collis P. Huntington to Leland Stanford, October 30, 1872, in [Huntington], *Letters from Collis P. Huntington to Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and E. B. Crocker From August 5, 1869 to March 26, 1873* (New York: Privately Printed, 1893), 363; William C. McCann and Edgar J. Hinkel, "History of Rural Alameda County" (typescript) (Oakland, CA: U. S. Works Progress Administration, 1937), 601–602; Country Club of Washington Township, Research Committee, *History of Washington Township*, 2nd ed. (Washington Twp., CA: Printed by Stanford University Press, 1950), 139–141, 157–158; John Sandoval, *The History of Washington Township*, [Hayward, CA]: Mt. Eden Historical Publications, 1985), 157–160; and Frederick J. Montegale, *The Annals of Dry Creek Pioneer Park* (Oakland, CA: East Bay Regional Park District, 1979). Maps of Jonas Clark's East Bay land: [Thomas H.] Thompson and [Albert A.] West, *Official and Historical Atlas Map of Alameda County, California* (Oakland, CA: Thompson and West, 1878; reprint, Fresno, CA, Valley Publishers, 1976), 40–41, 128 and "Map of a Part of the Rancho Arroyo de la Alameda Showing Tracts Recently Sold by J. G. Clark" (dated November 24, 1884), Map Book 7, Map 70, Alameda County Hall of Records, Oakland, CA.

27. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 71 and H. Philip Spratt, *Transatlantic Paddle Steamers*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow: Brown, Son and Ferguson, Ltd., 1967), 60–61, 64, 67–68. Itinerary reconstructed from Jonas Gilman Clark, 1861 passport, visas, and travel notebooks in Clark Papers, CUA.

28. Charles Lockwood, *Suddenly San Francisco: The Early Years of an Instant City* (San Francisco: Examiner Special Projects, 1978), 130–133. Jonas Clark to Leonard Clark, November 25, 1863, in Stebbins, "Address," appendix 3, 171. Fifth Avenue Hotel: Jefferson Williamson, *The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), 64–66, 116, 264–265; Kate Simon, *Fifth Avenue: A Very Social History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 56–59; and, in fiction, Gore Vidal, *1876* (New York: Random House, 1976). The Clarks are listed in San Francisco directories for 1863 and 1864. Occidental Hotel: Lloyd, *Lights and Shades*, 450; and Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865), 340, who reports that the price of a room was three dollars a day, in gold. Mark Twain quote: Richard A. Van Orman, "San Francisco: Hotel City of the West," in John A. Carroll, ed., *Reflections of Western Historians* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 11–12.

29. [Susan Wright Clark], *In Memoriam*; Stebbins, "Address," 150–151; Tanner, "History of Clark University," 2. See also Bray Hammond, *Sovereignty and an Empty Purse: Banks and Politics in the Civil War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

30. Records, Soldiers' Fund, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the California Branch, 43, 45, 59, 68. In Records of the United States Sanitary Commission, New

York Public Library; [Soldiers' Relief Fund Committee, San Francisco] Subscribers to the Solders' Relief Fund, 1863–64 (San Francisco: Soldiers' Relief Fund Committee, December 17, 1863) 1. "Appeal" and "Address": Records of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, New York Public Library (also Henry W. Bellows Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society). See also Jonas Clark to William S. Clark, 25 November 1863, in Stebbins, "Address," appendix 3: 170; Tanner, "History of Clark University," 2, 3; Stebbins, "Address," 150–51; [Susan Wright Clark] *In Memoriam*; Charles J. Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1866), 223–227; William Y. Thompson, "The U.S. Sanitary Commission," *Civil War History* 2 no. 2 (1956): 41–64. King's role: Russell M. Posner, "Thomas Starr King and the Mercy Million," *California Historical Quarterly* 47 no. 4 (1964): 301–304; Robert Monzinger, *Thomas Starr King: Eminent Californian, Civil War Statesman, Unitarian Minister* (Pacific Grove, Cal.: Boxwood Press, 1991), 211–215; and Matthews, *Golden State*, chap. 7.

31. Stebbins, "Address," 151; *Proceedings of the Grand Council of the Union League of America for the State of California... Together With a Report of its Transactions Since Its Organization, April 13th, 1863* (San Francisco: Grand Council, 1863). Gold shipments East: Tanner, "History of Clark University," 2, and Hayward, "Jonas Gilman Clark," lxxv.

32. Legal tender issue: William T. Fankhauser, *Financial History of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914), 219–222 and Cross, *Financing an Empire*, 1: 355–358. At one point in the war, \$5,877.00 in gold would buy \$10,000.00 in greenbacks: Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco* (Palo Alto, CA: American West Publishing Co., 1975), 171.

33. Clark's post-California career is briefly traced in Koelsch, *Clark University, 1887–1987: A Narrative History* (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1987), Chap. 1.

34 Providence and Worcester Railroad: Helen Birgen to Calvin Stebbins, January 15, 1905, Clark papers, CUA and Stebbins, "Address," 144. Rockefeller anecdote: recorded in one of Jonas Clark's diaries, CUA and printed in Stebbins, "Address," 143.

35. The development of library buildings in late-19th-century New England, still to be seen in rural New England towns, is as yet an untold story. Some appear to be given by local successful entrepreneurs. Others, like Clark's, were given by expatriates. One example: Marshall Field (1836–1906), born in Conway, MA, left his job as a store clerk in Pittsfield in 1857 to move to burgeoning Chicago, where he became a prominent retail merchant. He donated land for the new University of Chicago and funded the present Field Museum of Natural History after the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. In 1900, he donated a library to Conway, a miniature version of the latter structure.

36. Clark's book collection: Stebbins, "Address," 154; Louis N. Wilson, "Some Recollections of Our Founder," *Publications of the Clark University Library* 8, no. 2 (February 1927), 6.

37. Jonas G. Clark, "Will of Jonas G. Clark", in Clark University, *Early Proceedings of the Board of Trustees* [and] *Will of Jonas G. Clark* (Worcester: Press of the University, 1901), 66. This booklet contains both Clark's statements concerning his ideas on non-discrimination and the various codicils to his will. For the general conflict between Hall and Clark and the creation of the College, see Koelsch, *Clark University*, chapters 1 and 3.

38. Like many other New Englanders, including his pastor, in that period, Clark saw New England culture as the norm for the new territories. As Timothy Dwight Hunt put it in an address to the New England Society of San Francisco in December 1862, their aim was "to make California the Massachusetts of the Pacific." Quoted in Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915*, 86.