

**E. WARREN CLARK, “NOTED TRAVELER AND LECTURER ON ORIENTAL TOPICS”**

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Edward Warren Clark (1849 –1907) was a nineteenth century American educator, journalist, amateur photographer, Episcopalian minister, cultural entrepreneur and self-promoter with a magic lantern. An evangelical Christian, his life’s work began when he was hired by the Japanese government from 1871 to 1875 to teach thousands of young Japanese students the rudiments of modern science. [Fig. 1] Japan remained at the center of his life and dreams for the next thirty years.



1. E. Warren Clark with Japanese students c. 1873  
*Florida Sunday Times-Union*, March 13, 1904, p. 12.

Born in 1849 in Portsmouth, N.H., where until he was five his father, Rufus W. Clark Sr., was the Congregational minister, Edward and all four of his surviving brothers eventually entered the ministry. Surgery from a boyhood accident that severely damaged young Edward's eyes, handicapped him "all his life and caused much retardation to an otherwise energetic person." <sup>1</sup> As an 11-year old boy in New York City he saw the first Japanese Embassy ride up Broadway in a dazzling procession of 7,000 welcoming troops that left an exotic lasting impression.

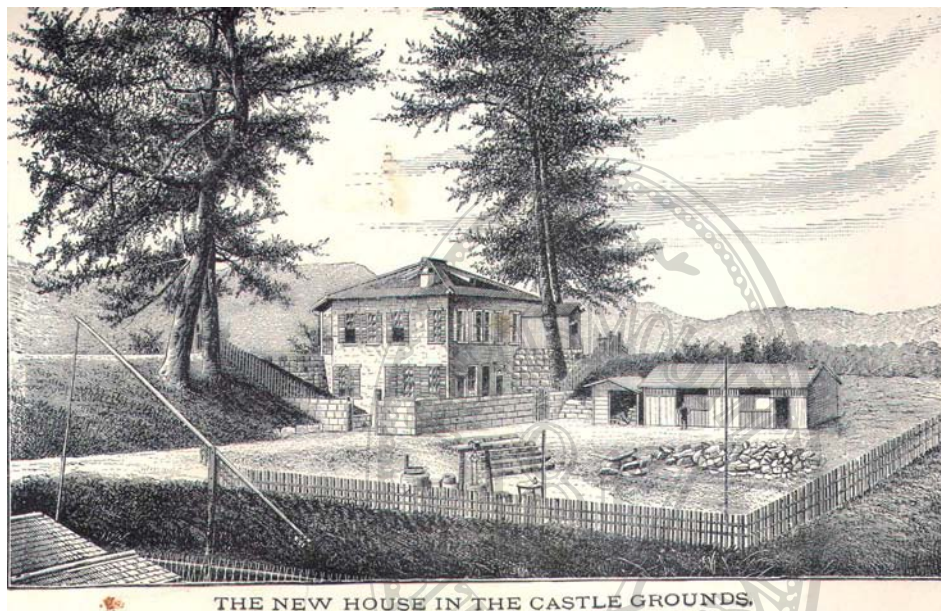
Clark graduated from what is now Rutgers University in New Jersey in 1869 with a degree in chemistry and biology. While there he formed lasting friendships including several Japanese students, sons of prominent Japanese officials. These students and other Japanese visited his family's home in Albany and several attended his father's Dutch Reform Church there.

After a summer in Switzerland with his father and Rutgers classmate William Elliott Griffis (1842-1928), Clark stayed on to study for the ministry while Griffis went out to Japan to teach. The next year, Clark joined him as one of the first Americans to introduce western science and technology to the Japanese classroom. When he arrived in Yokohama on the *SS Great Republic* in October 1871, he was welcomed by several Japanese Rutgers graduates and prominent English speaking officials like Katsu Kaishu (1823-1899) -- whom Clark knew as Katz Awa -- soon to be Minister of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Correspondence between "Clarkie" and "Griff" -- who later taught at Cornell University as the first American academic Japanologist.-- as well as the memories of Clark's man-servant Sentaro (or 'Sam Patch') add perspective and much detail to Clark's extensive published work on his own life. <sup>2</sup>

Clark reported his experiences for the Rutgers *Targum*, and served as a regular Japan correspondent for several religious newspapers including the *New York Evangelist* and

*The Child's Paper*, as well as bi-monthly – sometime weekly -- letters to the *New York Evening Post* and the *Albany Evening Journal*.

He taught first at a large school in Shizuoka (that he spelled Shid-zu-oo-ka), Japan, where he trained students to become science teachers. There he designed and had built a western home to replace his original home in an ancient temple. [Fig. 2]



2. "The New House In The Castle Grounds" from E. W. Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan* (1878) p.58: "The picture given of the house is taken from the south. . . a courtyard is seen, where I gave a stereopticon exhibition."

In 1873 he was called to the Imperial University (Keisei Gakko, later Tokyo University), to help found a chemistry department. There he would join Griffis, who wrote his own magnum opus *The Mikado's Empire* [1876] in Clark's Tokyo home. Finding a country just barely out of its feudal past (that Clark called "Tycoonism"), their work was underpinned by a belief that Japan's modernization could only occur with widespread adoption of Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

Clark wrote home on March 13, 1872:

By this mail I send to Mr. McAllister in Philadelphia for a grand "Magnesium Stereopticon" with numerous costly picture-slides, which I intend as a personal gift for the benefit of this province. Pictures speak all languages and this mode of

instruction seems to me eminently adapted to the capacities of this strange (yet knowledge seeking) community. I shall engage a large and spacious heathen temple near by, and shall cause the idols to give place to magnesium lights, and to the beautiful picture stories which they will tell. <sup>4</sup>

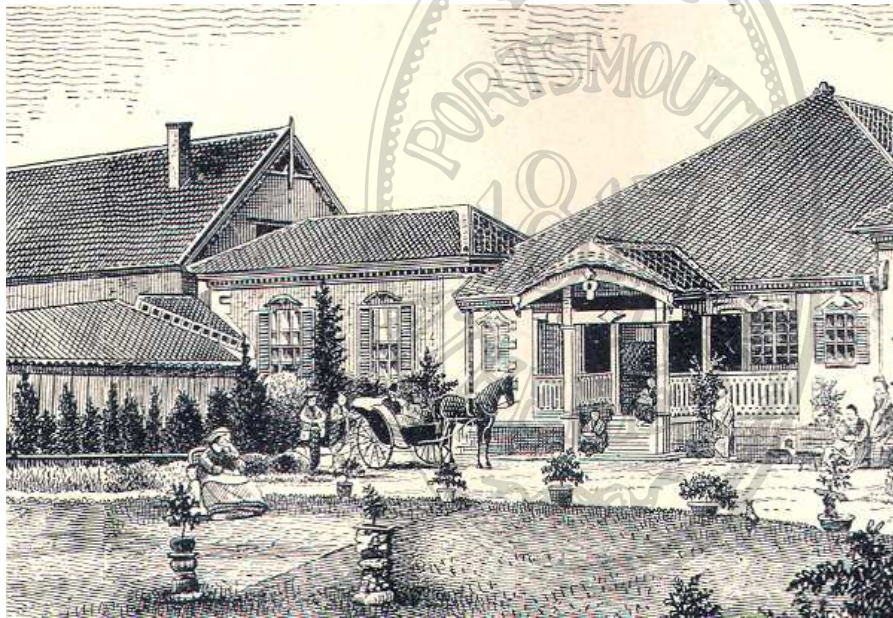
His stereopticon arrived from the firm of William Y. McAllister several months later and on "Christmas evening I gave the first exhibition of my 'Magnesium Stereopticon' to several hundred persons, close by my house. . . . their awe-struck feelings may be better imagined than described." These included Swiss (Mt. Blanc) and American views (the suspension bridge across Niagara, Philadelphia's Fairmont waterworks, and "a peep up Broadway"). But, "By far the most beautiful and striking views of the evening were those of the revolving astronomical diagrams, -- a set of which I had, and which are so exceedingly brilliant and as to quite throw all the other pictures in the shade." <sup>5</sup>



3. Advertisement for benefit for Mrs. Pruyne's American Mission Home, *The Japan Daily Herald*, Aug. 13, 1873, Clark scrapbook.

So when English newspapers in Yokohama advertised a magnesium stereopticon performance in August 1873, [Fig. 3] Clark was undoubtedly the “gentleman [who] explained the various views on the screen.” While initially “willing to give it gratuitously,” he was convinced to charge “for the Benefit of the American Mission Home” run by Mrs. Mary Putnam Pruyn (1820-1885), a member of his father’s Albany Dutch Reform Church. <sup>6</sup> In Clark’s book he photographed her sitting in front of her American Mission. [Fig. 4]

Transferred to Tokyo, Clark “gave some brilliant exhibitions of pictures at the Naval College for Mr. Katz, the minister of the Navy; and afterwards at the Kaisei Gakko”

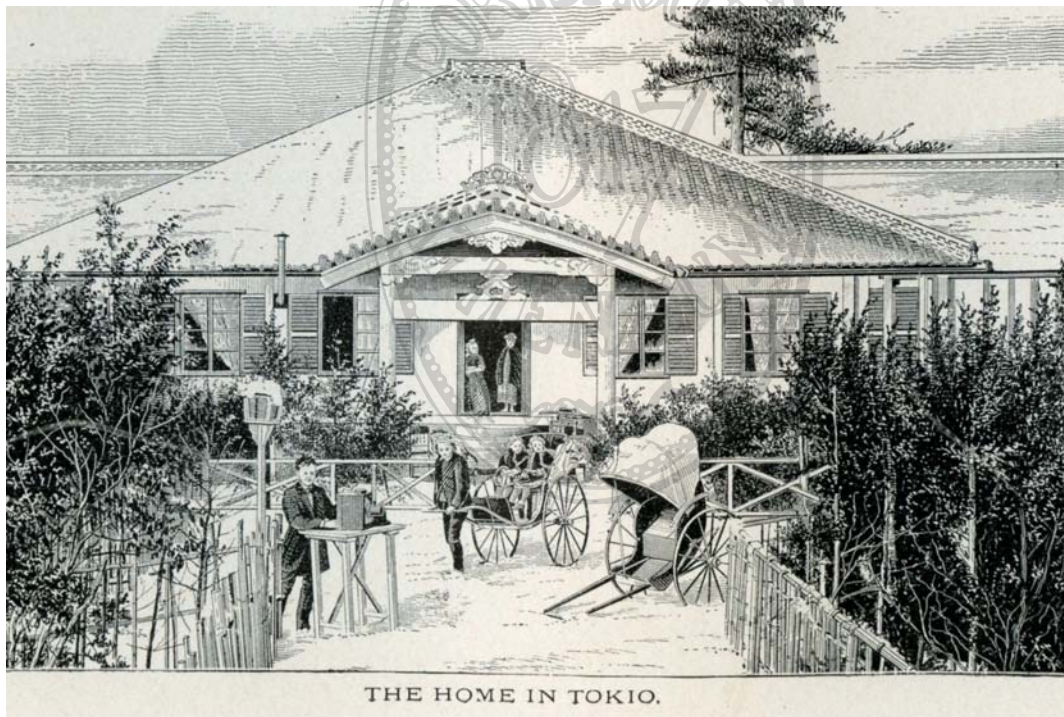


4. Detail from Clark illustration of the “American Mission Home” in Tokyo; Mrs. Pruyn is seated center left. *Life and Adventure in Japan* (1878) p. 220.

that “were attended by hundreds of officials and students, who of course were wonderfully pleased with the splendid stereopticon pictures of Europe and America” that he had purchased from McAllister. “Soon the fame of the stereopticon reached the palace, just as I intended it should!” <sup>7</sup>

Thus on April 7, 1874 Clark gave “an exhibition of brilliantly illuminate pictures of foreign lands. . . at the Mikado’s Palace.”<sup>8</sup> Nervous that he might bore them, he “removed thirty or forty slides” but began with dissolving views of British landmarks, followed by American natural and man-made monuments. “After this the magnesium stereopticon was started and the magnificent views of Paris, Berlin, Switzerland, and Northern Italy were presented.” After the hundred “scenes of America and America” were shown “interspersed with curious revolving chromatropes and an ocean scene... a few comic figures were introduced.” The Mikado asked questions and even after an hour and twenty minutes his royal audience was pleased, and “wished it to continue longer.”

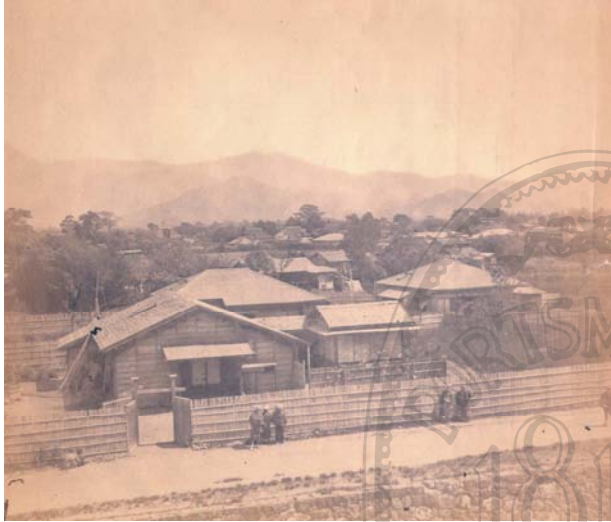
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5. Clark photographing in front of his Tokyo home, *Life and Adventure in Japan* (1878) p. 163: “The view of my house was taken in winter during a snowstorm . . . The photographic camera seen on the table at the left was employed in taking some of the pictures in this book.”

As a scientist and explainer of western technology, Clark also took [illus 5] and printed his own photographs of Japan [illus 6]. On his return to the United States in 1875 he

continued gathering views of China, India, and Palestine. These images formed his new collection of “Stereopticon Views” for illustrated lectures about the Orient that he would deliver over the over the next 25 years. While a handful of his original prints survive in the family and he published a few in 1904 newspapers, none of the glass slides are known to survive. Yet nearly 60 of his original 1870s photographs were used as the basis to make illustrations for his two adventure books that followed his return home.



6. E. W. Clark photograph of a Japanese village. Courtesy, Joseph Knox.

### Lectures and Learning

Arriving at Quebec in October 1875, Clark returned through his native Portsmouth, to Boston and then west to his family in Albany. Moving to New York City for study, he combined many of his serially published newspaper stories with illustrations made from his photographs into a highly informative young people’s book *Life and Adventure in Japan*, published by the American Tract Society as part of its “Missionary Library” in October 1878 and in England in 1879. A second volume from the same publisher following his exotic trip home *From Hong-Kong to the Himalayas: or, Three thousand miles through India*, appeared in 1880.

Capturing the widespread interest in things Japanese, Clark developed multiple illustrated lectures. He gave the visual travelogues in and around New York between 1876 and 1878 while studying for ministry at Union Theological Seminary. The earliest was his April 1876 performance on "The History of Tycoonism in Japan", for the Long Island Historical Society in Brooklyn, NY.<sup>10</sup> The next February he presented "Around the World in Eighty Minutes" at the "Church Edifice" in Brooklyn Heights that was advertised as "brilliantly illustrated by Stereopticon Views, prepared expressly for the occasion." A single ticket was 50¢ for the "Benefit of the Temperance Union of Christian Women." Two weeks later he gave it at the Church of the Holy Trinity in New York City.  
11

These single talks were soon followed by a "course" of multiple lantern lectures that he could show either on successive evenings or once weekly. In April 1877 he advertised, "100 Stereopticon Views Will Be Shown" in two performances at the Church of the Holy Trinity: on April 17 "A Trip to the Holy Land" and on April 24 "Travels Through India, the Tropics, and the Far East."<sup>12</sup>

In November 1877 he added, "Journeyings Through Japan" to his series and the review said a "large audience greeted Professor E. Warren Clark, who last eve delivered a lecture at the Central Baptist Church" in New York. This "was illustrated by views of the country, its inhabitants and their costumes &c, which were thrown on a canvas screen by means of a magic lantern."<sup>13</sup> The next month, in his father's hometown of Albany, N.Y., an expanded series of "Oriental Art Entertainments" all "Illustrated by several hundred Stereopticon Views, prepared from original negatives by Prof. E. Warren Clark" was offered at \$1 for all four evenings.<sup>14</sup> They included:

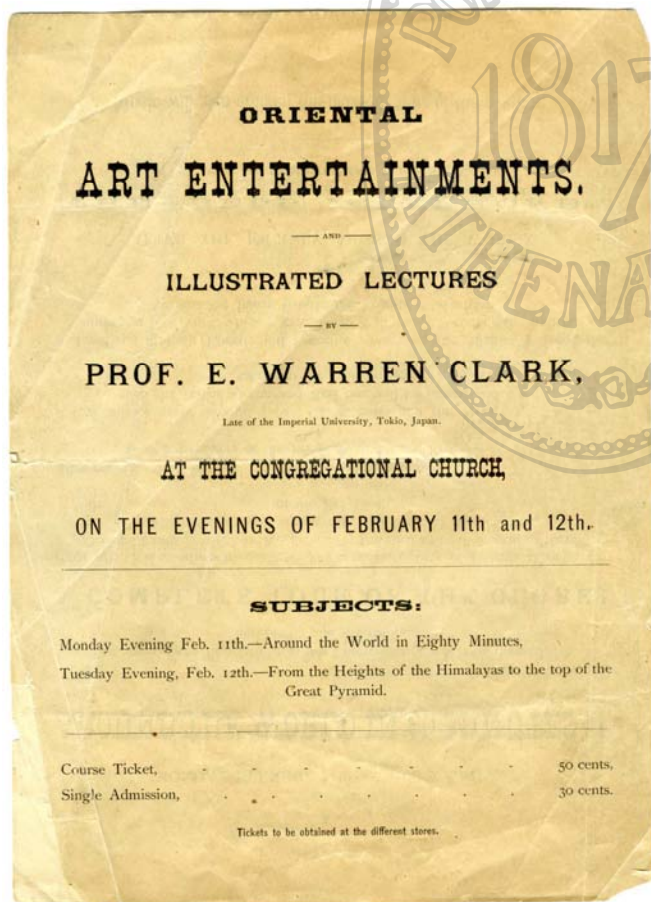
Dec. 11 "Around the World In 80 Minutes."

Dec. 12 "From the Heights of the Himalayas to the Top of the Great Pyramid."



Dec. 18 " Rise and Fall of Tycoonism In Japan."  
Dec, 19 "Jerusalem, Jericho and Jordan."

The two lectures on India and Japan he repeated at Princeton, Newark, and Montclair, New Jersey, early in the next year. In one advertisement Andrew Guyot, Princeton's first professor of geology and geography, said "I have never seen stereopticon views more perfect and better managed. While the unusual size of the pictures greatly increases their impressiveness, the explanations of the Professor –speaking in fluent and enthusiastic language – as an eye-witness of the scenes presented, give to the beholder a vivid sense of their reality."



7. Advertising handbill for lectures at Montclair, N. J. Feb. 11-12, 1878.

The text inside this handbill for the same lectures at the Montclair Congregational Church in February 1878 [Fig.7] shows his method.

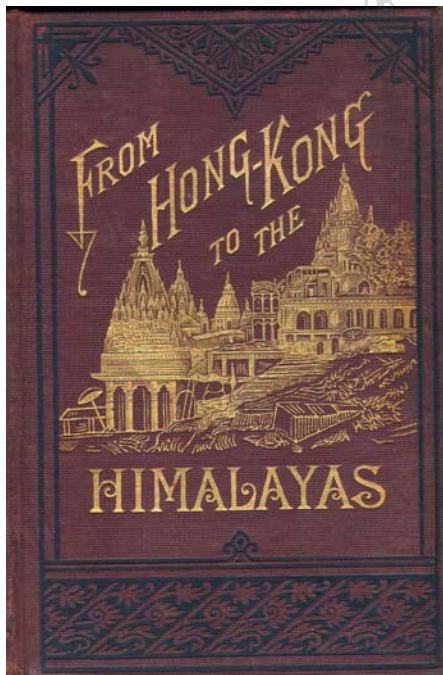
Prof. CLARK conducts his audience like a pleasure party of Tourists, through the Oriental Lands in which he has personally travelled and will present to them the wonderful scenery, architecture, and Oriental characteristics of the Far East.

After crossing the continent, the audience will embark upon one of the magnificent steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

A Tour will be made through Japan, China, Siam, and the Maylay Peninsula and then the Indian Ocean and Red Sea will be passed and a trip taken up the Nile River in Egypt.

A rapid run through Europe and a stormy sea voyage on the Atlantic, will end the journey at New York, where a special 9:20 P.M. train will convey the audience across the Jersey flats to the height of Montclair.

Given Clark's interest in the entertainment value of practical science, it is not totally surprising that the flyer adds: "After the Journey Around the World THE "BELL TELEPHONE" will be exhibited and explained." 15



8. Cover of *From Hong Kong to the Himalayas* (1880) based on Clark's photograph of temples at Benares, India.

He offered similar lantern lectures in Philadelphia during his theological studies at the Episcopal Divinity School; in March 1878 he gave "Journeys Through Japan" and

“Rise and Fall of Tycoonism in Japan.”<sup>16</sup> The next month the newspaper noted “Professor E. Warren Clark of Japan” would present “a series of four noonday lectures at Association Hall,” They were now listed as “Japan and the Japanese,” “A Tour Through India” [Fig. 8] “Egypt and the Holy Land” and “Pagan Religions and Christian Missions.”

Those who have heard these lectures are unanimous in their expressions as to the absorbing interest in them. Professor Clark illustrates the wonders about which tells with hundreds of magnificent views, which have no duplicates in existence.<sup>17</sup>

### Ministry and Marriage

On his thirtieth birthday, January 27th 1879, in West Philadelphia Clark inscribed a copy of his *Life and Adventure in Japan* to his “friend” Louise McCulloch, a girl who he soon came to love. Licensed to preach that year, Clark supplied the Church of the Ascension in her hometown, Steven’s Point, Wisconsin, that summer. There on September 10, 1879 he married Louise, daughter of successful local businessman and banker, H. D. McCulloch, with his brother, Rufus W. Clark, Jr., assisting in the Episcopalian ceremony. As the local paper notes, “The groom has been among us but a short time, but is well known as a young man of an unusual amount of talent as a writer and lecturer, and in a short time will be ordained as an Episcopal minister. The happy couple are now on their way to New York city, where they will pass the coming winter.”<sup>18</sup>

A week later the couple spent a most unusual honeymoon in Detroit, Michigan, where Rufus was rector of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church. On four successive nights the newly married Clark, “Late of the Imperial University, Tokio, and four years resident of Asiatic countries” filled Detroit’s “Whitney’s Opera House.” The newspaper noted, “Prof. E. Warren Clark gave another of his lectures on Oriental travel at Whitney’s

House last night and rendered it charmingly instructive with the aid of illustrations, which he handled in a remarkably skillful manner.”<sup>19</sup>

So popular was this series, Clark appeared again in Detroit that November, and we get the first extended information about his performances.

At the Fort Street Presbyterian Church last evening Prof. E. Warren Clark, a traveler of great experience, who is well and favorably known in this city, delivered to a large and appreciative audience a lecture on the “Rise and Fall of Tycoonism in Japan.” The romantic history of this feudal form of government in that strange country was faithfully and succinctly outlined, and the Professor’s long residence in the land of the Mikado enabled him to embellish his lecture with many personal reminiscences of the last of the race of tycoons with whom he was intimately acquainted. . . . Prof. Clark is an entertaining lecturer and his subjects are always delightful.<sup>20</sup>

Of technical interest is the record that his “illustrations are on a colossal scale.”<sup>21</sup> A dozen years later, a newspaperman reported, “The mammoth screen used by Prof. Clark is thirty feet square” and may have required the four stereopticons he brought with him.<sup>22</sup> And when he offered “a course of illustrated lectures on the Orient, at the Second Presbyterian Church” in Chicago in December 1879 a reviewer noted, “Mr. Clark uses a calcium light,” [i.e. limelight] “and his views of the Nile and the ancient ruins and pyramids were very beautiful and instructive. Professor Clark has a pleasing manner and his lecture was well received by quite a large audience”<sup>23</sup>

Near the end of his life Clark claimed to have given over 300 lectures “to large audiences in New York, Philadelphia Washington, Chicago, Detroit, Albany and other cities,” just as he had done in Tokyo “before the Emperor of Japan.” Indeed, an 1891 story in the *Atlanta Constitution* noted “his New York and Philadelphia audiences frequently numbered 3,000 people.”<sup>24</sup>

In January 1880 Clark was ordained an Episcopalian priest by his uncle, Bishop Clark of Rhode Island. He was appointed assistant minister at the Church of the Epiphany, in Philadelphia in 1880-81 and for two years was Rector of St. Peter's Church by the Sea, Narragansett Pier, R. I. In 1883 he was sent as a winter rector to Tallahassee, Florida, where his father-in-law bought a 900-acre plantation along the southwest shores of Lake Jackson, some eight miles north of the city. He quickly sold the plantation to 'Professor Clark', as he was always called, and a partner from Philadelphia. Clark renamed it "Shid-zu-oo-ka" Plantation after the town in Japan where he first taught. Promoting the Tallahassee area as a resort by 1885, Clark wintered there for his health. Over the 1890s he transformed the plantation into an unsuccessful dairy farm, experimented with reform housing for his African-American tenants, and later opened it as a game preserve.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, in summers he supplied churches in Philadelphia and Alabama. This pattern of temporary replacement service developed into a regular practice. From 1884 to 1900 the Clarks lived in Nashville, Tennessee and in 1888 he supplied a nearby church at Columbia, Tennessee, where he organized the local Chautauqua that gave him another outlet for magic lantern performances.

He soon began dabbling in real estate. After serving a church in San Antonio, Texas, for six months during 1891, he "pulled out and went to Fort Worth - where," he said, "I have as large interest at 'Arlington Heights' as I have in Florida." This area was a huge real estate development outside Fort Worth planned by a rich acquaintance, H. B. Chamberlin of Denver. "On my arrival home from Texas," he wrote his friend Griff "my Wife presented me (as she usually does after my long absences of a half year or more) with a BOUNCING BOY! . . . I have now FOUR BOYS (Girls don't count you know!)"<sup>26</sup>

During that long absence, his family moved to Rockford, Illinois, northwest of Chicago, where Clark's "uncle, the Rev. J. E. Walton, was for years pastor of the Congregational church," and where his in-laws soon retired to be near their three children. The McCulloch's joined them there for several weeks early in 1891 before going on to Florida. Clark's growing populist radicalization during the economic chaos of 1890s likely bothered his father-in-law, whose quarter million dollars from selling his Wisconsin businesses were quickly depleted through bad investments after he joined his children in Rockford. Later, in August 1891 Clark once again went south and gave "From the Heights of the Himalayas to the Great Pyramids" with "superb stereopticon views . . . one of the finest lectures . . . ever been delivered at chautauqua" in White Springs, Georgia. <sup>27</sup>

Like many clergyman exhibitors, his religion was deeply imbedded into his secular performances from the start. His December 1879 Chicago lectures "concluded with dissolving views of "Rock of Ages," the "First Easter Dawn," and the "Angel of the Resurrection." <sup>28</sup> Twenty years later in 1899, while performing in Omaha, Nebraska, a local minister acquired "the only set of stereopticon views in existence of the world renown Tissot paintings," 350 watercolors depicting "The Life of Christ."<sup>29</sup> On three successive nights lantern-slides of the paintings by James Tissot (1835-1902) were offered at the Y.M.C.A. Hall with "a Descriptive Lecture by Prof. E. Warren Clark." A review noted he had "a fair audience" and that after "giving a panoramic view of Jerusalem as it was supposed to be in the days of its glory, followed by another of the city in decay,"



9. James Tissot watercolor "The Adoration of the Shepherds"

a third showing it as it stands today, he took up the life of Christ as told in the scriptures." [Fig. 9] A reporter described the Tissot pictures shown and the "feeling of almost supreme reverence on the part of the spectator as the pictures are moved upon the canvas. An impression irresistibly forces itself upon one that for the moment time has turned back through the centuries to the period of the world's greatest tragedy. No sound broke the silence save the voice of the lecturer - applause would have been profanation." Clark turned up again with this same set of slides for the "Christmas at Bethlehem" he offered to the residents of Tallahassee in December 1900, combining the stereopticon with "Moving Pictures" to tell the Christmas story.<sup>30</sup>

For the March 1892 "Florida Day" at the White Spring's Chautauqua he brought "Professor Elliott, his assistant at Belmont College, Nashville," together with "four stereopticon and a splendid collection of views on the Ponce de Leon, the Alhambra of Spain, and the Tajmahal of India." This marks the first performance of a series of new lectures Clark created during the 1890s to supplement and eventually replace his old

talks. "Three Types of Moorish Architecture" was "illustrated with 100 magnificent views . . . specially prepared for the Ponce de Leon, where Professor Clark will deliver it at St. Augustine next week." This was seen as particularly appropriate to Florida hotels "as the floral state possesses the noblest Moorish art in this continent." <sup>31</sup>

Back in Rockford, Illinois, that summer he was talked into mounting a new series for the benefit of the Boys' Friendly Society of the Emmanuel Episcopal Church. In July 1892 under the title "A Brilliant Man and Rich Subject" a local newspaper noted Prof. E. Warren Clark had "a world wide reputation as a scholar and traveler" and would soon "Deliver his Famous Lecture Here." One, it said "'Three types of Moorish Architecture,' has made him famous." This included the historic style's "connecting link with the Old and New World -The Story of Columbus and Sad Career of Ponce De Leon, who sought in vain the Fountain of Youth and Gave Fame to Florida, the Land of Flowers." <sup>32</sup>

This summer series began with "The Court of the Mikado," [illus 10] in the opera house and attracted "a very large audience" despite the "uncomfortable, almost unbearable warmth of the atmosphere." A reviewer noted "A stereopticon lecture, be it of scenes of interest, well described, is always pleasing and such are those given by Prof. Clark, being treats in every respect. The gentleman took as his subject last evening the 'Court of the Mikado, or Four Years in Japan.' Prof. Clark's tales of this wonderful country are made interesting by the fact that he was long connected with the Imperial university at Tokio . . . . The views, shown upon a mammoth screen thirty feet square, illustrated many of phases of the social and domestic life of the people. Brief incidents in connection with his residence there made up much of the pleasure of the evening. Many of the views presented were the same Prof. Clark exhibited before the imperial household, where he caught his first glimpse of the Mikado and empress by the aid of the light of the stereopticon. . . . Among the many interesting pictures presented were 'Journey on the Tokaido,' 'Nagas[a]ki,' 'Kobe,' 'Inland Sea,' 'The



Mikado and his Court,' 'Tomb of the Tycoon,' and several of the schools" all subjects in his letters and 1878 book.<sup>33</sup>

**BEGINNING TUESDAY NIGHT**  
July 19  
—AT THE—  
**OPERA HOUSE**  
First Night,  
**The Court**  
OF THE  
**Mikado.**  
—OR—  
**FOUR YEARS IN JAPAN.**  
An Illuminated  
Tour Through the  
Flowery Kingdom.  
CONDUCTED BY  
**Prof. E. Warren Clark,**  
The Great Oriental Traveler.  
Shown upon a new mam-  
moth screen 30 feet  
square.  
More enjoyable than a  
concert.  
More entertaining than  
a play.  
More charming than an  
opera.  
Tickets for the Course, **\$1.00**  
Including Reserved Seats.  
Reserved seats for the course may be secured  
at the ticket office, opera house, Monday, July  
18. Office opens 9 a. m.  
Sale of reserved seats for single lectures begins  
on Tuesday morning, July 19.  
**WANTED.**



10. Adv. Rockford IL *Morning Star*, July 18, 1892.

This was followed the next evening by his old "Three Thousand Miles Through India," while the third night his revised Holy Lands talk "The Land of the Pharaohs and the Land of Promise." These lectures all built up to his most "famous" talk on Moorish

Architecture, divided into “three types: the Taj Mahal of Asia [Fig. 11]; the Alhambra of Europe; and the Ponce de Leon of America.” The last, built in St. Augustine, Florida, by Standard Oil billionaire Henry M. Flagler, was a Spanish Renaissance design by New York architects Carrere and Hastings in 1888.

These entertainments are of a class in every way superior to anything of the kind ever before presented in the city. They crystallize, so to speak, the results of forty thousand miles of travel, and four years’ of residence in the far east. They represent what a polished scholar, an enthusiast and acute observer sees and hears when he is abroad and in climes visited by few Americans.

Together, his lectures were “the most popular and successful of the season.”<sup>34</sup>

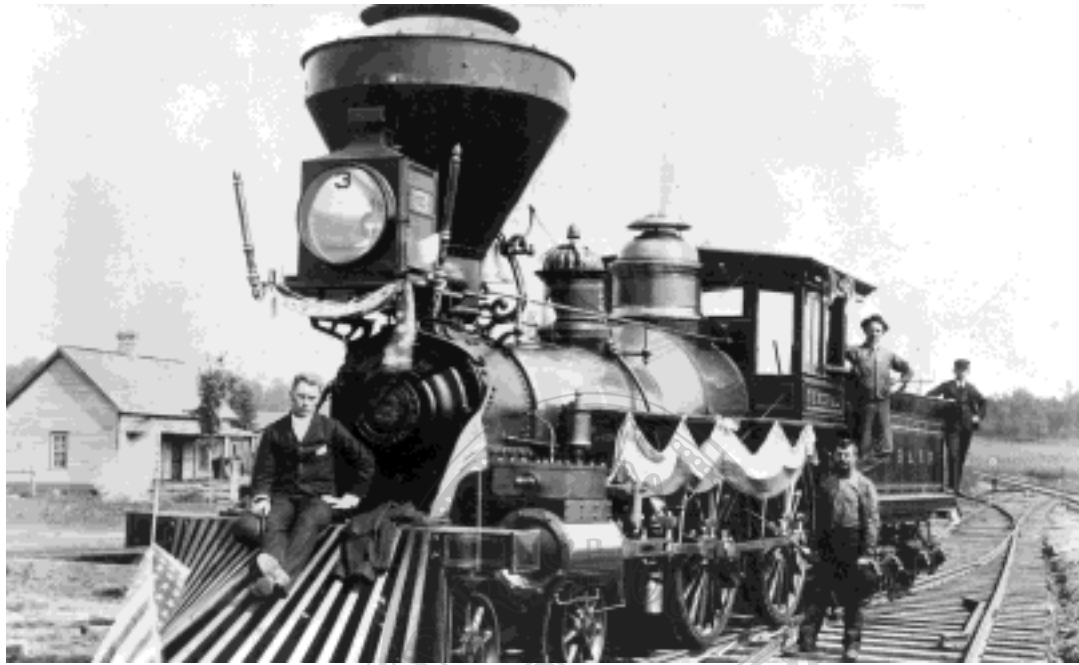


11. E. Warren Clark, 12.5” x 22” photographic print of the Taj Mahal courtesy of Joseph Knox. This image was likely taken during his trips around the world in 1894 and 1895, using a new wide angle camera invented by Franke F. Dumke, patented July 24, 1894 and assigned to Wm. H. Kirk, Milwaukee.

### **The “General” at the Columbian World’s Fair and Clark’s Tours**

Early in 1892 Clark entered a new phase of his showmanship. He discovered a group of early locomotives, condemned and retired from service, sitting on a siding in Vining,

Georgia. One of them was the “General”, a locomotive made famous by the 1862 Andrews’ Raid and the 90-mile “Great Locomotive Chase” of the Civil War.



12. E. Warren Clark riding the cow-catcher of restored locomotive “General” at Chickamauga, GA in Sept. 1892 © by E. Warren Clark.

Clark took photographs [Fig. 12] and talked the railway president into moving it to a shop in West Nashville, near Clark’s home in Columbia, Tennessee, and having it totally restored.<sup>35</sup>

Clark arrived in Atlanta in January 1893 with “specimen views, illustrating his three admirable lectures on Japan,” his journey through India, and a new one “South at the World’s Fair.” “Several of his views illustrating the latter subject, have not as yet been developed. When he gets them complete he will then be ready to show the exact status of the south at Chicago.” He “also gave several views of the Western and Atlantic railroad, including the celebrated engine, “General”, which took such an important part in the famous Andrews raid during the war. The “General” will be one of the exhibits at the world’s fair.”<sup>36</sup>

To earn a living for his growing family Clark not only preached, lectured and wrote, but began to organize tours to various World's Fairs, the South, the Holy Lands, and finally trips to Japan and around the world. In 1891 he began to seriously dream about a return to Japan by leading a group tour of a dozen people who could cover all his travel expenses. "While 'developing' in the Photo Dark-room the other day," he wrote Griff "the idea struck me that the way to "Work my Passage" to Japan, was to originate "Clark's Oriental Tours" (!) . . . similar to Cook's European Tours, only not so extensive." Such a "trip would include Yellowstone National Park, the Columbia River, Mt. Hood, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, and Puget Sound and we would sail on the British Steamers from Victoria and Vancouver to Japan. Making the passage in half the time that we used to. I would plan the trip so as to reach Japan in October. The excursions there would include Nikko, Hakone, Kioto, the Inland Sea, and Nagasaki." <sup>37</sup>

In 1894 Clark got a new passport; it shows the clergyman as 45 years old, 5 foot 8 inches high, with blue eyes, auburn hair, and a round face, high forehead and straight nose. [illus 13] As he wrote his friend Griff in June "It looks just now as though I would see Dai Nippon again next Fall - about 24 years from the time we first went there. ... Wish you would renew your youth by taking the "Round-the-World" trip with me." <sup>38</sup>



13. E. Warren Clark portrait by "Fritz" of Fremont, NB, ca. 1899, courtesy Joseph Knox.

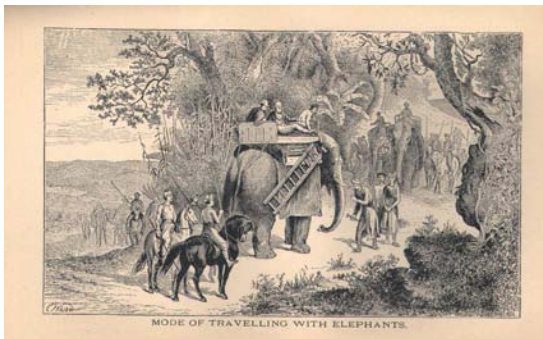
When he, a Rockford widow and seven "eastern people" (or as he told Griff "six rich widows") left Chicago for Hawaii, the Philippines, and Japan, his hometown paper said, "it would be difficult to find a better guide through Japan than Prof. Clark, as he was in the Mikado's service for four years, and has traversed the empire . . . , being better acquainted than many of us are with the United States." It also noted that he had "a new panoramic camera just completed by a Milwaukee firm, which is far superior to any other camera in existence. He is an expert artist and will be the first to use the new machine in foreign lands." <sup>39</sup>



14. E. Warren Clark, 9.5" x 21" photographic print of Lucknow, India, c. 1894-95. Photograph courtesy of Joseph Knox.

In February 1895 the *Times of India*, the English newspaper in Bombay, noted the group had traveled through South China, Singapore, Ceylon, and India [Fig. 14]. They had just departed on the Steamship *Thames* for London, where they went before sailing home. Clark also sent "a photograph of the party en tour through India, two elephants furnishing the mode of transport."<sup>40</sup> [Fig. 15]

By the time he returned to Chicago on April 27, Clark had completed his second round-the-world voyage of his life and had already developed "20 Negatives" for a new book he planned. As he wrote his friend Griffis, "Six months is a long, long time to be absent



15. From Clark's 1875 photograph, "Elephants Traveling" *From Hong Kong to the Himalayas* (1880), p. 297.

from home. But what a 6 months it has been. The first trip around the world could hardly compare with it.”<sup>41</sup> Indeed, he spent the next month at home “busy developing negatives” in the darkroom.<sup>42</sup>

Another tour “under the personal escort of Professor E. Warren Clark” was advertised the next year by F. C. Clark Tours in a “pamphlet descriptive of the trip” that was “beautifully illustrated with scenes from all over the world.” It followed the same itinerary: “The party will leave New York Oct. 2d, and will visit San Francisco, Honolulu, Japan, China, Singapore, Ceylon, India, Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, Paris, Southampton and London. The cost of the six months trip is \$2000.” In November 1895, “the renowned Rockford globe trotter” suffered a fall while on the steamer *China* that left his arm disabled for three weeks. He was home by early June 1896, when he avoided being injured by a stone whizzing through his windshield on his way home from Chicago, just in time for the local rich widow from the 1894 tour to sue him for \$300.<sup>43</sup>

As he revisited the country of his youthful evangelism with his Japan tours, he met with an honored western-leaning Japanese friend, minister of the Japanese navy in the 1870s, Katsu Kaishu. When he returned to the U.S. with the man’s brief autobiographical memoir, Clark tried to interest Harper Brothers in publishing the translation, but they felt it was too short for a full book.<sup>44</sup>

The next summer, a Rockford newspaper reported “the noted globe trotter,” would “escort another party of sight seers around the world, leaving Chicago Oct. 5, going westward. The party leaves San Francisco Oct. 17 and under personal escort of Prof. Clark will visit Honolulu, Japan, China, Singapore, Ceylon, India, Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, Paris, London, and Southampton and will remain away about six months.”<sup>45</sup>

Apparently, this third round-the-world tour (his fourth) never happened, for on December 2, 1896 the *Tampa Tribune* noted Clark had left for Rockford after arranging railroad and hotel accommodations for an Illinois group of 30 that he planned to bring south in January. A newspaper described a 4-page "voluminous folder descriptive of a trip through the resorts of the southern states" that he "illustrated with 100 handsome half tone cuts." Indeed, in January 1897 he published a 26-page advertisement: *Your Choice of Trips for 1897, Clark's Winter Tours to Florida*. [Fig. 16] This included "points of great interest, particularly in the Florida resorts, De Leon Springs, St. Augustine, Palm Beach, and many others," as well as a projected spring trip to Japan and another "Round the World" voyage in October — for which he used his own children as advertising models.<sup>46</sup>

**Clark's Winter Tours.**  
**Chicago to FLORIDA,**  
and Nassau, Bahama Islands.



16. E. Warren Clark, *Your Choice of Trips for 1897*, p. 1. showing his own children: Edith (age 16), Henry M. (9, who died Jan. 1898), Robert E. (age 7) and Lucius L. (age 5) surrounded by patriotic emblems. Wisconsin Historical Society, Pam 58-520.



## Travel and Tragedy

Meanwhile, the Clark family's home life was devastated in January 1898 by the drowning of their 11-year-old son, Henry, skating into the frigid Rock River north of their home. Even a year later he described the loss as a "lightning flash of overwhelming grief." That summer, to recover from the loss, he spent two months in the Bible Institute (Evangelic) in Chicago he described as a "wonderful (spiritual) institution." That summer Clark successfully underwent major surgery at the Lakeside Hospital in Chicago that matched his emotional pain with great physical suffering.<sup>47</sup>

Recovering from his traumas, Clark announced "two series of lectures for the season of 1899. The first of these includes talks on the new Pacific possessions of the United States, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii, as well as a description of all three trips around the world." Images captured on his Pacific travel earlier in the decade were now recycled in support of the Spanish American War and the country's new imperial possessions. His second "course" was "a series of illustrated sermons. . . embellished by stereopticon views taken by Prof. Clark during his trips around the world."<sup>48</sup>

The first record of this new series was in Omaha, Nebraska, in March 1899: "Through peaceful groves of whispering palm in Hawaii and amid the tumultuous booming of Dewey's guns at Manila, Prof. E. Warren Clark led an intensely interested audience last night on a tour through our newly acquired possessions in the Pacific."

From the land of Ohea apples and papaia fruit the lecturer led them to that place of all absorbing interest, the home of the Philipino, where, by means of pictorial illustrations, the speaker contrasted the simple arrow and spear of the native with the machine guns and death-dealing inventions of their western visitors and at this point expressed his marked disapproval of the gun-powder policy of the government with a people who, he said, are more in need of missionaries than of bullets.

His illustrations and verbal descriptions of the jungles and almost

inaccessible interior were anything but encouraging to the advocates of expansion. The lecturer, however, discovered much that is good in both country and people and justifies expectations that time and judicious colonizing will develop a respectable contingent of American citizens.”<sup>49</sup>

As he increasingly spent so much time away from home, Louise Clark advertised herself as Rockford’s agent for F. C. Clark’s (apparently unrelated) Tours, of New York City, organizing excursions to Europe. “Four of these have been arranged for next year for the Paris exposition and one is in prospect for the Mediterranean and the Orient.”<sup>50</sup>

The next month the local paper announced “two Japanese, Ishida and Kimura” were “in Rockford on invitation of Rev. E. Warren Clark” to “provide a pleasing entertainment at the State Street Baptist Church” with the familiar “stereopticon views of Japanese scenes, moving pictures, tableaux of the Mikado’s court, sword dance and other features.”<sup>51</sup>

Yet, it was also said that “one of the Japs was a lawyer and that Mr. Clark brought him here to use his best endeavor to persuade Mrs. Clark to sign certain legal papers, preliminary to a separation from his wife.” While he denied the story, the hometown paper published the statement of a hotel “chambermaid that his wife told him she was tired of supporting him and wanted nothing further to do with him.”<sup>52</sup>

The local newspaper reported in January 1900 that while he was in Florida, his wife “filed a bill for separate maintenance from her husband, the well known lecturer and tourist. She alleges non-support.”<sup>53</sup> A judge “granted an injunction restraining Mr. Clark from taking the minor children from the custody of the mother.”<sup>54</sup> The messy case continued in the local courts through November of that year, when a financial settlement and granting custody of the children to their mother settled the case.

The separation was made all the more difficult as Louise's father suffered a long painful fight with what appears to be liver cancer and died at the end of November 1900. The obituary noted that Mrs. Louise Clark was then living with her mother in town, and two years later the two women rented a remodeled home together, while she ran "the tourist agency formerly conducted by her husband." <sup>55</sup>

In 1902 Clark sued "for divorce from his wife, Louise McCulloch Clark," in Florida and it was reported, "Mrs. Clark will make no contest." Yet in 1904, Miss Edith Clark, their eldest child, went to Tallahassee to "spend the summer with her parents, Prof. and Mrs. E. Warren Clark" which suggests some amicable relationship. <sup>56</sup>

### **Turn of the Century Wanderings**

Kicked out of the Illinois home, he returned to Florida to perform his mixed media Christmas show, took the waters at Panacea Mineral Springs, and began attending the circuit of fairs around the country. In September 1901 he reported for the *Weekly Tallahasseean* on "Florida Day" at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, just six days after President McKinley was assassinated there. The next month he was off to The Charleston Fair and its promotion of the New South. <sup>57</sup>

Each winter Clark returned to Shid-zu-oo-ka Plantation near Tallahassee where he experimented with good works and cultivating famous men. In May 1901 he invited the Governor of Florida a picnic as part of his "Emancipation Day" celebration with his African-American tenants. [Fig. 17] His views on "Caste and Color" clearly mark him as the son of an anti-slavery advocate; he even tried to



17. Gov. W. S. Jennings at Shidzuoka Plantation Emancipation Day. (May 1901), photographed by E. Warren Clark. Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Library and Archives (rc 12552).

create “modern style model homes for the neglected negroes in the farming districts.”<sup>58</sup>

In the hot summers he filled in for the rector at Saratoga, N.Y., while offering lectures to paying summer hotel audience and meeting the rich and famous. The *Rockford Register-Gazette* reported receiving an August 1903 invitation to an entertainment for Admiral George Dewey at the United States Hotel in Saratoga. The event included original photographs of sites along the homeward voyage of the *Olympia*. These, they noted, were “taken by Prof. E. Warren Clark formerly of Rockford.”<sup>59</sup>

Depressed by his “eternal and fatal dependence on ‘Bishops’ . . . the ecclesiastical death of me” Clark dreamed he might get “‘Congregationalized’ (avoiding Bishops)” in a little New England town, “and then be transferred to the *doshisha* in Japan. I would be glad to spend my few remaining years there. Don’t you often cast longing looks toward Japan?” he asked his friend. “I do.”<sup>60</sup>

Suffering from “La Grippe” during the winter of 1904, Clark found himself the guest of Mr. James M. Munyon, a Philadelphia homeopathic patent medicine magnate. Buying an island in 1901 on Lake Worth, West Palm Beach, the millionaire built the Hotel Hygeia, named after the Greek goddess of health. It catered to ailing, wealthy Northerners who came to Palm Beach to recuperate on the tropical island, soak in the Fountain of Youth, and drink “Dr. Munyon's Paw-Paw Elixir”, a concoction apparently of fermented papaya juice, which he bottled on the island as a homeopathic antidote to everything from alcoholism to vertigo and dyspepsia.

He may have been a free guest at the Hotel Hygeia, but Munyon exacted a testimonial from him for his product. “Prof. E. Warren Clark, the well-known lecturer, traveler and scientist, 27 Thomas St., New York” called the Paw Paw fruit “Nature's own remedy for indigestion and nervousness.” “In three trips around the world,” he wrote, “ I have become perfectly familiar with, the medicinal virtues of this remarkable fruit. People in India could not do without it.” Moreover, he had “been taking Munyon's Paw Paw with most gratifying results. The first bottle increased my appetite and cured me of sleeplessness, I am now taking it regularly, and find that my whole system is improved and strengthened. Paw Paw certainly is a wonderful aid to digestion.”<sup>61</sup> This testimonial [Fig. 18] appeared in a Munyon advertising flyer, “There is Hope”, and in dozens of newspapers across the country from December 1903 to August 1904.

With the Russo – Japanese War creating greater interest in Japan, Clark once again tried to lure Griffis into joining him on another ‘round-the-world trip through Japan. But, before he could arrange it, however, Munyon took Clark to Europe all expenses paid, wanting to set Clark up as his European agent in London, Paris or Geneva. While Clark had no interest, he did think he might write a series of Munyon Travel Guides!

# MUNYON'S PAW-PAW



## Prof. Clark, Well-Known Scientist, Praises Paw-Paw.

Prof. E. Warren Clark, the well-known lecturer, traveler and scientist, 27 Thomas-st., New York, writes: "Paw-Paw is Nature's own remedy for indigestion and nervousness. In three trips around the world I have become perfectly familiar with the medicinal virtues of this remarkable fruit. People in India could not do without it. I was much interested when I read that Prof. Munyon had introduced this remedy to the public, and I have been taking Munyon's Paw-Paw with most gratifying results. The first bottle increased my appetite and cured me of sleeplessness. I am now taking it regularly and find that my whole system is improved and strengthened. Paw-Paw certainly is a wonderful aid to digestion. I am telling all my friends about it and what it did for me."

If you have dyspepsia. Try it.  
If you are nervous. Try it.  
If you are despondent. Try it.  
If you are weak and run down. Try it.  
Cast away all tonics, all medicines and all stimulants and let Munyon's Paw-Paw make you well. It will lift you into the high altitudes of hope and hold you there; it will give exhilaration without intoxication.  
Sold by all druggists. Large bottle, \$1.  
Paw-Paw Laxative Pills, 25c a bottle.

18. "Munyon's Paw Paw" advertisement with E. Warren Clark testimonial  
*Chicago Daily Tribune* (Jan. 5, 1904) p. 14

## Promoting Support for Japan during the Russo-Japanese War

Clark's major effort during this free trip around the European capitals was to collect images of the Russo-Japanese war to make into magic lantern slides for the last major group of lectures. As he wrote on his return trip in Sept. 1904,

I have made a SUPERB collection of War Views and reliable photographs in Europe, showing the Progress of the War, and the "Pictorial Spirit of the European Press." *The London Graphic Illustrated, Black and White; Sphere; Cassells,*

and the French and German Papers are INFINITELY AHEAD of the American Press in this matter. It has taken me three months to select this splendid material, and it required five hours for me to arrange and systemize the pictures and most a day according to the plan I have laid out.

This war is not of mere ephemeral interest, but is a Lesson to all Nations of what awful results the implements of Modern warfare can accomplish. And who would have thought the insignificant Japs would have been FIRST to demonstrate it. <sup>62</sup>

If the war continues, he wrote Griff from his ocean liner, "I'd be willing to go to Manchuria itself with a Bioscope Camera and at great risk obtain Motion Pictures of the actual conflict. The Warwick Cenetograph Co. of London are negotiating with me for this end." Meanwhile, " I am going to make Slides of these splendid Pictures." <sup>63</sup>

Returning to the U.S. he visited his native Portsmouth and then settled in New York City because he received an urgent appeal from Japan to raise funds for the Japanese widows and orphans created by the Asian war. By December 1904 he had pulled together a group of prominent American religious leaders under the nominal chairmanship of the former Columbia University president and past mayor of New York, Seth Low, to lend their names to a new "Japan Relief Fund."

In New York *The Sun* quoted the "Rev. E. Warren Clark, treasurer" of what had now become "the Young People's Relief Fund" for the suffering and orphaned children of Japan. "In the town of Sendai, a place, I suppose, of some 60,000 inhabitants, there were 2,000 families made destitute by the war. The same proportion holds good all over the country. No matter how great the exertions of the Japanese charitable societies and the Japanese authorities, it is impossible to keep up with this rising tide of misery." <sup>64</sup>

In December Clark began writing a small book titled *Katz Awa, the Bismarck of Japan* about the founder of the modern Japanese Navy. [Fig. 19] He wrote all 94 pages in 6

days, drawing on a rediscovered “historical gold mine in the personal sketch of his life, a translation of which Katz presented me in 1896 [sic] in Tokio” which *Harpers* had turned down a decade ago.<sup>65</sup> His little book was well-received by critics, perhaps because its story paralleled a popular (but mostly fabricated) 1903 “biography” of *John Paul Jones; Founder of the American Navy* by Augustus C. Buell.



19. Katz Awa and Iyesato Tokugawa  
photograph by E. Warren Clark, Frontispiece, *Katz Awa*

Published before the end of the year, by B. F. Buck & Co., the sales were to benefit a separate “Katz Awa” charitable fund, often called the “little fund” to differentiate it from the larger relief effort. “In the first six weeks,” he wrote Griff that “we have sold 9,836 copies of *Katz Awa*, and have taken in, in cash, over \$3,442.60.”<sup>66</sup> Every cent was donated to the cause, as was over six months of Clark’s unpaid time.

An appeal for the big fund was sent to 33,000 churches and Sunday schools across the country in the two weeks before Christmas. A second appeal, also offering the book as a premium, went out to churches across the land just before Easter. Money was to be



mailed to the publisher, "but where checks, money orders or remittances independent of the booklet are sent, every Dollar goes to the Orphan Fund in Japan." While this appeal was often reprinted in local newspapers, in Steven's Point, Wisconsin, the editor noted: "Mr. Clark was formerly a frequent visitor in the city and married Miss ... McCulloch. Though the possessor of a brilliant mind, his life was embittered by an erratic temperament and it is unlikely that the people of this city would show enthusiasm over any project promoted by him." <sup>67</sup>

In February Clark received a letter from Mrs. Clara Whitney Kaji (wife of Kata Awa's son) who subsequently recommended him for a lecture at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science, with "Tableaux-Vivante, war pictures and Bioscope Motion-Pictures, which I have from London." His title was "From Shidz-u-o-ka Feudalism to the Fall of Port Arthur," but, as he told Griff, "I am 'Long' on War views but short on Feudalism. Mrs. Kaji is to loan me a few Tokio Castle Colored Views, and I wondered if I could get about six of your "old time" views, simply for that one night?" <sup>68</sup> His "special illustrated lecture . . . Japan and Her Fight for Life and Humanity" occurred on March 16, 1905. He earned \$254.45 from it and told Griff he soon hoped to "return the slides you kindly sent me. . . If I had given this winter to Lectures, instead of this enormous amount of hard GRATUITOUS WORK on the two "Relief Funds," I could have made money. But I have sacrificed several hundred dollars of my Florida interests in order to do this work, and am living upstairs in a little 15-foot room, in the fifth story, while doing all this work." <sup>69</sup>

## Scandal

It was not the money he lost by staying in New York that bothered Clark about this campaign. "The thing that worries me the most," he wrote in early May, "is the underhand conduct of this man 'BUCK' who, you know I personally introduced to Dr.

Hall and the Committee, and yet whom Larry Chittenden (who is here now) and first introduced Buck to me, WARNED me against continually, as the very polite but insatiable 'Prince of the Grafters. Such, indeed, is he proving to be." 70

Clark met Buck through Chittenden, a Texas-based "poet cowboy" then in New York. And it was Buck's publishing company that produced *Katz Awa* as a fund-raiser for Clark. But since charitable donations to both the Katz Awa fund and the larger relief fund went to Buck, people began to criticize Clark for being listed as Auditor and Treasurer when "not a dollar of which for four months was I able to see or control." Worse, "nearly Four Thousand Dollars of which went into Buck's private Bank Account." Buck ignored his fiscal questions for two months, until Clark threatened to go to the District Attorney. Only then "did Buck run to his Lawyer...and turn over to me the little he had left." This was \$389.98 plus some 10,000 unbound copies of *Katz Awa*. 71

Then, having looted the Katz Awa Fund, "he turned to the 'Big Fund' - dropped my name from the secretary-ship of the Executive Committee, substituting his own instead, got [George] Southard of the Franklin Trust Co" where the funds were held "into the same trap he got me by being "auditor and Treasurer" . . . and got "Southard to pay his (Buck's) big Bills without any outside auditor and of course without me knowing anything about it. This is the GAME I have just written Seth Low must be investigated." 72

His concerns soon found their way into *The Sun*.

On June 16, 1905 *The Sun* headline screamed "JAP RELIEF FUND FRICTION" His public threats to expose Buck's embezzlement led to counterattacks. When the controversy caused members of the financial and auditing committee to withdraw the use of their names, Consul General Uchida went to the police to open an investigation.

Soon, process servers were after Clark. A theatrical agent sued over a canceled benefit and a printer wanted "\$200 for printing some of the circulars the clergyman has been sending out for months past regarding his Japanese Orphan Relief Fund and also for printing several thousand copies of his book *Katz Awa*" --despite Buck being the publisher. *The Sun* published a devastating front-page story where Buck spun his version of events. The New York *Tribune* called Clark the "fleeing philanthropist." <sup>73</sup>

When Clark returned from a brief getaway at the Jersey shore home of poet Larry Chittenden (suspiciously ahead of the process servers), he opened his bankbook for *The Sun* "to show that all the money he ever got for the fund was \$886.38, of which he says about \$500 was sent to Japan." <sup>74</sup> This very public front-page controversy throughout July made Clark an anathema to Japanese officials, then negotiating with President Roosevelt to hold a peace conference to possibly end the Russo-Japanese War. When Clark sent him an inscribed copy of *Katz Awa*, Ambassador "Sato said he would pay no attention to the communication. He added that last December Mr. Clark asked him for the autograph of the Emperor and that he refused to give it to him, fearing that it would be used as an endorsement of the benefit scheme." <sup>75</sup>

Chittenden told him, " See what 'GRATITUDE' you get? You have worked six months like the devil, living on scarcely two meals a day, . . . and now the big grafter (Buck) who has made off with hundreds of dollars charges YOU with embezzlement!" <sup>76</sup>

Clark realized that Buck was cleverly "hiding his pretended accounts (using Southard & myself as "'cats paws') & turning suspicion & public scandal upon me!!" But when Clark approached the district attorney about suing the *Sun* for libel he was told it would be very hard to win. While the article was undoubtedly malicious, it wasn't criminal; "the *Sun* has been sued so often, they come just inside the law." While the newspaper

printed a partial retraction, he hoped the State of New York would indict and try Buck, as the "Law is too expensive." <sup>77</sup> They never did.

### The Portsmouth Peace Conference

In July he learned "from Mrs. Helen C. KNIGHT of my native town of PORTSMOUTH, N.H. . . . that the PEACE CONFERENCE would really be held there." "I expect to go to Portsmouth next week," he wrote Griff August 2 from Chittenden's New Jersey shore home; "Are you coming? . . . I could meet you in my old birthplace." <sup>78</sup>



20. # 5 - 9 of a standard set of 48 Russo-Japanese War lantern slides. Clark's own slides have not been located.

"I gave an address on "Japan" in the old North Church (Congl.), Father's old church, in Portsmouth last Fall," Clark said, "which was well received." <sup>79</sup> Initially, he planned to take his "War Pictures there this summer" [Fig. 20] and "I have written Mrs. Knight to get the church for me one or two nights during the convention. But my effort at the Conference will still be for the BENEFIT of the ORPHAN RELIEF FUND." As it turned out, he reported to Griff, "I did not bring my War Lectures to Portsmouth, as it would have appeared too partial & of 'favoritism' while the Russians (with whom I greatly sympathize) are on neutral territory." <sup>80</sup>

“I am stopping with my dear old friend Mrs. H. C. Knight, who is 91 years old,” he wrote several days later. Mrs. Knight was the recipient of some of Clark’s earliest letters from Japan that she scattered throughout the 1873 issues of *The Child’s Paper*, a New York religious monthly published by the American Tract Society that Clark had earlier contributed to while in Europe. Knight served as that paper’s long-distance editor for 25 years, all the time while living as a widow in Portsmouth.<sup>81</sup> It is, indeed, possible that she may have recommended that he recycle his many letters from Japan and that the Society publish the returning Clark’s memoir of Japan in 1877 and its successor volume on his return.

The 1870 U.S. Census for Portsmouth lists not only Mrs. Knight at her Islington Street home, but Edward’s oldest brother, the Rev. Rufus W. Clark (then Rector of St. John’s Episcopal Church) as her boarder! Indeed, Clark ended his first “Round the World” trip back from Japan in 1875 at Portsmouth.

In 1905 Clark arrived at Mrs. Knight’s a day or more before the peace delegates arrived, for he “saw Komura as he came up in the launch from the [USS] *Mayflower*” on August 8<sup>th</sup>. He “recognized him immediately” as his carriage passed by in the parade, but told Griffis he had “changed much in appearance since I used to see him daily in the class.” Clark also “photographed” Komura that first day “as he entered the Court House at Portsmouth with Takihira,” another of his former students.<sup>82</sup>

A Rockford, Illinois newspaper reported the Portsmouth activities of its former resident, telling its readers, “Clark Taught Baron Komura . . . Peace Envoy then a Lad.” They quote Clark about services in Christ Church with the Russian delegation on August 13, noting the collection was “something new for them . . . and sitting in the front pews was a little embarrassing for several members of the party.”<sup>83</sup> The next day Clark was

awaiting the arrival of Methodist minister “Mr. Y. Honda, Bishop Harris’ assistant” in Tokyo returning from an international Y. M. C. A. Conference in Paris. It was he “who wrote the original letter of appeal sent out from Mr. Buck’s office” and he hoped Honda might help get the district attorney to indict Buck.

Later that week Mrs. Knight, the oldest woman in the city, hosted her houseguest Clark and two Japanese visitors, the Rev. Y. Honda and Yasujiro Ishikawa, editor of the *Hochi Shimbun*, for supper. She served expensive Japanese tea from Shidzuoka, a present from the young Clark nearly 30 years before, that she “still had on hand. This ‘Shidzuoka tea’ was served in Japanese style, from a Japanese teapot and the Tokio guests pronounced it the genuine article, having lost but little of its flavor by being kept a full generation in a Portsmouth climate.” While reported as merely a pleasant “tea party,” it may actually have been more like a strategy session over the relief funds and how to best link that message to the peace conference. <sup>84</sup>

On Sunday evening members of the Japanese delegation attended Episcopal services where they, too, were given seats in the front row. After the service, Clark greeted Minister Takahira. As they shook hands “for the first time in 27 years,” Clark asked “if he remembered when he was his student” at the Imperial University in Tokyo? Takihira “replied in the affirmative. But he is feeble, walks with a cane, and has aged more than his former instructor; who left Portsmouth as an infant, the year (1854) that Perry ‘opened’ Japan.” Clark told the reporters authoritatively that, after the conference was done, Komura would be made a Count and Takahira a Baron for their service. <sup>85</sup>

That week an essay by William E. Griffis, “First Envoy to Japan,” appeared in the *New York Times*. He reminded readers that in 1832 a Portsmouth resident, Edmund Roberts, was the first diplomat America sent to Japan. He died in China before reaching Japan, but he was now memorialized in the first stained glass window added to St. John’s

Episcopal Church in 1885 by a bequest of Mrs. Anna F. P. Pruyn (1840-1909) of Albany, NY. While Griffis predicted “the Japanese envoys will doubtless visit St. John’s Church, so rich in Oriental mementos, to look upon the noble stained glass window in memory of this first ambassador accredited to Japan,” it was actually the Russian delegates who listened to Clark preach at St. John’s Church on Sunday August 27, 1905. <sup>86</sup>

Later that week Clark went to the Wentworth Hotel in New Castle, where the delegates stayed, to speak with the Japanese delegation. “Komura looked pale and thin, but grim & determined, as if a breath would blow him away,” he wrote. “The Japs were in a panic that fatal afternoon, when the order came from Tokio to 'make peace' on any terms. The Japs cried! & I sat by Ishikawa as he wrote a 6-page letter to Baron Komura (upstairs at the Wentworth) begging him to 'resign' --rather than 'capitulate'!” He also told Griff that Komura remembered him and said “with a funny smile, 'Mr. Clark taught us inorganic chemistry, & electricity' and 'Mr. Griffis taught organic chemistry & Law,' & then he laughed outright at the queer mixture of subjects.” <sup>87</sup>

### **Green Acre: Clark and Sarah Farmer**

During that crucial waiting period, filled with back channel and informal diplomacy, that led up to the resolution of the last issues, Clark introduced some Japanese diplomats and newspapermen to Green Acre, Miss Sarah Farmer’s spiritual retreat in Eliot, Maine. Here a huge “PEACE” flag flew along the river, so large that it could be seen from the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard.

On Thursday August 31, at the conclusion of closing exercises, three “stirring addresses” celebrated the recently agreed upon terms of peace. Here diplomat Takahira gave his first public utterance about the concluded peace negotiations in a “short but fervent address.” His remarks were followed by editor Ishikawa, who paid a graceful tribute

for President Roosevelt as the “greatest peacemaker” of modern times. “He dwelt on the sacrificing character of the Japanese women, who had sent their husbands and sons off to war, without a murmur.” Warren Clark was warmly thanked for his successful efforts in bringing the Japanese to Green Acre. “He showed that Japan had fought the fight of humanity for the Russian peasantry and for the oppressed Jews, as well as for herself” and “we should add to our applause for Japan’s costly sacrifice, the practical aid and sympathy that will help her now to care for the thousands of widows and orphans of her soldiers killed in the war.” He encouraged the audience to respond “to appeals recently sent out by Christian workers in Japan, in behalf of the destitute families of the slain, and by helping those who are suffering in silence, the widows and orphans, in the land of the Rising Sun. . . . In response” the audience “adopted a unanimous (standing) vote” to give a “Christian Peace offering for the destitute families killed in the war.”<sup>88</sup> On Sunday September 10 a final peace celebration was held at Green Acre where Clark again spoke “of the widows and orphans of the island empire and told of the proposed plan of Bishop Harris to collect funds in this country for their relief.”<sup>89</sup>

### **After the Peace Conference**

After the conference ended and everyone had gone home, the *New York Herald* reported guests to The Old Perry Home at Narragansett Pier, Rhode Island included “Mr. E. Warren Clark, of Florida . . . and Mr. F. Ishikawa, an editor from Tokio, Japan.” The two men “were at Greene's Inn early in the week... to visit the birthplace of Commodore M. C. Perry, who opened the ports of Japan.”<sup>90</sup> E. Warren Clark, tour leader extraordinary!

He returned to Shidzuoka Plantation in Florida, where in November 1905 he welcomed a Japanese family that the *Tallahassee Democrat* reported had “arrived here last week to settle on the plantation of Rev. E. Warren Clark.” Clark also sold or gave away copies of *Katz Awa* to visitors who made the trek out from Tallahassee. At least, this is suggested



by an inscribed copy by an unknown buyer, inscribed in November 1905: "Clark lives in the woods 7 miles north of Tallahassee. We visited him there yesterday 11/19/1905. He is an erratic genius." <sup>91</sup>

The judgment seems to have been widespread. Even his critics said he was "the possessor of a brilliant mind" but, as Chittenden described him, "erratic and eccentric." Griffis later recalled him as, "a delightful companion in travel and an interesting man full of initiative and enthusiasm, an eager and persevering but seemingly erratic and changeful - all, I believe, of the nervous strain suffered by and from his ocular troubles." <sup>92</sup>

He died on June 5, 1907 of tuberculosis at only 58 years old in Kingston, N. Y. where "he had gone to regain his health. He was a brother of Rev. Rufus W. Clark, formerly rector of old St. John's Church, who went to Kingston to take charge of the body, the burial being in Albany in the family plot." <sup>93</sup>

Brought low by ill-health and divorce, financial insecurity, and an undeserved media scandal, E. Warren Clark was brilliant but, as the Steven's Point editor said, "embittered by his erratic temperament." <sup>94</sup> As a Christian evangelist, popular speaker and lanternist, he devoted the greater part of his extraordinary life attempting to build a bridge between his American countrymen and the Japanese people he so admired.

ENDNOTES

1. William E. Griffis, "Material for History of Class of 1869 of Rutgers College" notes on E. Warren Clark, May 5, 1916, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick, NJ. For an outline of his and his brothers' ministerial careers, see *The Native Ministry of New Hampshire*, Rev. F. N. Carter, comp. (Concord, NH: Rumford Press, 1906) "Edward Warren Clark" p. 632; "Rufus Wheelwright Clark [Jr.]" and "William Walton Clark" p. 635.

2. His correspondence is available on microfilm as "Japan Through Western Eyes, Records of Traders, Travelers, Missionaries and Diplomats, 1853-1941," Part 3: The William Elliot Griffis Collection from Rutgers University Library, Correspondence and Scrapbooks (Adam Matthew Publication, 1997). All citations from this collection in this paper are from Reel 29, Group I: Series Correspondence -- Japan Letters, E. Warren Clark ("Clarkie") and identified by date. For the story of Sam Patch see F. Calvin Parker, *Sentaro, Japan's Sam Patch: Cook, Castaway, Christian* (paperback, iUniverse.com, 2010).

In addition to his three books, Clark's newspaper journalism can be found in three family-owned scrapbooks of his 1869 - 1875 correspondence to *The Targum* of Rutgers College, the *Albany [NY] Evening Journal*, the *New York Evangelist*, and others like *The Child's Paper* and [NY] *Christian Intelligencer*. Joseph Knox of Richmond, VA shared with me these scrapbooks and several photographs by his great grandfather, which have since been donated to Special Collections and Archives, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, NJ. Hereafter cited: Clark scrapbook, Rutgers,

3. Clark and Griffis interpreted the significance of "Tycoonism" differently, see Clark's review of Griffis' book "The Mikado's Empire" in the *New York Evangelist*, March 1, 1877. See "First Introduction," *E. Warren Clark's 1878 Life and Adventure in Japan*, Daniel A. Metraux and Jessica Puglisi, eds. (Lincoln, NE : The Writer's Club, 2002), pp. 6. 18. This reprint unfortunately does not include any of Clark's important original illustrations from his photographs.

4. E.W. Clark, letter from Shizuoka, March 18 1872 published in *New York Evangelist* 30 May 1872 and the *Albany Evening Journal*, 1 June 1872, Clark scrapbooks, Rutgers.

5. E. W. Clark, "Life in Japan" letter of Jan. 1, 1873 in the *New York Evangelist* 20 March 1873 and *Albany Evening Journal* 22 March 1873, Clark scrapbook, Rutgers.

6. "Magnesium Stereopticon Exhibition" advertisement, *The Japan Daily Herald* and *The Japan Gazette* (both Yokohama) 13 August 1873, Clark scrapbook, Rutgers.

7. E. Warren Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan, Illustrated from Original Photographs* (New York: American Tract Society, Missionary Series, 1878), p. 171.

8. "Tokei" July 11, 1874 unidentified newspaper clipping about the April 7, 1874 court exhibition in Clark's scrapbook, Rutgers.
9. Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan*, Chapter 9 "A Peep Into the Mikado's Palace" pp. 174-176. Against all protocol; Clark used the brilliant limelight of his magnesium lamp to glimpse the Mikado and his family as they left the room.
10. "Lectures" *Brooklyn*, [NY] *Daily Eagle*, April 11, 1876. Cited newspaper advertisements and reviews can be found by name search on one of four web sources: [www.fultonhistory.com/newspapers](http://www.fultonhistory.com/newspapers), [www.Genealogybank.com](http://www.Genealogybank.com); [www.newspaperARCHIVE.com](http://www.newspaperARCHIVE.com), and [www.ChroniclingAmerica.loc.gov](http://www.ChroniclingAmerica.loc.gov); materials from the 1903-05 Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* were available only on microfilm.
11. "Around the World in Eighty Minutes," adv. *New York Evangelist*, Feb. 1 & 8, 1877; *New York Evening Express*, 27 Feb. 1877.
12. *New York Evening Express* adv. April 19, 1877.
13. *New York Herald*, Nov. 16, 1877, p. 4.
14. *Albany* [NY] *Evening Journal*, "Oriental Arts Entertainments at Tweddle Hall," Dec. 4, 7 & 15, 1877; *Albany Evening Journal* "Oriental Art," Dec. 15, 1877.
15. "Oriental Art Entertainments and Illustrated Lectures by Prof. E. Warren Clark at the Congregational Church on the evenings of Feb. 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>" two-sided handbill, owned by Mr. Joseph Knox.
16. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 5 1878, "Local Summary"; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 14, 1878, adv.
17. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 3, 1878, adv.
18. The dedicated copy of the book belongs to Joseph Knox of Richmond, VA, who I thank for providing the inscription written to his great grandmother. The marriage date is from an undated Steven's Point newspaper clipping "Married Clark - McCullough" [sic] in a Clark family photo album, courtesy of Joseph. Knox and his daughter.
19. *Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 18, 1879, adv. "Whitney's Opera House"; *Detroit Free Press* Sept. 24 1879, "Amusements" Whitney's --The second Prof. E. Warren " *Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 25, 1879, "Whitney's."
20. *Detroit Free Press*, Nov. 4, 1879, "Tycoonism in Japan."

21. *Detroit Free Press*, Nov. 9, 1879, "Amusements."
22. [Rockford, IL] *The Spectator* July 16, 1892, "Stereopticon Views."
23. *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, Dec. 10, 1879, "Oriental Topics."
24. *The Native Ministry of New Hampshire*, p. 632; *The Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 3, 1891, "A Great Week."
25. *The Native Ministry of New Hampshire*, p. 632; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1885, E. W. Clark Letter to the Editor "Florida as a Resort"; Henry Martyn Field *Bright skies and dark shadows* (NY: C. Scribner's Sons, 1890) "On an Old Plantation" pp. 80-81; Andy Lindstrom, They Call him Clark-Sama," *Tallahassee Democrat*, Feb. 10, 1991.
26. Clark to Griffis, March 22, 1891, William E. Griffis Collection.
27. *Ibid.* ; *Rockford Morning Star*, July 21, 1892, p. 2, "Scenes and Stories of Fair Japan"; *The Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 3, 1891, "A Great Week Ahead for Those who Attend the Chautauqua Exercises"
28. *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, Dec. 10, 1879, "Oriental Topics."
29. *Omaha Daily Bee*, March 15, 1899, p.2 adv. "The Tissot Pictures of the Life of Christ."
30. *Omaha Daily Bee*, March 17, 1899, p. 5 "Story of Life of Christ"; *The Weekly Tallahasseean*, Dec. 20, 1900, p. 4, "Christmas at Bethlehem."
31. *Macon [GA] Telegraph*, March 29, 1892, "At White Springs."
32. *Rockford [IL] Morning Star* July 6, 1892, "A Brilliant Man and Rich Subject"; *Rockford Morning Star* July 18, 1892, adv. "The Court of the Mikado"
33. *Rockford Morning Star*, July 20, 1892, p. 2, "Scenes and Stories of Fair Japan, As Depicted in an Interesting Lecture by Prof. E. Warren Clark."
34. [Rockford, IL] *The Spectator* July 16, 1892. "Stereopticon Views" ; [Rockford] *The Spectator*, July 23, 1892, p. 13.
35. Stan Cohen and James G. Bogle, *The General and the Texas, A Pictorial History of the Andrews Raid April 12, 1862* (Missoula, MN: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1999), pp. 49-51, 55.

36. *The Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 26, 1893, "Professor Clark's Entertainment;" His photograph of the restored locomotive at Chickamauga, GA would appear in E. Warren Clark, "Japanese Strategy, Cutting a Railroad in Two -The Famous "Andrew Raid" Recalled" *The [Jacksonville] Florida Times Union*, April 24, 1904.
37. Clark to Griffis, March 22, 1891, William Elliott Griffis Collection, Rutgers University.
38. Clark to Griffis, June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1894, William Elliott Griffis Collection, Rutgers University.
39. *Rockford Daily Register Gazette* (Sept. 13, 1894), p. 5 "Around the World." The new camera was likely based on the July 24, 1894 U.S. Patent #523,336 of Frank F. Dumke, of Milwaukee, probably manufactured by assignee William H. Kirk of the same city.
40. *Rockford Morning Star* (March 16, 1895) "The Rockford Tourists, Seeing India form the Backs of Two Elephants."
41. Clark to Griffis, April 27, 1895, William Elliott Griffis Collection, Rutgers.
42. *Rockford Daily Register Gazette*, May 11, 1895, "Girdled the Earth," p. 2
43. *The Independent* [Honolulu, HI] Aug. 2, 1895; *Rockford Daily Register Gazette*, May 11, 1896, "Prof. E. Warren Clark Hurt"; *Rockford Morning Star*, June 11, 1895, "Talk of the Town." p.5.
44. Clark, writing from Nikko Japan to Griffis, Nov. 17, 1895, William Elliott Griffis Collection, Rutgers.
45. *Rockford Daily Register Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1896, "Fourth Annual Tour."
46. *Tampa [FL] Tribune*, Dec. 2, 1896; *Rockford Morning Star*, Dec. 30, 1896, "A Trip Through the South," p.3; *Rockford Morning Star*, Jan. 19, 1897, "Florida and Nassau, Bahamas Islands," adv. p. 6.; *Rockford Morning Star*, Jan. 17, 1897, "The Florida Surf."
47. 1898 Jan. 7 *Rockford Morning Star* "Skated to His Death"; Clark to Griffis, July 10, 1898 and Dec. 18, 1898, William Elliott Griffis Collection, Rutgers.
48. *Rockford Morning Star*, Jan. 14, 1899, " New Series of Lectures," p. 8.
49. 1899 March 5 *Omaha [Neb.] Daily Bee*, Part I, p. 5, and March 15, 1899 "In Hawaii and Philippines," p. 5; He gave the same talk to the Oakland Club in Chicago in November, see *Rockford Morning Star*, Nov. 12, 1899, "Under the Starlight," p.6.
50. *Rockford Morning Star*, Nov. 10, 1899, p. 2.

51. *Rockford Daily Register*, Dec. 11, 1899, "Japs To Entertain" p. 1.
52. *Rockford Daily Republic*, Jan. 27, 1900, "Surprise to Clark," p.1.
53. *Rockford Republic*, Jan 26. 1900,"Separate Maintenance," p.1.
54. *Rockford Morning Star*, Jan. 27, 1900, p. 2
55. *Rockford Morning Star*, Feb. 25, 1902, p. 3; *Rockford Republic* (June 27, 1902), p. 2.
56. *Rockford Republic*, March 29, 1902, p.2; *Rockford Morning Star*, March 30, 1902, p. 2.
57. *The Weekly Tallahasseean*, Sept. 20, 1901, p.1 "Florida Days" by E. Warren Clark; *The Weekly Tallahasseean*, Oct. 25, 1901, p.1, "The Charleston Fair" by E. Warren Clark.
58. *The Weekly Tallahasseea* Nov. 29, 1901, "Caste and Color," by E. Warren Clark; *Ocala [FL] Evening Star*, March 7, 1902, "The Colored Folks Column."
59. *Rockford Daily Register-Gazette* Aug. 24, 1903, p. 8, "E. Warren Clark To Show Pictures."
60. Clark to Griffis, April 13, 1904, William E. Griffis Collection.
61. Clark to Griffis, March 21, 1904, William E. Griffis Collection; Adv. *The [NY] Evening World*, Nov. 19, 1903 and *Titusville [PA] Herald*, May 20 & Aug. 1, 1904.
62. Clark to Griffis, Sept. 7, 1904, William E. Griffis Collection.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *The [NY] Sun*, Dec. 8, 1904, "Xmas Gift to Japanese Poor".
65. Clark to Griffis, Dec. 4, 1904, William E. Griffis Collection.
66. Clark to Griffis, Feb. 19, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
67. *Stevens Point [WI] Daily Journal*, June 27, 1905, "Clark Appeals for Aid."
68. Clark to Griffis, Feb. 19, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
69. *NY Evening Post*, March 16, 1905; Clark to Griffis, May 10, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.

70. Clark to Griffis, May 10, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
71. *Ibid.*; *NY Sun*, July 25, 1905, p. 10 "Rev.. Mr. Clark Back In Town."
72. Clark to Griffis, May 10, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
73. *The [NY] Sun*, July 20, 1905, front page: "Uchida Goes to the Police About the Rev. E. W. Clark's Japanese Orphans' Fund."; Clark to Griffis, August 14, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
74. *The [NY] Sun*, July 25, 1905, p. 10 "Rev.. Mr. Clark Back In Town."
75. *NY Times*, July 27, 1905, "Komura to Visit the President Today."
76. Clark to Griffis, Aug. 2, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
77. Clark to Griffis, August 14, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
78. Clark to Griffis, July 14,[1905] and Aug. 2, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
79. Clark to Griffis, July 14,[1905] , William E. Griffis Collection.
80. Clark to Griffis, August 14, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.
81. *Ibid.*; "Edward" For *The Child's Paper* (Jan. 1873) p.2 ; "Digging Through" *The Child's Paper* (July 1873) p. 26 "Edward's New House," *The Child's Paper* 22:8 (Aug.1873): p. 30; "A Little Japanese Girl," *The Child's Paper* 26: 9 (Sept. 1877): p. 36; also see "A Nobel Dog" by E. W. C. *The Child's Paper* (May 1871); Obituary, "Mrs. Helen Caroline Knight" *Granite Monthly* 38 (Dec. 1906), p. 591.
82. Clark to Griffis, August 14, 1905, William E. Griffis Collection; *Rockford [IL] Daily Register-Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1905, "Clark Taught Baron Komura."
83. *Ibid.*,
84. *Portsmouth Times*, Aug. 22, 1905, "Japanese Tea"
85. *Ibid.*; *Portsmouth Herald*, Aug. 21, 1905, "Takahira Goes to Church."
86. Wm. Elliott Griffis, "Edmund Roberts, Our First Envoy to Japan", *New York Times* Aug. 6, 1905, p. SM2; *Portsmouth Herald*, July 28, 1905, p. 1, "A Portsmouth Envoy"; E. Warren Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan*, p. 220; *Portsmouth Herald*, Aug. 28, 1905.
87. Clark to Griffis, Sept. 1905, William E. Griffis Collection.

88. *Portsmouth Times*, Sept. 1, 1905, [p. 1] "At Greenacre. . . Rev. E. Warren Clarke Makes Address."

89. *Portsmouth Times*, Sept. 11, 1905, p. 1; Sept. 12 it was reported he and Miss Farmer purchased peace conference furniture as souvenirs. For more on the Treaty see: <http://www.portsmouthpeacetreaty.org>

90. *NY Herald*, Sunday, Oct. 1, 1905, p. 11 "Many Automobile Parties at the Pier . . . At The Old Perry Home."

91. *The Ocala [FL] Banner* Nov. 3, 1905, p. 3 citing the *Tallahassee Democrat*; *Katz Awa* offered on eBay by Scott Albertson Jan. 2012 with photograph of cover and inscription.

92. *Steven's Point [WI] Daily Journal*, June 27, 1905, "Clark Appeals for Aid"; *The Sun* [NY], July 23, 1905, p. 12, "The Rev. E. W. Clark Not Far"; "Material for History of Class of 1869 of Rutgers College," *op. cit.*

93. *Portsmouth Herald*, June 8, 1907, "Death of Rev. E. Warren Clark"

94. *Steven's Point [WI] Daily Journal*, June 27, 1905, "Clark Appeals for Aid."

