

# Thomas Starr King

*Arliss Ungar*

*Ungar, former president of the Starr King board of trustees and a longtime supporter of the school, delivered this lecture in April 2002 at Starr King School*

The Reverend Thomas Starr King was the Unitarian minister in San Francisco from 1860 to 1864. A pastor, patriot, humanitarian, educator, orator, writer, man of letters, journalist, fighter for justice, shaper of public opinion, and lover of nature, he is best known for his role in keeping California in the Union during the Civil War. His book, *The White Hills, their Legends, Landscape and Poetry*, his sermons and his correspondence in newspapers such as the *Boston Evening Transcript*, brought his love of nature to the attention of the American public. He was widely known and respected, and much beloved.

He came to stand in the minds of Californians as the very symbol of religion, culture, and the greater scene beyond the Far West. San Franciscans were proud of King's eloquence, his ties with literary Boston, his line of ministerial descent in the church of Emerson, Edward Everett, William Ellery Channing, and Theodore Parker. The very fact that King seemed to be thriving in California was a comforting sign of provincial maturity. That he was self-educated, that he has risen in the learned Unitarian ministry without benefit of an earned degree, reinforced the assumption that talent, not

birth or background, was what counted. In four short years King became California's man for all seasons, a hero and prophet of the Pacific commonwealth.[1]

I would like to give you some biographical information on Thomas Starr King, briefly summarize his theology, and then describe some of the ways he brought his faith to life. I'll quote Starr King, his friends and colleagues (especially biographers Edwin Whipple and Charles Wendte) as they spoke in the 19th century.

## THE LIFE OF THOMAS STARR KING

Thomas Starr King, the eldest of the six children of Thomas Farrington King and Susan Starr King, was born in New York City on December 17, 1824. His father was a Universalist minister "noted among the clergymen of his denomination for the fervor with which he preached self-renunciation for the sake of Christ..."[2] He was a man of "high character, good abilities as a preacher and fine social qualities,"; his mother, a woman of "character and intelligence, who...fostered the studious bent of her talented son."[3] He spent his boyhood in Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Charlestown, Massachusetts. There was no high school in Charlestown. As was the custom, he was tutored for college by the grammar school principal, a highly educated man.

Starr, as he was called, was 15 when his father died. He gave up all hope of attending college and divinity school. He worked as a clerk and bookkeeper at a store, assistant teacher, grammar school principal, then bookkeeper at the naval yard to earn money to support his mother and siblings. "...in the companionship of books, by protracted, solitary studies, through daily contact with men and affairs, and the stern discipline of sorrow, self-denial and responsibility, this 'graduate of the Charlestown Navy Yard', as he humorously called himself, acquired an education, and developed a character".[4] He was especially influenced by the writings of William Ellery Channing and French philosopher Victor Cousin. Among his mentors were Universalist ministers, Edwin Chapin, his own minister, and Hosea Ballou II, his "theological father", who designed for him a systematic course of study.

Starr King had no earned scholastic degree, not even from high school. But he was highly educated. In 1850, in recognition of his scholastic achievement, Harvard granted him an honorary masters degree. He had a working knowledge of eight languages, including Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Besides the writings of Channing (who died when King was a teenager), he studied ancient classics, natural science and contemporary German and French theologians. He attended lectures such as those by Transcendentalist Theodore Parker, and Harvard professor James Walker who influenced his views

on Natural Theology. “In addition to these,” explained his friend, Edwin Whipple, “he had all those professors of theology, philosophy, and literature who have left, in books, undying records of their thoughts and lives...”[5] Many of the books he read were from Theodore Parker’s 20,000 volume private library. He was one of the best educated ministers in Boston. But, because he had no formal education, he was looked down on by the Unitarian Boston Brahmins.

Starr King gave his first public address on the 4th of July, 1845 at the Medford Unitarian Church. He was twenty years old. In October of that year he preached his first sermon. He served a short apprenticeship filling the pulpit of a small Universalist church in Boston while its minister was away.

He was called to the Universalist Charlestown church where his father had been minister. Two years later, after an extended trip to the Azores to restore his health, he accepted the call to the Hollis Street Unitarian Church in Boston. He was fellowshipped both as a Universalist and as a Unitarian minister.

In December of that year, 1848, he married Julia Wiggin of East Boston, “a woman of personal attraction, social gifts, and intellectuality.”[6] Over the years, he often mentioned his wife and two children, Edith and Frederick, in his letters.

The Hollis Street church, once thriving, was torn apart by dissension over temperance and anti-slavery. That this young minister, with strong views against slavery and in favor of temperance, and no reluctance to speak his mind, could rebuild the church, is a tribute to his abilities as a minister. He spoke out about important controversial political issues. “I would insist as strongly as any one on the right and duty of ministers to act as reformers, to speak in Anti-Slavery meetings, and temperance and peace meetings, if they have the power of popular address. Let them act as Reformers in the proper sphere for such social action. And in the pulpit let them attack the central throne of sin in the private heart....If I can make [a man] loathe sin, and love right and goodness only, am I not leading him to hate slavery and drunkenness, which are only special forms of sin?”[7]

He was much loved as a pastor. “The poor, the distressed, the unfortunate, found in him a sympathizer, adviser and friend, a benefactor who gave not only of his means, but himself to their need”.[8] (Charles Wendte, parishioner)

In the eleven years he remained there, church membership increased five fold. He supplemented his meager salary by lecturing throughout New England, and beyond. He became one of Boston’s finest

orators, lecturing on such topics as Goethe, Socrates, Substance and Show, and Sight and Insight.[9] He renewed his health and his soul with vacations in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. His writings about their beauty and their legends became his only book, *The White Hills, Their Landscape, Legends and Poetry*. It helped the people of New England to appreciate the beauty of nature.

But his health was failing; he felt he could no longer keep up the pace. After months of consideration, he took a leave of absence from the Hollis Street Church and left Boston for San Francisco hoping, perhaps, for better weather, for a location which, by its remoteness, would relieve the temptation to lecture so much, and for a place where he could “be somebody”. “I do desire,” he wrote Rev. Henry Bellows, “to be in a position where my labor would be of greater worth to the general cause than it can be in Boston.”[10] He hoped he would not be so looked down upon because he had no earned academic degree. Whipple put it this way, “An attempt for him to assume the position of leader of public opinion in Boston would have been crushed by the superciliousness of the educated and fashionable classes.”[11] He wrote Bellows, “I do think we are unfaithful in huddling so closely around the cozy stove of civilization in this blessed Boston, and I, for one, am ready to go out into the cold and see if I am good for anything.”[12]

In April, 1860, Starr King and his family set sail for San Francisco, taking a train across Panama. There was no trans-continental railroad then; there was no wireless. California had entered the Union in late 1849 as a free state. San Francisco had grown “in only one decade from a mere frontier outpost to a bustling city that claimed 80,000 souls and was impatiently huffy when the new census only gave it credit for 56,000. It was proud of the fact that it enjoyed the highest per-capita income of any urban center on the North American continent...”[13]

The San Francisco Unitarian Church was founded in 1850, the only one on the Pacific Coast at that time. The church owned its own building. While it had a strong lay leadership, a Sabbath school and an effective women’s Christian charity group, parishioner Horace Davis also remembered it as “a moribund church, a depleted society with insufficient income and a heavy debt.”[14]

Starr King served the San Francisco Unitarian Society until his death, not quite four years later. He preached twice each Sunday about such issues as Christian theology, patriotism, the beauty of Lake Tahoe, or who to elect governor. His parishioners payed off their debt within a year. Under King’s careful supervision they built a beautiful gothic church which they dedicated in January, 1864 “in two successive services, to the Worship of God and the Service of Man.”[15]

During the Civil War, Starr King traveled the State by stage coach, using his skills as an orator and the power of his personality to shape public opinion in support of the Union. "It has been said by high authority that Mr. King saved California for the Union. California was too loyal at heart to make the boast reasonable; but it is not too much to say that Mr. King did more than any man, by his prompt, outspoken, uncalculating loyalty, to make California know what her own feelings really were." [16]

With his lectures throughout Northern California, he helped to educate the people--the San Francisco elite, laborers, Blacks, miners--about Socrates, contemporary poets, materialism or the beauty of nature. The only public office he ever held was trustee of the College of California at Oakland, the forerunner of the University of California at Berkeley. "The cause of education was too close to his heart for him not to accept the post... [17]

He gave tireless effort to raise money for the Sanitary Commission, which later became the Red Cross. "Mr. King's admirable work in behalf of the United States Sanitary Commission for the sick and wounded soldiers deserves unstinted praise...by his eloquent appeals in public, California's splendid contribution of over one million and a quarter dollars--one fourth of the amount contributed by the entire country--to this cause was mainly assured." [18]

He continued his ministry and his crusades until his frail body, weakened by diphtheria and pneumonia, could no longer survive. On his death bed, he sent this message to his congregation, "Tell them that it is my earnest desire that they pay the remaining debt on the church. Let the church, free of debt, be my monument. I want no better. Tell them those were my last words and say goodbye to all of them for me." [19] On March 4, 1864 he died. He was 39. He was deeply mourned and widely honored by the thousands of people who admired and loved him. At his memorial service "...with the flags at half-mast from public buildings and the shipping in the harbor, while a vast crowd of twenty thousand people surged in and about the church, we bade him a last farewell on earth." [20]

## STARR KING'S THEOLOGY

### [COMMENT1]

"The vast majority of [Starr King's sermons were] devoted to the inculcation of the principles of practical and spiritual Christianity, as they relate to the right method of building up Christian character in the individual soul. They were intended to meet the wants of the members of his congregation in everything that respected their conduct in private life and in the pursuits of business." [21] Starr King believed that Religious ideas are changed by the progress and diffusion of knowledge.

### *Belief in God*

Starr King believed in one God. God is the sovereign and ruler of the universe... God is love... his spirit strives with every soul. King believed that the spirit of God was in every person and in every thing--pervading every part of His creation. He believed in a God who personally loves and cares for every soul he has created. He thought that it was an impertinence to declare that God is necessarily unknowable because he cannot be received through the logical faculty of the mind. But he felt that Reason, instead of being subordinated to faith, is the very essence of faith, else faith is blind idolatry.

“Cries from the Depths” 1855, p. 23.[22]

### *Jesus*

Starr King usually referred to Jesus as “Christ,” “Our Savior,” or occasionally as “Jesus Christ our Lord.” But Jesus was not a God of the Trinitarians. King thought that Jesus is God’s special manifestation of himself to man.

“The Supremacy of Jesus”, 1853, p. 35

### *Sin*

When men sin it is against God, and not against his law, which is but the indicator of right and wrong... [Sin] is a personal offence against a personal God.

“Cries from the Depths”, p. 24

### *Heaven and Afterlife*

“King’s reliance on the immortality of the individual mind,” said JB Fox, a minister and an editor, “was stronger than any capitalist can possibly feel in the solidest investment.”[23] King stated, “Our bodies here are simply the pods which break at death and shed the loosened substance into the all-embracing world of truth and spirit...[Heaven is] the field for the development of our eternal nature....Our business [in heaven] will be to grow in knowledge, in friendships, in service, and in joy.”

“Christian Thought of a Future Life” 1854, p. 60-63

King refused to make a broad distinction between present and future existence. He believed in the absolute necessity for righteous conduct. My brother, King preached, your sin, if not renounced and repented of... is casting a long shadow far out beyond the sunset; it is pledging your rank and mortgaging your peace in the world of truth towards which you are flitting. Your good resolutions, your efforts to enlarge and cultivate your soul, your nourishment of charity... are making your soul buoy-

ant and translucent for the serene atmosphere and spiritual sunbeams of eternity.

“Christian Thought of the Future Life”, p. 69

King believed that while there was no physical suffering in the next world, you still had to bring your soul into right relationship with God. If you had not suffered in life, your soul would be troubled in the afterlife because suffering was important in the soul’s development. For someone who decried the Universalist preoccupation with final restoration, King had worked out an elaborate explanation. (It is discussed in his sermon, “The Divine Estimate of Death.”)

## STARR KING’S RELIGION

### *Universalism and Unitarianism*

Starr King was the son of a Restorationist Universalist Minister, one who believed in possible punishment before eternal salvation. He was mentored by two Universalist ministers. Nonetheless, when he was 18, he sometimes attended the Unitarian church. He told his aunt he wanted to study for the Unitarian ministry. I believe that the Unitarian party, as a whole, understand themselves better, and are doing nobler work, than the Universalists. I am sick of the miserable dogmatism which measures the greatness and worth of every man and sect by the openness and clearness with which they have avowed the final restoration.

After two years as a Universalist minister, he accepted a call to a Unitarian church. “Starr King had not repudiated Universalism. His faith had grown to include Unitarianism.” Although the Unitarians and the Universalists were “too near of kin to be married”, the stress was different. The Universalists stressed universal salvation, and the “fathership of God”; the Unitarians, the innate worth of the human soul. It was at this time that Starr King popularized the famous quip told him by a Universalist minister (probably Thomas Gold Appleton), “The Universalist...believes that God is too good to damn us forever; and you Unitarians believe that you are too good to be damned.” “Throughout his career he refused to acknowledge any significant differences between the two denominations, seeing them as varieties of a larger liberal faith that encompassed them both.” (See David Robinson)[24]

### *The Larger Church*

Starr King not only incorporated Unitarianism into his Universalist faith, he honored the faith of all people, no matter their dogma, so long as their life and work were in harmony with the teachings of Jesus. “I believe, most gladly and fervently, that the dignified Episcopal Church, the electric Methodist Church, the Baptists... the Presbyterians...are doing some indispensable work for the master... There is need for us yet, as a distinctive and to some extent combative party. But our mission is

to hasten the time when the church in general shall modify her creeds and grant more freedom to thought and organize more charity, and receive again into fellowship the needful forces which her narrowness has spurned ..." (Quoted in Robert Monzinger, Thomas Starr King, Eminent Californian, Civil War Statesman, Unitarian Minister, p. 24.)

## STARR KING, THE MAN

*What was Starr King really like?*

He was small in physical stature, just 5 feet tall. He once told a friend, "Although I weigh only 120 pounds, when I am mad I weigh a ton."

He was frail. The doctors didn't seem to know what was wrong with him, besides overwork. But in one of his letters now at the Bancroft library he tells of the doctor giving him mercury as a treatment (and the ghastly effects for the next few days).

He seemed insecure. He was well aware that his father died in his early forties and felt that he, too, would die young--which he did. He wrote to the San Francisco church in his acceptance letter, I am not conscious of any gifts, either of thought or speech, that can make my presence with you so desirable as you seem to think. (Quoted in 9/1859 letter to Ryer) He was well aware that he lacked the respect of his ministerial colleagues in Boston because he had never graduated from college. At home among you big fellows I wasn't much, he wrote Henry Bellows from San Francisco, Here they seem to think I am somebody.

He had a wonderful sense of humor.

"He was sensitive, afraid that his constant humor might either hurt someone or defeat the larger issues of his life. But when he let his humor conquer, he was not only a lovable fellow but a delightful companion."

Arnold Crompton, in Thomas Starr King, the Man Behind the Legend, p.1

For example:

"There is a great flood in the Interior. California is a lake. Rats, squirrels, locusts, lecturers, and other pests are drowned out."

Letter to Randolph Ryer, 1/10/1862

On many a tombstone where it is written, 'Here lies so and so, aged seventy years', the true inscription would read 'In memory of one who in seventy years lived about five minutes and that was when he first fell in love.'

Quoted in Simonds, Thomas Starr King in California, p. 81.

My Dear Randolph,

"...Emerson gave us last Monday Evening the most brilliant lecture I ever listened to from any mortal. It was on the identity of the laws of the mind with the laws of higher nature. He proved conclusively that man is only a higher kind of corn, ... that he is a liberated oyster fully educated, that he is a spiritualized pumpkin, a thinking squash, a graduated sunflower, an inspired turnip, etc., etc. Such imagery, such wit, such quaint things said in a tone solemn and sublime! I have the most profound respect henceforth for every melon-vine as my ancestor (melancholic thought) and look upon every turtle as kin..."

Letter to Ryer, January 29, 1845

Friend

"Nobody" said Edwin Whipple, "more quickly converted chance acquaintances into warm friends. To know him was to love him. Persons of all grades of mind, culture, occupation, and disposition felt the effortless strength and charm of his rich and genial nature, from the common beggar who intruded into his study with his pathetic appeal for help, always kindly met, all the way up to such intellectual giants as Agassiz, who came to converse with him on the questions of the Divine Personality, a subject dear to the hearts of both preacher and naturalist."

Whipple, p. 1

"...King had the rare capacity to make men understand the potential for good that lay within them, and to persuade them that this sublime side of human nature was worth cultivating. He accomplished this not so much with his words as with his personality, and by the example of his life."  
Monzingo, p 238

His dearest friend was probably Randolph Ryer, a man he met when they were both young, small, intellectual teenagers. Much of what we know about Starr King's feelings are recorded in his almost 25-year correspondence with Ryer.

In a letter to Ryer, now in the Berkeley Graduate Theological Union Special Collection (but as far as I know, never published), a young Starr King describes his friend, who was often slow to return his correspondence, this way, “Randolph Ryer - physiologically a little, black, handsome, curly-headed miniature specimen of humanity--psychologically the closest packed essence of benevolence, mirthfulness, politeness and procrastination.” In the fine print of a chapter endnote in only one of the many books I read-the only one written recently-, it explains (in the language of the times) that Ryer was a Free New England Negro who became a successful exporter in New York. (Monzingo, p. 49.) [Actually, Ryer was an importer of French knickknacks in his firm, Freeman, Ryer & Co.] It is interesting to speculate about the influence of Ryer--by who he was: the intellectual, the successful businessman, the friend, the Black man--on King’s passion about anti-slavery, and about the worth of all persons.

### *Pastor*

He was much loved as a pastor. “He was cheer to the despondent, hope to the despairing, comfort to the mournful, fellowship to the desolate.” Whipple

### *Builder of Churches*

The Hollis Street Unitarian Church was about to go under when he was called there. It was torn apart by dissension over the issues of slavery and temperance. Although King was not reluctant to speak out against slavery and for temperance, the size of the congregation increased five-fold in the 11 years he was there. In San Francisco, the congregation described as “moribund” when he came, paid off its \$20,000 debt within a year, then built a beautiful gothic church seating over a thousand people.

### *Writer and Journalist*

Starr King’s only book published in his lifetime, “The White Hills, Their Legends, Poetry and Landscape,” came out a few years after Thoreau’s Walden. It was written so that hikers could carry a guide book, background information on local legends, and appropriate poetry all in one volume. It was much more widely read at the time, and much more influential, than Walden. It was called “the most elaborate attempt to picture to the mind’s eye the grandeur and beauty of natural scenery which has graced our native literature.” (Richard Frothingham)

When Starr King came to California, he wrote articles on his travels to such places as Yosemite, Lake Tahoe, Mt. Diablo and the mining camps for the Boston Evening Transcript. He helped the people to understand the beauty of Yosemite, and the importance of preserving it. He wrote,

The Yo-Semite...valley is of such irregular width, and bends so much and often so abruptly, that there is great variety and frequent surprise in the forms and combinations of the overhanging rocks, as one rides along the bank of the stream. The patches of luxuriant meadow with their dazzling green, and the grouping of the superb firs, two hundred feet high, that skirt them, and that shoot above the stout and graceful oaks and sycamores, through which the horse path winds, are delightful rests of sweetness and beauty amid the threatening awfulness,--like the threads and flashes of melody that relieve the towering masses of Beethoven's harmony. The ninth Symphony is the Yo-Semite of music.

### *Lover of Nature*

Love of nature has its root in wonder and veneration, and it issues in many forms of practical good. There can be no abounding and ardent patriotism where sacred attachment to the scenery of our civil home is wanting; and there can be no abiding and inspiring religious joy in the heart that recognizes no presence and touch of God in the permanent surrounding of our earthly abode.

The great bane of modern life is materialism,--the divorce of spirit from power, order, bounty and beauty in our thought of the world. We look upon nature as a machine, a play of forces that run of necessity and of course. We do not bow before it with wonder and awe as the manifestation of a present all-animating will and art. Whatever leads us to such feelings towards the universe puts us on the road to Christian faith, helps character, and lifts the plane of the privilege of life."

"Lessons from the Sierra Nevada" 1863, p. 286

When Starr King died, a group of landscape painters in Boston took out an ad in the newspaper to praise him as one who painted beautiful landscapes with words, and to express their gratitude for his efforts to help people to see beauty.

### *The Preacher as Social Activist*

We must give up the idea that the field of politics is beyond the reach and control of Christian responsibility, or we are lost.

1862 4th of July Address, Quoted in Monzingo, p. 155

Just so you know that not everybody loved him...In 1862, the editor of the Sonora Union Democrat wrote, "...this clerical charlatan, hypocrite, and double distilled humbug is still repeating his thread-

bare lecture on patriotism...Starr King...is a fair representative man of the rabid, fanatical, godless Boston school of political preachers.”

Robert Ferral, quoted in Monzingo, p. 185

### *Patriot*

“Religion and patriotism,” said Horace Davis, “spring from the same root. Sometimes they are merged in one. With Mr. King, his religion was the central motive of his life, and his patriotism sprang directly from it as naturally as the rose from the bush or the apple from the tree.” (Address by Horace Davis, San Francisco, 1889) You can’t really know Starr King without understanding his patriotism for the Union.

### *Orator*

Starr King was always highly acclaimed as an orator. His voice was “as clear as a bell and cheering as a trumpet”. (Whipple) It is interesting to note that the acclaim-- the compliments, the full houses, the applause--gave him great delight

### *Humanitarian*

Starr King headed the California efforts to collect money for the Sanitary Commission, the forerunner of the American Red Cross. California gave about a fourth of all the money collected in the nation. Now, he said, I can look at the flag without wincing. ( Monzingo, p. 175)

### *Educator*

Starr King , a trustee of the forerunner of the University of California at Berkeley, was “the motive-force of much of the seminal work that laid the foundation for modern California’s educational system...” (Monzingo, p. 235)

### *Fighter for Social Justice*

The question of absorbing interest to society itself is this--how shall the Church, which contains the regenerative principles of truth, be brought from its serene and comfortable elevation into redeeming contact with the streets, lanes...and cellars of the world....If we will not take up the problem of pauperism and ignorance in the large spirit of Christian duty and love, and consider through some constructive methods the rights of the poor, it will be pressed upon our self-interest as involving the existence, or at least the health of society. (Sermon quoted by King in a letter to Ryer [?] 4/28/1851, in Wendte)

*Fighter for Racial Justice*

“Wherever we find many races brought together, here God has his greatest work to do--there is room for the noblest work of Christianity ... The Almighty has a great mission for this nation--here the Church is to proclaim the equality of the races. Wherever the oppressed are congregated, there Christ is present--and not on the side of power”

8/1/1860Address to the Negro gathering, in Monzingo, p. 55

Supporting the use of Black troops, King said,“...we are at war for the nation’s life. We are under the laws of war, and on any question war asks nothing about color. It asks force. It asks speed of victory. Powder is black; war does not try to bleach it. Mortars are black; it does not insist on painting them....Why would it recoil from using power in men because of that hue?”

Starr King oration, July 4, 1863, Quoted in Monzingo, p. 197

Towards the end of his life, Thomas Starr King told a friend that now that the tide was turned in the war and when the debt on the new church was paid off, he either wanted to go back to Boston or to heaven, he didn’t care which. He never made it back to Boston. It was said that “no heart ever ached because of him until he died.” (Probably a eulogy in the San Francisco Journal.)

“Speaking the truth in love was a text he seemed born to illustrate.”[25]

(The Reverend Edwin Whipple who compiled a book of his sermons and one of his lectures.)

“We admired Webster, but Starr King we loved; one convinced our reason, the other captured our hearts.”[26]

(Dr. Leonard [?], a layman who had heard them both.)

“Back of all his brilliancy as a writer and his eloquence as a preacher was the man. The preacher was admired, but the man was loved.”[27]

(Horace Davis, his good friend and parishioner who later married Starr King’s daughter, and who was a founder of what is now called Starr King School for the Ministry.

“Human Beings were the breath of life to him....The man had infinite capacity to give and receive human love.”[28]

(The Reverend Arnold Crompton, minister emeritus of the Oakland Church)

It is justice, Starr King said, which, thus far in human experience, has been heaving the foundations of society, that some of its principles may gain a solid place. But there are dreams of man, yes, promises of a wisdom higher than man's, that this earth is yet to be the scene of organizations nobler than those of justice--organizations of love. (Quoted in Monzingo, p. 235)

Saint Francis of Assisi once said, "Preach the gospel, use words if necessary." Thomas Starr King, by the words he spoke, by the things he did and by who he was preached the gospel of love.

*STARR KING SCHOOL for the MINISTRY*  
*Educating Unitarian Universalist ministers and*  
*progressive religious leaders since 1904*

- [1].Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) 100.
- [2].Memoir of Edwin Whipple which introduced his compilation of King's sermons in *Thomas Starr King, Christianity and Humanity*, p.viii.
- [3].Charles W. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King, Patriot and Preacher*, p.5.
- [4].*Ibid.*, p. 16.
- [5].Memoir of Edwin Whipple in *Thomas Starr King, Christianity and Humanity*, p. xv.
- [6].Charles Wendte, *Thomas Starr King, Patriot and Preacher*, P. 19.
- [7].Letter to Randolph Ryder, June 11, 1849. In the *Thomas Starr King* collection at the Graduate Theological Union library in Berkeley, California.. Also quoted in Wendte, p. 25.
- [8].Charles W. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King Patriot and Preacher*, p. 21.
- [9].Edwin Whipple's "Memoirs" in *King, Christianity and Humanity*, p. xxxii.
- [10].Letter from Thomas Starr King to Henry Bellows, quoted in Crompton, *Unitarianism on the Pacific Coast*, p. 29.
- [11].Quoted in Robert Monzingo, *Thomas Starr King, Eminent Californian, Civil War Statesman, Unitarian Minister*, p. 47.
- [12].Letter from King to Bellows, quoted in Crompton, *Thomas Starr King, The Man Behind the Legend*, p .6.
- [13].Robert Monzingo, *Thomas Starr King, Eminent Californian, Civil War Statesman, Unitarian Minister*, p. 2.
- [14].See Samuel A. Eliot, ed., *Heralds of a New Faith*, p. 197.
- [15].See Wendte, *Thomas Starr King, Patriot and Preacher*, p. 208.
- [16].George Willis Cooke, *Unitarianism in America*, p. 183.
- [17].Monzingo, *Thomas Starr King, Eminent Californian, Civil War Statesman, Unitarian Minister*, p. 148.
- [18].*Ibid.*, p. 188.
- [19].*Ibid.*, p. 219.
- [20].Wendte, *Thomas Starr King, Patriot and Preacher*, p. 218.
- [21]. *Thomas Starr King, Christianity and Humanity, A Series of Sermons by Thomas Starr King* edited with a memoir by Edwin P. Whipple, Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.,1877, p. xxix.
- [22]. This, and the following unidentified citations are from Thomas Starr King's sermons. The page numbers refer to their location in *Christianity and Humanity*, the book of King sermons edited by Edwin Whipple.

[23]. "The Character and Genius of Thomas Starr King," Unitarian Review, May 1878. ("Probably J. B. Fox" was pencilled in by Charles Wendte. Rev. Fox was one of the editors of the Boston Evening Transcript.)

[24]. David Robinson, *The Unitarians and the Universalists*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1958, p.98.

[25]. Edwin Whipple memoir which introduces Thomas Starr King, *Christianity and Humanity*, p. lxxviii.

[26]. Quoted in Elbert Hubbard, "Little Journeys to the Homes of Eminent Orators: Starr King, Volume XIII, No. 4, Oct. 10, 1902.

[27]. Horace Davis, in Samuel A. Eliot, ed., *Heralds of a New Faith*, Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1910, Vol. 3, p. 197.

[28]. Arnold Crompton, *Thomas Starr King: The Man Behind the Legend*, Berkeley, CA: Starr King School for the Ministry, 1974, p. 1.

[COMMENT1] This summary is suggested primarily by the works of Edwin Whipple in the memoirs which introduce his book of Starr King Sermons, and the work of Robert Monzingo.