Reconstruction

JOHN BARRETT KERFOOT found Trinity College an altogether different place from the College of St. James. In his former position in Maryland, discipline had been strict, and the relationship between the rector and students (as well as the Faculty) had been personal and paternal. The life at the College of St. James may well have been described as that of a "family" or perhaps something of a religious community. But if Kerfoot intended to reproduce his former administrative policy at Trinity, he was in for a great surprise.

When Kerfoot arrived on College Hill, student discipline had degenerated to the point where even some of his more lenient predecessors would have become alarmed. The new President was appalled to learn that after the students had completed their daily recitations, the Faculty knew little (and Kerfoot was certain, cared little) about how they spent their time—whether they were in their rooms, or whether they were "on the town." And the students, doubtless aware of Kerfoot's feelings on student decorum, decided to put the new President to the test. Keyholes were plugged, doors were tied shut with ropes, and personal orders by the President were rudely disobeyed. Before the first month of the Christmas Term of 1864-65 had ended, Kerfoot was so disheartened that he was already giving thought to resigning his post "if discipline could not be made effective."

But despite this unfortunate start, conditions at the College improved somewhat. At the beginning of the term four of the worst-behaved students were suspended, and if this was more than the campus rowdies had bargained for, Kerfoot was, fortunately, able to persuade as well as punish. The new President's powers as a teacher were soon felt in his senior courses in Ethics and Metaphysics, and some of this influence filtered downward to the underclassmen. Chapel services were made "more hearty and lifelike," and the special concerns of the twelve or fifteen pre-theological students were given special attention by the President. To his duties at the College, Kerfoot soon added the Chaplaincy of the Hartford Hospital, a position in which his faithful services did much for the relations between Trinity and the Hartford community. By the end of his first academic year at Trinity, Kerfoot seemed to be taking everything more or less in stride.

On Wednesday, June 28, 1865, Kerfoot was formally installed as President of the College with appropriate ceremonies in Christ Church. His inaugural address, The Christian College, however, suggested that he had not altogether abandoned the philosophy which had guided him in the administration of the College of St. James. The Christian College, as Kerfoot described it, was "a single community; a society of Professors and Students; organized under rules and devoting its daily tasks to mental discipline and acquirement; a school of learning in a home of its own." And in his elaborate tracing of the history of the medieval colleges and universities, he noted that "the college was not originally the place of instruction, but of shelter and care," and that "its officers were not teachers, but guardians of the young inmates." If the tone of the address may seem a bit "paternal," it might also be
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pointed out that Kerfoot, perhaps more than any of his predecessors, conceived of the American college as a community of scholars.

In September, 1865, the Christmas Term began quite auspiciously. Professor Mallory's fund-raising campaign had been a tremendous success, and $100,000 had been added to the College's endowment funds. And as evidence of the loyalty of the local community to the College, the Trustees were proud to note that of the total sum, $96,000 had been given in the state of Connecticut, $55,000 by the citizens of Hartford, and $38,000 by the Trustees. In addition to this (for the time) astronomical sum, the Wheaton bequest of $20,000 had become available to the College, a member of the class of 1853 had given $2,500 toward the cost of an astronomical observatory, and the Alumni Library Fund had by that time aggregated $20,000. Never before had the financial condition of the College been better. The Faculty, too, were made happy by salary raises which brought those of the full-time Professors to a new high of $1,900.

Enrollment figures for the College were also encouraging. There had been no great upswing in enrollment such as had been noted at some of the other colleges, but the academic year of 1864–65 had forty-nine students in residence, and that of 1865–66 had forty-four. President Kerfoot was responsible for the number being as large as it was, for with the closing of the College of St. James, eight or ten students from that institution came to Trinity with President Kerfoot, certainly no small token of the esteem in which he had been held in his former position. Bishop Williams assured Kerfoot that the success of the new President was the source of much comfort to him, and the Alumni, according to Kerfoot's estimate at least, had turned out at the last Commencement "in four times the number seen for years."

The Diocese of Connecticut expressed its confidence in Trinity's new President by sending him, in October, 1865, as delegate to the General Convention held in Philadelphia. The Connecticut delegation was, indeed, a Trinity delegation, for along with President Kerfoot, were three Trustees: the Reverend Doctors Mead, Hallam, and Clark. The Convention of 1865 was one of the most momentous in the history of the Episcopal Church, for it was to that Convention that the Bishops from the dioceses of the seceded states returned and were given their seats, thus ending the schism which had resulted from the creation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America. Kerfoot had attracted attention by his leadership in a successful move to vote down a motion which was intended to deprecate the Churchmen of the former Confederacy. And, he also made a great impression by his report as chairman of the Committee on Christian Education. That same Convention had created the Diocese of Pittsburgh by detaching the western part of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; and on November 16, 1865, at the first Convention of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, John B. Kerfoot was elected Bishop on the first ballot.

The College, of course, was honored by the election of its head as a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, the second time in its history; and Kerfoot, but forty-nine years of age, was well aware of both the dignity and awful responsibility of the Episcopal office. The Trustees of Trinity College had not been unaware of the possibility of Kerfoot's election to the newly-created see and Bishop Williams, prompted to do so by the current rumors, had written a private letter to Kerfoot, urging him to consider whether his true vocation might not be in educational work rather than in the Episcopate.

When he himself received the news of his election, even though he must have had some reason to anticipate it, Kerfoot pondered Bishop Williams' question. But his old friends, Muhlenberg, Bishop Whittingham, and his former associates at the College of St. James, all urged acceptance.

Only in Connecticut did there seem to be objections to Kerfoot's going to Pittsburgh. Immediately upon hearing of Kerfoot's election, Bishop Williams called on Kerfoot to reiterate his earlier feelings on the subject. On November 23, the Trustees met in special session "to
devise means, if possible, to retain him in the Presidency of the College." At that time, the Trustees adopted a resolution assuring Kerfoot of the full confidence of the Board, and urged him to consider whether he might not exert a greater influence for good as a college president than as a bishop. The Diocese of Connecticut, too, felt that it could ill spare the President's service to the higher education of the Diocese, and one hundred and twenty Connecticut clergy, headed by Bishop Williams, presented a petition urging him to decline the Pittsburgh Episcopate.

The entreaties, however, were in vain, for on November 30, Kerfoot wrote his "acceptance of the solemn call to the Bishopric of the Diocese of Pittsburgh." At the same time he wrote his letter of resignation as President of Trinity College. Trinity was once more without a President and this time after an administration of but one year and four months.

Kerfoot's biographer has made much of his success at Trinity, and Bishop Niles of the Diocese of New Hampshire, who had been Professor of Latin at Trinity from 1864 until 1870, wrote in 1885 that Kerfoot's administration "was the turning of the tide," so far as the fortunes of Trinity College were concerned. An un-named Professor in the College made the not altogether unreasonable statement that Kerfoot "was almost alone among the presidents of Trinity College in leaving it freely of his own accord, in response to duty, [and] not because of trouble arising in the College." 

Bishop Niles' observation was admittedly prejudiced, and the anonymous professor's comment may have been damning with faint praise. The College's financial successes of 1864 and 1865 were due to the efforts of Professor Mallory and not of President Kerfoot. And the disciplinary problems which had so vexed the President in the early weeks of his administration may have been solved largely by the President's choosing to ignore them. Kerfoot could never quite realize that he was at Trinity and not at the College of St. James, nor could he think of his Maryland boys as being completely "Trinity" men. Each Sunday evening the students who had transferred from St. James to Trinity met at the President's home to sing the old St. James' music to Mrs. Kerfoot's accompaniment on the melodeon.

Kerfoot was perhaps never really happy at Trinity, and he never quite gave up the hope of the ultimate revival of the College of St. James. Perhaps unbiased opinion might have been less complimentary toward Kerfoot's efforts at Trinity, for Professor John Taylor Huntington, who like William Woodruff Niles had come to Trinity with Kerfoot in 1864, and was certainly no purveyor of academic scuttlebut, confided to Abner Jackson in 1867 that "Kerfoot's administration could not but have been a failure if he had staid [sic] — that he wanted to resign, and that he was elected Bishop just in time to save his reputation." But whether or not Kerfoot's leaving the College had been anticipated before the General Convention of October, 1865, the Trustees were prepared, when Kerfoot's resignation was accepted, to elect a successor immediately. Their choice was the Reverend Henry Augustus Coit, D.D., rector of St. Paul's School at Concord, New Hampshire.

Henry Augustus Coit was one of John Kerfoot's closest friends. He had attended St. Paul's College at College Point, Long Island, from which he had transferred to the University of Pennsylvania. Coit had been on the faculty at the College of St. James, and he had gone to St. Paul's School when that institution had been opened in 1856. Incidentally, St. Paul's School had been founded by Trinity's nominal Professor of Medicine, Dr. George Shattuck.

The salary offered Coit, $2,000 per year and house, had no attraction for the Headmaster of St. Paul's, and the offer of the Presidency of Trinity College was promptly declined. Professor Brocklesby continued as Acting-President and on June 27, 1866, the Trustees again balloted for a permanent head of the College, this time unanimously selecting Bishop Williams' classmate of 1835, the Reverend Edwin Martin Van Deusen, D.D., Rector of Grace Church, Utica.
New York, with the promise of a salary of $3,000 per year and house. The "upping of the ante" on the President's salary in no way reflected a greater confidence in Van Deusen than in Coit. It merely meant that the Trustees had just raised the salaries of the Professors from $1,900 to $2,000, and that was what just half a year before had been offered as the President's salary! But even this bold inducement could not attract a president, and Van Deusen, too, declined.

Twice embarrassed by having offers of the College Presidency turned down, the Trustees next turned to a former Professor in the College, the Reverend Dr. Abner Jackson, then in his ninth year as President of Hobart College. Jackson's career at Hobart had been eminently successful, and in the Diocese of Western New York he had enjoyed the full confidence of Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe (erstwhile Trinity Lecturer and Trustee) and the rank and file of the Diocesan clergy. Jackson had also been exceedingly well thought of during his professorial days at Trinity and had been popular both with the students and Hartford townspeople. His first wife (she died in 1853) was the daughter of Judge William Wolcott Ellsworth, Professor of Law at the College. And during his residence in Hartford, Jackson had made many ecclesiastical connections, having served as priest-in-charge of missions in New Britain, Glastonbury, Windsor Locks, and West Hartford. Certainly Jackson was an able man and perhaps, with a bit of encouragement, he might be returned to Hartford. The Trustees and Faculty at once set to work.

On February 13, 1867, Jackson received a letter from the Reverend John Taylor Huntington, Professor of Greek at Trinity, inquiring whether, if elected, Jackson would accept the Presidency of Trinity College. Jackson "took the bait," and without giving any serious thought to the matter, wrote to Huntington that he would at least "consider the question if brought before me in any tangible form," and perhaps he honestly thought that would be the end of the matter. And the more he thought about it, the more he entertained a "secret hope" that there would be no follow-up on the letter he had so hastily sent to Professor Huntington. But three weeks later a letter arrived from Bishop Williams, a most flattering letter in which the Bishop disclosed his feelings that nothing would have given him (Bishop Williams) greater pleasure than to have had Jackson succeed him (in 1848) or President Goodwin (in 1860). And in this communication, Bishop Williams virtually promised the Presidency to Jackson, if he would only agree to accept if elected. Again, Jackson replied that he was interested, and to Bishop Williams he even went into some of the details of a possible arrangement: Would the College share the moving expenses? Could he expect a leave of two or three months for a trip to Europe?

Jackson realized that he was becoming deeply involved in a situation which could have but one outcome. Immediately, he went to see Bishop Coxe in Rochester and told him the whole story. Bishop Coxe was shocked to learn that his "dear little university," as he had once called Trinity, was about to steal the head of the college in his own Diocese, and the Bishop declared that he "would rather lose his right hand" than allow Jackson to go to Trinity! Mrs. Jackson (he had remarried in 1856) also expressed strong objection to leaving Geneva, and Jackson's daughter, Emily, then in school at New Haven, appealed to her father in urging him to stay at Hobart by reminding him of how much his health had improved since he had moved from Hartford. A second visit to Bishop Coxe a week later revealed that the Bishop had not changed his mind, for the Bishop, in a moralizing lecture which lasted for an hour and a half, used every possible argument, including the "social," by dwelling "very much on the character of Hartford society as being so intensely disagreeable." Everybody seemed to be against Jackson's leaving Hobart, and Jackson philosophically recorded in his journal: "It will all be the same 100 years hence." But in spite of the obstacles being thrown in his way of a rational consideration of the prospect of the Trinity Presidency, Jackson found occasion to go to Connecticut—not directly to Hartford, but not, either, without making his
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plans known to his friends at Trinity. On April 30, Jackson went to New London to see the Reverend Dr. Robert Hallam, Trinity Trustee and rector of St. James Church, on some matters of church business—it would seem that the visit had something to do with church publications—and on his return to Geneva he just happened to stop in Hartford. There he talked with Acting-President Brocklesby, Professor Mallory, Professor Pynchon, Treasurer Belknap, Trustee Isaac Toucey, and Bishop Williams. All seemed to feel that Jackson should accept the Presidency, and Jackson was so encouraged that he gave Bishop Williams verbal assurance that he could see no reason why he should not accept the Presidency of Trinity College if elected.

Acting on Jackson's comments to Bishop Williams, the Trustees scheduled a special meeting for May 22. As there was no quorum at the special meeting, the vote on the Presidency was postponed to another special meeting called for New Haven on June 11, 1867, to coincide with the Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut scheduled for that date. Bishop Williams wrote a letter to Jackson assuring him that the vote at that meeting would be unanimous.

By that time, of course, the probability of Jackson's being called to the Presidency of Trinity College had become common knowledge, and an announcement of appointment appeared in the columns of the Gospel Messenger, the publication of the Diocese of Western New York. Jackson, who had hoped to keep the matter quiet, was much incensed, but when he called the editor of the Messenger sharply to task, the editor merely replied that the matter had been so generally talked about that he had assumed it to be true. At any rate, Jackson had been maneuvered into a position where he felt obliged to resign his position as President of Hobart College even though he had not, as yet, been formally elected as President of Trinity. On June 9, 1867, he submitted his resignation to the Hobart Trustees.

The governing board of Trinity College met on June 11 and elected Abner Jackson President of Trinity College at a salary of $2,500 and house, and Jackson had no choice but to accept. Three days later Jackson wrote to Bishop Williams accepting the appointment.

The next week (June 20) Jackson went to Hartford where a grand reception had been arranged. Professors Brocklesby and Huntington met him at the railroad station and took him to the campus in a carriage. When they arrived on College Hill, the students were waiting with Bishop Williams on the Chapel steps. Williams presented the new President to the students in a flattering speech, after which the students responded with three cheers. Jackson made a short speech, and then Bishop Williams introduced the students individually. Jackson called at the homes of the members of the Faculty, visited such Hartford notables as Mrs. Colt, and after two days of winning and dining, he returned to Geneva to prepare for his move to Hartford.

Only one unfortunate incident marred Jackson's brief visit to Trinity. With one exception, the Professors had been most gracious. Professor Pynchon, however, was quite open in displaying
Abner Jackson
his displeasure at Jackson's coming to the College.\textsuperscript{41} Pynchon had come to Trinity as Tutor in 1843, two years after his graduation from the College, and had served in that capacity until 1847. After an interval of seven years in pastoral work, he had returned to the College as Scovill Professor of Chemistry and Natural Science in 1854, and except for Acting-President Brocklesby (who began service in 1842), Pynchon was the senior member of the Faculty. As such, he perhaps felt resentment at the appointment of his former colleague to a position to which he felt entitled. Nevertheless, Bishop Williams apologized for Pynchon's rudeness and assured Jackson that Pynchon had the alternative of either supporting the new administration or going elsewhere, in which case, Williams said, the College would lose little.\textsuperscript{42} It was with this pleasant assurance that Jackson returned to Geneva to hold his last Commencement at Hobart College.\textsuperscript{43}

But after winding up his affairs in Geneva, Jackson did not go immediately to Hartford. A two-month's leave for a trip to Europe had probably been a condition upon which he had accepted the Trinity Presidency,\textsuperscript{44} and the Trustees had granted a leave for such a trip. Jackson spent the summer months in Europe, and he even extended his stay somewhat beyond the intended two months, for it was not until October, after the College had opened in September under Dr. Brocklesby, that Jackson finally arrived on campus.\textsuperscript{45}

After an absence of nine years, Jackson found College Hill much the same place as in his earlier professorial years. The three brown-stone buildings had mellowed somewhat. Virginia creeper had by then practically enveloped them, and Brownell Hall's original shingle roof had been replaced by one of slate. The grass on the lawns still grew long until the Trustees' annual mowing of the hay crop— that is, what had not been eaten by the cows which the College's neighbors surreptitiously pastured on the campus at night. And behind the buildings there were patches of flowers which came up where a garden had once been, and one perhaps planted a decade before by Abner Jackson himself.\textsuperscript{46} The park which ad-

joined the campus had been beautified with lawns, drives, and a fountain. Perhaps the most noticeable change of all was the installation of gas lamps along the streets which bordered the College.\textsuperscript{47}

Beyond these few and simple changes, the Trustees had great plans. According to a "master plan," probably executed in the summer of 1867 by John A. Butler, Esq., of Hartford,\textsuperscript{48} a "long walk" of buildings, including the proposed chapel, a tower, a library, and a President's house, was to extend east and west along the north side of the campus, south of Elm Street, and north of Brownell Hall. A similar group of buildings, including a dormitory and a porter's lodge, was to extend along the southern boundary of the campus along Rifle (Capitol) Avenue.\textsuperscript{49}

During the nine years of Jackson's absence from Trinity, there had been an almost complete turnover in full-time Faculty, and of those of the earlier years, only Brocklesby and Pynchon remained. The most conspicuously noticeable absence from the college community was that of Bishop Brownell, who had died in June, 1865, and whose passing had been universally mourned.

By the time of Jackson's arrival at the College in October, 1867, the makeup of the student body was not altogether unlike that which he had last known at Trinity. The broadly "southern" contingent had been swelled by the coming, with Dr. Kerfoot, of a large number of Marylanders, and in the fall of 1866 the first student from a seceded state had appeared on campus. This was Joseph Blount Cheshire, later to become Bishop of North Carolina. Cheshire was a lad of fifteen and his father, a North Carolina Episcopal clergyman, had some fears as to the reception his son would receive at Trinity. President Kerfoot kindly offered to place young Cheshire under the personal care of Professor Niles, and with this assurance of safety, the young Carolinian was sent to Trinity.\textsuperscript{50}

Cheshire, contrary to what might have been expected, had little trouble at the College. Although his closest friends were the Maryland
group, he was well treated by all, and he never complained of any hostility on the part of the northern students. In fact, he seems to have fared quite well, having been initiated into Phi Kappa, made president of the Senior Class, and elected a marshal for the Commencement of 1868.51

Other southern students followed, and their acceptance was much the same as that of Joseph Blount Cheshire. There were, of course, arguments between Yankees and Rebels, and many of them were quite heated. Some of the southerners had served in the Confederate Army52 and Lincoln's name, to them, was a dirty word.53 When Jackson arrived in Hartford, four young men from the former Confederacy were in residence,54 and a year later (1868) there were seventeen,55 a number larger than it had been at the pre-war peak.56

Abner Jackson assumed the Presidency of Trinity College at what was, to say the least, a challenging time. There had been, since 1860, two brief Presidential administrations—one largely ineffectual and the other almost too paternal—and after President Kerfoot resigned, as George Otis Holbrooke '69 put it, "the College took a recess under Prof. Brocklesby,"57 who then served as Acting-President for the third time, and until the arrival of Abner Jackson.

During this "interregnum" the matter of student conduct continued to trouble the Faculty. The rape of the Lemon Squeezer, which had been the cause of so much embarrassment to President Eliot, was about to be repeated. The Class of 1865, it will be remembered, had acquired the trophy under the most colorful of circumstances in 1863, and by the time of 1865's Class Day a new crisis was impending. The Class of 1867, assuming that '66 had, by its previous conduct, forfeited any claim to the squeezer, believed itself to be the rightful heir. When '65 announced that '68 had been selected to receive the squeezer, '67 was incensed. A member of the disappointed class succeeded in stealing the lemon squeezer from the clothes closet in which it had been kept for safekeeping, and this deed brought forth a polite request from '65 that it be returned, and a sharp demand to the same effect from the Faculty. The squeezer was promptly restored, but the Faculty forbade the public transfer at Class Day, and the presentation to '68 was made privately.58 A year later the Faculty attempted to modify the Class Day program, and although the transfer of the lemon squeezer would not take place until two years later, the Professors took measures to have the Class Day exercises conducted decently and in order. The Seniors ('66) were instructed by the Faculty to eliminate the "class chronicle" and Professor Jim's speech. But the Seniors decided that rather than eliminate two of the oldest and most colorful portions of the exercises, they would have no class day at all! This was bold action, but the senior festivities were not completely lost; for on the traditional Class Day date, the Class of 1866 held a promenade in the City Guard Armory.59 The Seniors made their point, but in so doing, they both deprived themselves of a Class Day and set a precedent which was to give Class Day a distinctively "Trinity" twist.

The following year (1867) Class Day was again omitted, probably because of Faculty feeling against the "less dignified" portions of the tradition. The date of June 20 was carried on the official College Calendar as Class Day, but that year there was probably not even a promenade. In 1867, the Seniors lost out completely, but not Professor Jim. Although he did not receive his customary purse from the Seniors (at least not at the traditional time), Professor Jim received a high honor: the nomination as candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States!

In the spring of 1867, Daniel Pratt, a vagrant widely known as "The Great American Traveler," appeared in Hartford. Pratt was a man of about sixty years of age, a former carpenter, and a regular visitor to the New England campuses and college towns. He was immensely popular among the New England college students, and his "philosophical addresses" to student groups—presumably without official college endorsement—were "remarkable for their long words, bombastic phrases, and curious figures of speech."60

At the conclusion of Pratt's Trinity College ad-
dress, delivered "before a delighted audience," the students unanimously nominated Pratt for the Presidency of the United States in 1868 and named Professor Jim as Pratt's running mate. Pratt modestly accepted the honor and proceeded to "define" his political position and to establish his platform. Needless to say, neither Pratt nor Professor Jim attained office.

The coming of Abner Jackson to the campus had no effect upon the faculty attitude toward Class Day. The College Calendar designated June 18, 1868, as Class Day, and no classes were scheduled for that date. But when the Faculty once more ordered that the (to them) objectionable features be dispensed with, the Seniors once more refused to celebrate according to a shortened form. Again, however, the day was not entirely lost, for several of the members of the Class of '68 had "spreads" in their rooms, and one Senior, Frank Louis Norton of Norwich, Connecticut, entertained the Class at a supper at the Allyn House. In the evening, there was a class oration by Samuel Washington Clifford of Boston and a dance with music by Adkins' Orchestra which played a galop composed by Frank H. Potts '68 and dedicated to the Senior Class. This may not have been the traditional Class Day, but it must have been a reasonably pleasant substitute!

By the spring of 1869, an entire college generation would have passed without a College Class Day. For some unexplained reason, the Faculty finally relented, and on June 17, 1869, at two-thirty in the afternoon, the Senior Class held Class Day with music by Colt's Band, orations, class prophecy, class chronicle, planting of the class ivy, a presentation of the lemon squeezer to the Class of '71, and the presentation of a purse to Professor Jim. Only on one point did the Seniors have to accept compromise: there was no speech by Professor Jim.

The Class of '69 had re-established the tradition of Class Day which was not thereafter to be broken, but '69 also continued some of the ele-
ments which had been added to the classes between '65 and '69. The "spreads" had become a regular part of the Class Day festivities, but they had soon come to be given by the fraternities rather than by the individual members of the Senior Class. Quite naturally, the fraternities competed in the quality and quantity of the food and drink. The underclassmen were, of course, invited, and some of them, in their sampling of the claret punch offered by the several societies, became "ingloriously drunk!"

Thus, although nominally a senior "occasion," Class Day also had interest for others as well. In years when the Seniors held the lemon squeezer, Class Day was happily awaited by those who had become heirs to the coveted trophy, and such classes were those of '71, '73, '74, and '76. For even the lowly Freshmen, Class Day was one of rejoicing, for at that time they were released from the restrictions which had been placed upon them as a badge of lowly station. On the morning of Class Day, the Freshmen would "swing out" with canes and beaver hats, which they carried proudly through the remainder of the term.

But the cane and the beaver hat were symbols of status only to the Freshmen themselves. For to the rest of the world, the cane and "beaver" still marked their possessors as Freshmen—at least to the uninitiated. The real garb of distinction was the academic gown and mortarboard, by the 1870's one proper to undergraduate use and not the misappropriated doctor's gowns sometimes worn on ceremonial occasions in the earlier 1830's. Academic gowns and mortarboards were worn by the Seniors at Class Day, the Baccalaureate Service, and Commencement, by the poet and orator at the Washington's Birthday celebration, by the speakers at the Prize Declamations, and perhaps by others on occasions of varying degrees of academic solemnity. Indeed, so commonly were cap and gown worn that one visitor to Hartford thought that they were the everyday wear of the undergraduates, noting that "the students wear costumes like those at the English Universities—silk gowns and mortarboard caps."

If the mortarboard and academic gown came to Trinity College with Abner Jackson, as they probably did, they may be symbolic of the change which that able President was to effect in the attitudes and conduct of the students. Undergraduates, of whatever college, have always been noted for their ingenuity—a form of ingenuity often less obvious in the classroom than elsewhere, but nevertheless a remarkable ingenuity.

Prior to Jackson's coming to Trinity, the undergraduates who were then in residence were noted for their mighty hoaxes, harmless in themselves but indicative of cunning and even genius and certainly indicative of the spirit of the College at that time. Acting-President Brocklesby had once asked the Junior Class to remain in the Chapel after Morning Prayer. The matter was a routine one, involving a mere change in the schedule of daily recitation, but when the Juniors emerged from the Chapel, they were met with all sorts of questions from the Seniors and Sophomores as to why they had been detained. The Juniors did not reveal the purpose of the meeting, and by afternoon they met to determine how the occasion could be used to best advantage. Word was sent round the campus that the entire Junior Class had been suspended, and the latter part of the afternoon was spent in packing the bags of the Class of '67. In the evening, the Juniors went to the depot to meet the 9:00 steamboat train, accompanied by members of the other classes. On the station platform there were "mingled utterances of affection and sorrow." The Juniors boarded the cars, got off at the first station, and returned to Hartford on the midnight train.

President Jackson had no intention of tampering with undergraduate genius; that was probably the last thing he would have done. Instead, he attempted, with remarkable success, to direct student energies to useful purposes, and to combine Samuel Eliot's ideas of good fellowship with John B. Kerfoot's conception of the College as a community of scholars. Jackson's approach to this problem was without the "familiarity" of the former, or the rigid paternalism of the latter.

Jackson was never subjected to the indignities which had been inflicted upon Kerfoot, but dur-
ing his first years as President there were episodes which threatened to undo his efforts to instill in the students a seriousness of purpose and to have at least local recognition of his own administration as a positive one. In his early addresses to the students, Jackson may have been notably persuasive, for the winter of 1867–68 passed with unprecedented calm. Warm weather, however, once more sent the students outdoors, and in late May the old prankish spirit returned. The park commissioners had been missing a number of park benches (settees, as they were then called) and it was soon ascertained that they had been placed on the roof of one of the college buildings. City employees were sent to the roof to recover the misplaced property, but when they were ready to descend, they found that the trap door had been fastened from below. The men succeeded, however, in having someone unfasten the door, and they then removed several of the benches and returned them to the park. When they once more got to the roof for the remaining benches, they again found the trap door fastened. A second time they were let down with outside assistance, but when the second group of benches was taken to the park, the ones which had previously been replaced were missing.

The local press said little about the incident other than that "some of the elegant young gentlemen who so . . . studiously wear 'mortarboards' on the street, and flirt with silly school girls, doubtless know their whereabouts." Apparently the whereabouts of the benches was soon disclosed, for no further mention was made of the incident.

Jackson's first year as President ended on a rather discordant note, especially as the new President had reason to feel that he was at last getting his house in order. At the Commencement Dinner, held at the United States Hotel on July 9, 1868, ex-President Daniel R. Goodwin was the principal speaker. In the course of his address, he made passing reference to Abraham Lincoln—something to the effect that Lincoln was a self-made man. The response was a mixed one, for there were both hisses and applause. Goodwin was embarrassed by the hisses and said that perhaps he had better sit down. Those at the speaker's table urged him to continue, which Goodwin promptly did, explaining that he "did not intend to justify or eulogize Mr. Lincoln's political views or course," whereupon he was roundly applauded by those who had previously hissed.

The incident was used by the Hartford Daily Courant to revive the old charge of "Copperheadism" at Trinity, for the reporter from the Courant noted that of the two-hundred people present, a few applauded, but "the applause was drowned in a perfect storm of hisses by the majority." The editor of the Courant further commented that "there is a singular difference in colleges. At Yale five-sixths of the students are Republicans; at Trinity five-sixths are Democrats, to a considerable extent of the species called copper[head]."

As the Courant was Hartford's leading Republican paper, an opposite view could usually be taken by the Hartford Daily Times, the leading Democratic paper, on almost any situation. The hissing of Dr. Goodwin's speech was no exception. The Times called the Courant to task for inaccurate reporting, declaring the report on the Commencement Dinner "a gross exaggeration of the truth." Said the Times: only about six persons hissed, and these were students sitting at the far corner of the hall, and the hissing was silenced "by a general round of hearty applause for the speaker." Also, said the Times, the Courant used the incident to revive the charge of copperhead-ism against the College.

Jackson, despite the editorial support of the Times, could not let the Courant's charges go unanswered. Immediately he wrote to the editor of the Courant deploring the incorrect reporting of the affair at the Commencement Dinner. Jackson said that the number who hissed "was not over six all told," and that they were "a knot of young men at one of the tables at the lower end of the room." Jackson strongly resented the charge that five-sixths of the students were "Copperhead" Democrats, and stated that, upon inquiry, he had found that during the recent war a majority of the students were Republican, and that at the present time (1868) the student preference was
about evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats. Several other persons present at the dinner also wrote to the Courant in the same vein. One of the writers, who signed himself "Alumnus," said that he had "canvassed the College[,] and of those students who have any political connection, thirty-two are Republicans and thirty-six Democrats," and that of the students who were eligible to vote, a majority were Republicans.79

Although the Times had probably been the more accurate reporter of the Commencement Dinner incident, it was the Times which carried on a debate which should have been quickly forgotten. It was soon apparent that the Times' championing of accurate reporting could be turned to journalistic advantage, too, and that ardently Democratic paper carried articles pointing up Trinity as a "Democratic" college, even through the summer recess and into the opening of the College in the fall. These articles were regarded as challenges by the Courant which had, by that time, assumed responsibility for clearing the College of pro-Democratic tendencies, if not of "Copperheadism!" On October 21, 1868, the Courant solemnly reported that of the ninety-one students, fifty were Democrats (including twenty from the southern states) and thirty-five of the students were members of the Republican Club which had been founded the previous spring.80 Even this was not exactly disinterested reporting, for the obvious intent was to prove that by simple arithmetic (50 less 20 = 30), the Republicans outnumbered the northern Democrats by thirty-five to thirty!

The mathematics of the Courant's political poll may have been largely wishful thinking, but the Republican Club of which the Republican press boasted, was a real, live, student political organization! On October 28, 1868, the Hartford Republicans held a large political demonstration and, for that occasion, the Republican Club illuminated the college buildings, flew flags from every window, and set off red lights as the parade passed the campus.81

But even this proved little, for students have always had a way of finding momentary enthusiasms. Two years later (1870), the Senior Class took its own poll of political party preference and at that time the results, not to be taken too seriously, revealed that there were two Republicans, four Democrats, three Woman's Rightists, two Monarchists, five Mormons, and five Fenians.82

Those who hissed Dr. Goodwin's speech were, without doubt, southerners, and the incident was one which was magnified out of all proportion. Fortunately, this was the only major student disturbance during Jackson's administration and, as Jackson made his influence increasingly felt, the conduct of the students became that of model young gentlemen. There were, to be sure, occasional lapses into the ways of the free and easy days of Eliot and Brocklesby - the "kidnapping" of a Freshman in the fall of 1868 and some heckling by the students at an encampment of Knights Templar on the park in 1869 - but even then the local press took a surprisingly defensive position regarding the students, the Courant commenting that when "a Freshman makes a monkey of himself it may be very funny to his comrades but not to outsiders," and that in the case of the offending Freshman, "the college hadn't had him long enough to make of him a gentleman."84

The students themselves had become exceedingly sensitive to their own probity and to the opinion of the Hartford community regarding them. Town and gown relations had improved immensely, and the students were accepted, perhaps more than ever before, into the social life of the city.85 The Trinity Tablet, the student newspaper which had been started in April, 1868, was careful to point out that the majority of the students were well-intentioned young men, and that the objectionable conduct was largely that of a group "which can with propriety be styled Society Men."86

Some of the older college traditions had been "toned down." The Burning of Anna Lytics was "cleaned up" and made a "public occasion" of the College, rather than the rowdy late-at-night ceremony it had traditionally been. In 1869, the time was moved up from midnight to 9:00 P.M.
so as to encourage public attendance, and seats were provided for visitors. The good intentions of the students were nobly rewarded, for the ceremony, held this time in the rear of the college buildings, was attended by more than 1,000 persons! When the Christmas Term opened in September, 1869, the editor of the Tablet encouragingly noted that "the spirit of reform appears to have settled upon us generally," and so much had the spirit of reform settled upon the students that the Tablet carried articles deploiring the defacing of college property, the clipping of items from the newspapers in the college reading room, and the stealing of signs from railway stations. And, marvel of marvels, even hazing went so far out of fashion that in 1870 student leaders predicted that the practice would "die a natural death" in another two or three years.

To these gestures of good will, the Faculty responded in kind. On February 22, 1870, the students held their annual Washington's Birthday celebration with a dance which lasted until midnight. The Faculty excused the first class on the day following. But perhaps the greatest concession on the part of the Faculty (remembering that faculty concessions are seldom really great) was their permitting Professor Jim to make his speech at the Class Day of 1870. Truly, Abner Jackson had succeeded where others had failed. Faculty and students at last enjoyed mutual respect. In 1871, the Times, which had never gone out of its way to praise the College, grudgingly admitted that the good name of the students in town had never been better than at the present time.

In the academic tone of the College, too, Jackson was able to institute modest reform. Examinations, which had traditionally been conducted by outside examiners who were usually Episcopal clergymen, became real examinations, instead of perfunctory social hours for the Alumni. The examination period was extended from three days to six, and the new rigor with which the examinations were conducted seems, oddly enough, to have met with the approval of the students. There was also a "tightening up" in the admissions policy. In 1870, according to one report, one third of the applicants for admission to the Freshman Class were rejected, something which would have been unheard of in pre-Civil War days!

With his long experience in both clerical and academic circles, Jackson was able to cope, with remarkable success, with that twin bugbear of the church-related college administrator — compulsory chapel, and church-college relations. Before Jackson's coming to Trinity, the chapel activity had had its ups and downs. During the early and mid-1860's, several services had been omitted or made optional. For a while, the Sunday morning service had not been held, and in 1865 attendance at the Saturday evening service had been made voluntary. Kerfoot had done much to "enrich" the chapel services, and Jackson, a moderate High Churchman, continued the ritualistic influence — to such a degree, in fact, that the College attained the rather widespread reputation of being a High Church College, from which Evangelical rectors tried to divert the young men of their parishes to Low Church Kenyon.

President Jackson was intensely fond of music, and it was quite natural that he should have carried on the "choral" services introduced by his predecessor, Dr. Kerfoot. There was, in fact, even an improvement in the quality of the music and, for a while at least, the singing was regarded as among the best to be heard in Hartford. The choir of eight undergraduates and the student organist attracted frequent visitors from Hartford to the Sunday Choral Evensong.

At the Sunday services there was usually a sermon preached by one of the clerical members of the Faculty. Joseph Blount Cheshire '69 once evaluated the preaching abilities of the Faculty. Professor Niles was described as "an excellent preacher, plain, forcible, devout, and uncompromising in his statement of truth and duty." Professor Mallory was "intellectually light, cultivated, and accurate, but cold and icy — with little warmth or enthusiasm." Pynchon was "dry, formal, and restrained, with little idiosyncrasies of voice and manner; not at all an animated or arresting preacher. But there was a truth and
modesty and simplicity about him that made him pleasing and attractive.” Professor John T. Huntington was described by Cheshire as “the only one of them who had any of the gifts of the popular speaker. He was bright, intelligible, and . . . with strong imagination, . . . but there was somehow an element of levity in his language and in his manner which prevented him from making any very serious impression upon the students.”

The students, at least some of them, had become quite devoted to the Chapel. When voluntary services were added to the schedule during Lent of 1870, the attendance was unexpectedly large.

At the time of his taking the Presidency, Jackson noted that of the seventy-three students enrolled, only thirteen were communicants of the Episcopal Church. And it was this embarrassing statistical point which probably led him to arrange for a large-scale “preaching mission” at the College. On January 28, 1869, there were present in the evening service at the Chapel, Bishops Williams, Coxe, Kerfoot, Neely, and Bishop-elect Doane, each of whom had once been connected with the College in some capacity or other. At the close of the service, Bishop Kerfoot spoke to the students urging them “to estimate rightly the advantages which they enjoy and to make full use of them.” The following day, Bishop Coxe addressed the students in a similar vein, reminding them of “the great value of the daily services in chapel,” and urging them “to seek God’s grace as the only source of strength, and to rightly use the chapel services as one of the precious means provided for obtaining it.”

Spirituality is one of those elements which is not easily measured, and even “religiosity” is hard to define. Jackson’s bold approach to the problem of undergraduate religious life can, however, be evaluated somewhat in respect to “tangibles,” and it is not found wanting. In 1870, Jackson reported to the Convention of the Diocese of Connecticut that of the ninety-three students, all but twenty were communicants of the Episcopal Church, and that forty were studying for Holy Orders. In the day-to-day routine of chapel exercises, there was a remarkable loyalty to be noted. The one student petition submitted during Jackson’s administration for the making of Wednesday evening chapel attendance voluntary was presented, so said the students, not out of disrespect for religious observance, but because baseball games and practice “conflicted with the service and caused a mad rush of sweaty, dirty bodies to chapel at 5:30 p.m. Wednesday afternoon.”

Ever since the Wheaton Chapel Bequest in 1862, the Trustees had had some vague plans for a new chapel building. Unfortunately, however, the Trustees’ plans were based on the assumption that there would be a great increase in the size of the student body, which would necessitate a larger building. As there was no appreciable increase in the number of students, the governing board had made no immediate plans for a new Chapel. The students were unwilling to make the new Chapel dependent on an enlarged student body, and they pressed for the erection of a new Chapel at once. The editor of the Tablet proposed on October 10, 1870, that the Senior Class make pledges and contributions toward a fund of $75,000 for the Chapel. Perhaps the editor was overly optimistic, for he stated that the College already had $20,000 from Dr. Wheaton’s bequest and an additional $10,000 from interest on the principal. Actually, only $10,000 of the Wheaton bequest was given for a new Chapel, and even double that amount would have yielded much less than $10,000 in eight years. But such was the student enthusiasm for the new Chapel. Unfortunately, the happy thought was never implemented, and the student chapel fund never materialized. But the idea of a new and better Chapel did not die. In his Treasurer’s Statement of July 12, 1871, George S. Mallory, Professor of Rhetoric and Treasurer of the College, devoted two paragraphs to urging the need for a new Chapel and pointing out the anachronism of a Church College without a Chapel. Mallory simply refused to regard the “small room . . . in which the air is always oppressive” as a true Chapel. And shortly, too, the students were to despair of ever having a new place of worship.
The Tablet of November 29, 1871, reported that the students then felt that the new Chapel—"that gorgeous phantom"—would be completed by their grandchildren. In 1873, the Chapel was mildly refurbished with a new carpet and cushions on the kneeling-benches; but by that time, the whole prospect of the College had changed. Plans were already afoot to abandon the campus and move to another site.

In the matter of college-church relationships, Jackson guided the College through a rather critical period. From the beginning, the College had maintained rather close connections with one of the Hartford parishes. At first it had been Christ Church, and later it had been St. John's. But when St. John's became "Low Church" under the rectorship of the Reverend Edward A. Washburn, the ties between Trinity College and St. John's Church were weakened. Jackson had little respect for either Washburn's churchmanship or his intellectual capacities. Washburn resigned the rectorship of St. John's in 1862, and was succeeded by the Reverend William Croswell Doane, the son of Bishop George Washington Doane, the College's first Professor of Belles Lettres. The new rector of St. John's was a close personal friend of President Jackson, but by the time Jackson assumed the Presidency of Trinity College in 1867, a new movement within the College itself had gained so much momentum that Jackson was obliged to follow a course which was to further estrange Trinity College and St. John's Parish.

In 1866, Professor John T. Huntington organized a Sunday School for the faculty children and others in the neighborhood. The Sunday School first met in the Cabinet of the College, but so successful was Huntington's little mission that steps were taken almost immediately to establish a new parish to serve the immediate neighborhood of the College and the newer section of the city along Washington Street, then one of the finest residential areas. A parish was formed in 1867 with Huntington as rector and Abner Jackson as one of the vestrymen. On November 18, 1868, the Church of the Incarnation, a beautiful, stone, Gothic structure, built with funds donated by Professor Huntington, was dedicated at the southeast corner of Park and Washington Streets, with the College choir singing at the service of dedication.

As the Church of the Incarnation was but two blocks from the College, the new Church was attended by the students. The growth of the parish was rapid, and within a year, transepts and a chancel were added to the building, thus doubling the seating capacity. Professor Huntington was an unabashed High Churchman, and the tone of the parish's churchmanship was set by the first rector. When the press of academic duties forced Professor Huntington's resignation in 1870, he was succeeded by the Reverend Cyrus F. Knight. Knight, too, was a High Churchman, and his introduction of a surpliced choir, then a novelty in the Diocese of Connecticut, brought Knight into head-on collision with Bishop Williams. Knight submitted his resignation rather than defy the Bishop's orders, but Bishop Williams compromised his own anti-ritualistic feelings and conceded on his original protest. Knight remained at the Church of the Incarnation until 1878 when, according to parish tradition, the parish treasurer absconded with the church funds, leaving the parish without the means of continuing the rector's salary. Knight left town, or as one writer said, "vanished into thin air." At that point, Bishop Williams prevailed upon Huntington to resign his Professorship at the College to become rector of the In-
carnation. Huntington remained at this church, later named St. James, until 1913.

During the Jackson administration, most of the Faculty were in Holy Orders. Only Professors Brocklesby, Stickney, and Holbrooke were laymen. Leopold Simonson, who had served since 1864 as Instructor in French and German (at a top salary of $900) and who had served since then as lay reader among the German-speaking residents of Hartford, was ordained deacon in the College Chapel on November 28, 1868. This was the first ordination to be performed in the College Chapel. In 1870, Professor William Woodruff Niles was elected Bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire.

The clerical members of the Faculty were active in missionary work in the Hartford area. Professor Niles had been rector of St. John's Church, Warehouse Point, during his entire stay at Trinity, and the others followed the part-time-supply tradition which dated from the founding of the College. All of this was, of course, good "public relations" in the local community, and especially among Hartford Episcopalians, in enhancing the College's reputation as a center of solid Christian learning. In the larger Anglican community, the election of the New England Bishops to the Board of Visitors extended the same reputation into a broader Episcopal "constituency." In 1871, ex-President Kerfoot, Bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, was elected to the Board of Visitors.

But what might have been good public relations in one quarter could be bad public relations in another. For fifty years it had been the function of the President to emphasize the Episcopal character of the College when dealing with Episcopalians, and to minimize the College's relations to the Episcopal Church when dealing with non-Episcopalians. From the College's founding, a delicate balance had been set up, and it was upon the successful preserving of this balance that the College's fortunes, to a great extent, depended. In 1870, that balance was almost tipped, and perhaps, considering the subsequent long-range developments, was upset by what were probably the best of intentions.

At the Commencement Dinner of 1870, the principal speaker was the Reverend Edward Miner Gallaudet '56, President of the Columbian College for Deaf Mutes in Washington, D.C., and one of the College's most distinguished Alumni. The speaker expressed regret that the Hartford citizenry had not "more munificently endowed Trinity College and more heartily supported it as their own." The reason, argued Dr. Gallaudet, was that too many people felt that Trinity was an exclusively Episcopal college. But Trinity, he continued, belonged no more exclusively to the Episcopal Church than Yale to the Congregationalists.

With the emphasis on Gallaudet's word "exclusively," the statement was one of mere fact, to be borne out by both the College Charter and tradition. But the emphasis on "no more exclusively" was a fatal reversal of the logic which had traditionally been applied in explaining Trinity's church relationship. Always it had been that Trinity was Episcopal – as Yale was Congregationalist, as Harvard was Unitarian, or as Princeton was Presbyterian. Certainly by 1870, Harvard was less obviously Unitarian, Yale less Congregationalist, and Princeton less Presbyterian, but did it follow that Trinity was less Episcopalian? Jackson fell into a trap probably not intended by Dr. Gallaudet, for in his comments following the Doctor's speech, Jackson added gratuitously that Trinity College taught only "the essential doctrines of Christianity upon which all Christians agree."