The Gilded Age

ABNER JACKSON was, if anything, an organizer. When he began his tenure as President of Trinity College in 1867, there were few societies or other formal groups. There were then the Missionary Society, Phi Beta Kappa, four fraternities, two moribund literary societies, a choir, and the Grand Tribunal. Three years later there were these ten organizations plus the Guild of the Holy Trinity, a revived Boat Club, a Baseball Club, the Euterpean Society, Iota Phi, something called "Po Pai Paig," The Tablet, Ye Mystic Crew of Comus, K.S.C., Phi Theta Chi, Ye Pipes of Peace, Oxyposes, the Chess Club, and the Whist Club. Some of these groups were quite ancient; others were new. Several were little more than drinking clubs; some have been totally forgotten — even as to nature and purpose. And in the next few years, the societies on the Trinity campus were to proliferate by an almost geometric progression.

Of the older groups, the Missionary Society had survived the Civil War as the most active organization on campus. Meetings were held twice each month. Small donations were made from the regular "collections" to various missionary and educational purposes. And although the membership remained relatively small — perhaps from twelve to fifteen — the Society's function remained purely that designated in its title.

In 1870, several members of the Missionary Society organized the Guild of the Holy Trinity. The Guild was a "branch" of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross which had recently been organized in New York City as a federation of the Episcopal Missionary Societies of various colleges and theological seminaries, with such diverse representation as Brown University, the General Theological Seminary, Columbia, Hobart, Princeton, St. Stephen's College, the Philadelphia Divinity School, and Trinity. As it turned out, however, the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross was thought to have excessive "ritualistic proclivities," and Trinity soon withdrew from the brotherhood.

The literary societies had barely survived the War. The Parthenon Society's hall had served as a drill room for the Graham Guard, and the lack of regular quarters had apparently caused the society to languish. And thus deprived of a rival, the Atheneum suffered a similar fate. It was not until September of 1867 that the Atheneum was re-activated and not until that following year that the Parthenon resumed a normal schedule of activities. When the Christmas Term of 1868-1869 opened, there seemed to be a genuine interest in the two societies. The Atheneum Hall had been completely redecorated during the summer, and President Jackson addressed the Parthenon at its initial meeting. Both societies reported the largest attendance in many years.

But the new enthusiasm for the literary societies was not sustained, and the officers were soon hard-pressed to keep the spark of interest alive. By the spring of 1870, the Tablet reported that "the interest of novelty has worn off and the societies are now struggling for existence" and that it was "hard to find twenty-five students to join." Both societies disbanded in the spring of 1870, and the "assets" of the Atheneum and the Parthenon were distributed about the College. The horse-hair sofas which lined the walls of the Society Rooms found their way to the Chapel.
Vestry, and the carpet from the Atheneum Room was stowed away for use on the stage at Commencement. Several works of art were placed in halls and classrooms,¹⁰ and the Society Libraries were given to the College to be incorporated into the permanent holdings of the College Library.¹¹

The gift to the College of the Society Libraries was of great benefit to all. From a rather stagnant collection of 10,000 volumes in 1870,¹² the book collection was swelled to 15,000 volumes,¹³ and many of the societies' additions were more recent and interesting titles.¹⁴ Also, the societies induced the College to fit up two reading rooms which were opened daily from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., and which were supplied with books for recreational reading, the Hartford and New York newspapers, college papers, and English periodicals.¹⁵ This was the first time that the College made a wide variety of periodical literature available to the Trinity community.¹⁶

Thus, the two oldest campus organizations had disappeared. Perhaps they had outlived their usefulness. Locally it was believed that the literary societies had lost out in a competition with the fraternities,¹⁷ but that was only part of the story. Debate and declamation, the original pur-
HORACE: LIB. I. CARMEN IX.

Several poetical translations from Horace have appeared in late numbers of the College Courier, none of which, we venture to say, exceed the following in closely adhering to the original, and in merit as English verse.

Scest thou please Socrates' brow
Whiter'd a' ye with delived snow;
While the fit tree's gleaning bough
Neath thy sunny hood descends low?
And the moments current haste
Crystalines in thy bands.
Conquer Winter! Let the break,
Tilled with fresh, bright, merry spade.
Thaianus, corn, with south,
Marching down the Sabines from.
Fill an overflowing measure,
Now's the time for wine and pleasure.
To the gods resign the rest,
For, when they have killed the warm
Raging horde of ocean's breast,
Not the armor's giant form,
Not the helmet, round and flat,
Glares before the northern blast.
Be the narrow what it may,
Still, with general heart, enjoy,
What kind fortune grants to stay.
Nor should then disdain, O boy,
Cupid's wish and dowry train,
The pow'rful winds' winning train.
Since to hateful threat of white
Mary thy wealth of curling brow,
Seek the rendezvous, when Night
Spends her mandate o'er the town;
Listening through the silent hours
To the fountain's whispering showers.
Happy to be weekly clad,
When the laughing cheeks betray
Where some merry girl lies hid,
Smiles the slender pledge away
From her hands or dainty wove,
While she playfully ruines.
O, '91.

ULTRA TENDENCIES OF THE AGE.

For the last few centuries everything has been progressing so rapidly that we can scarcely appreciate the merit which is sometimes found holding back. All our conceptions of improvement are connected with rapid and reckless advance. In the retrospect we see some things which are pleasant and romantic, but are apt to think that for real good they must be changed. If the minds of men have of late become as much expanded and developed, if those theories and systems which prevailed a few generations back, are now exploded, and in science and art such perfection has been attained, surely there must be need of more intellectual religious, more theoretically-perfect forms of government, and more utopian systems for the regulation of education and manners. This seems to be the tendency of the age. Far be it from us to deify or depreciate reform and radical change; when it is for the better; but there is danger that we may be carried too far. The current of speculation and experiment has for so long a time been receiving increasing swiftness that there is danger of its overflowing its banks and destroving the country instead of watering and refreshing it. It can scarcely be restrained within the accustomed bounds, and we may fear miscellaneous results. The "governor" forms a too insignificant part of the machinery of the popular mind. Its regulating influence is feebly felt in this hurry-scurry, restless age.

In religious men are fast losing sight of the old landmarks. Pulled up by self-esteem, they would subject the Eternnal and Perfect to their own finite and perverted judgment. They mistake for the discoveries of a masterfully inept, a skeptical and incredulous spirit, altogether base and contemptible. A, too ready belief may mark a shallow and feeble mind, but not more than does this conceit—"Free thinking."

In literature we also see indications of evil. Within the last few years works have been issued which, cast in the shade even our old dramatist, not, perhaps in the coarseness and open offensiveness of expression, but certainly in the spirit which pervades them. Recking with the fumes of religious and national passion, and in many instances, full of the finest blasphemy, they not only command a ready sale, but those who express the abhorrence of them are accused of narrow mindedness and intolerance to genius. The evil effects produced are undeniable, and it is not only common, but it is claimed that the fault is produced from a man's own evil mind and not from the book. "To the pure all things are pure." True! But where shall we find the pure? Not in these days can we expect to find them anywhere. Men are human, and it is human to err. If we handle pitch how shall we escape delusion?

But it is with the College world that we have more particularly to do, though these other things must be interesting to us all. We are happy to say that one good feature of the day, is the great encouragement given to institutions of learning. In almost all our colleges the endorsements are being increased, additions made to the buildings, and last but not least, there is in many places an agreeable rise in the number of students. But even here there are some things which seem to us a mistake. Evidence of new and unproved theories for the regulation of studies and students, are sometimes to be observed. "It is scarcely necessary to say that we are in general opposed to innovations in the old beaten track of college studies, not to changes in the standard but in the time honored course.

In the first place there seems to be a tendency to undervalue the classics, and more abstract mathematics. Some years ago the question was gravely discussed whether it were not desirable to abolish the classics altogether. Some enlightened son of America argued that they were totally opposed to the spirit of Christianity and American life. The argument was effectually answered by an excellent article from Pres. Bolton, in which he showed more conclusively that the charges against classical studies were groundless. Nothing of great importance was effected, but the old established curriculums, but even since there have been evidences that the current is setting more and more in the new direction. Straus they are, but they serve as indices. The majority of people don't seem able to appreciate anything which does not put money into a man's pocket, or at least information into his head. By "information" probably most folks mean a smattering of natural science, history, &c. We don't profess to know exactly what it does mean. The mental discipline, severe drilling necessary to bring the mind to its greatest perfection are not once thought of. The American ideal of a college seems to be a place where a young man goes to "finish his education," to do up his studying. When he comes out he is expected to have nothing more to do in the way of mind training, all the faculties of his life can be devoted to making money, and what he learned at college must take him through. Our idea of a college is just the opposite. A man should go there not so much to learn any particular thing as to get complete control of his mind, to learn the depth and power of it, and to bring it to its highest working perfection. It should be a sort of mental gymnasium, in which all the faculties are trained and exercised, till they become strong and dexterous. The first thing to do is to get the mind completely in hand, and then to increase its capacity for labor. Now the experience of age shows that no studies are better calculated to effect those ends than the classics and higher mathematics. They have for centuries formed the exercises by which the mental qualities have been perfected. Anything that looks like under-valuing them, seems to us a downward step, and scarcely one of our institutions of learning would suffer from devoting increased attention to them, even at the expense of more popular studies.

Giving to a student the election of the study which he shall pursue, does not seem calculated for good, either. He will be apt to select that one which is best suited to his taste and is most readily learned, and this is generally the very one...
poses of the societies, had become less popular among the students, and this was perhaps best evidenced by the fact that the last Junior Exhibition was held in 1868. The college curricula, too, were changing in such a fashion as to re-orient student interest. The older curriculum, with its emphasis on oral class recitation, was giving way to one which stressed written composition, and at Trinity the emphasis on "theme writing" seems to have been even greater than at any other New England college, something to be attributed to the Reverend Edwin E. Johnson, who was Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory from 1867 to 1872 and of English Language and Literature from 1872 until 1883.

Originally, the activities of the societies provided a "second curriculum" to parallel the Classical and Mathematical studies of the regular college courses. In the society meetings, debates were held on subjects of general literary and cultural interest, as the classroom could then find little time for such consideration. But as the curriculum was enriched—and by 1870, History and Modern Literature had won a permanent place in the college offerings—these needs were satisfied without the students' having to resort to a "second curriculum." Finally, an outlet for literary production—in this case written, rather than oral—was found in the college publications, whose rise paralleled the decline and fall of the literary societies. In April, 1868, the first number of The Trinity Tablet appeared. The Tablet was a monthly newspaper until 1878 when it became a bi-weekly, and the sixteen pages of each issue provided ample space for all undergraduates who had literary aspirations. And in 1873 appeared the first Trinity Ivy, the college annual which must have been something of a model for this type of publication.

Even though the literary societies formally had been dissolved, there were some never-say-die members of both the Atheneum and the Parthenon who insisted that the societies were merely being "held in abeyance." In the spring of 1871, these young men formed a society known as the Phoenix which they regarded as a successor to the two defunct societies, and which they hoped would carry on until the Atheneum and the Parthenon could be revived.

The faith of those who had hoped to resuscitate the societies was partly justified, for in the fall of 1871, the former members of the Parthenon reorganized and reopened the Parthenon Hall. Perhaps it was a case of the students missing the water when the well went dry, for with the dissolution of the societies, the undergraduates suddenly manifested a new interest in debate. Meetings of the new Parthenon Society were held every Monday during the winter months, and the attendance was usually quite large. But again, it was easier to reactivate a dormant society than to sustain it. By the spring of 1873, the Parthenon had again expired and at Commencement time of that year a final meeting was held.

In the fall of 1873, a new society, simply calling itself "The Literary Society," was founded to replace the defunct Parthenon. Although the group always carried the name "Parthenon" under the heading of "The Literary Society" in the Commencement issue of the Tablet and the Ivy, it was not the old Parthenon. The Literary Society had no permanent quarters, and meetings were held in the Greek recitation room; membership was made up exclusively of Juniors and Seniors; and the programs consisted of readings from literary masterpieces, rather than debate.

As the two lower classes were excluded from The Literary Society, the Sophomores soon organized a society of their own—the Sophomore Debating Club. The original membership was fifteen, all Sophomores. The Sophomore group was soon a going concern, and as the Sophomore Debating Society prospered, so did The Literary Society decline, and soon the Sophomore Debating Club absorbed The Literary Society, admitting members of the other three classes and changing its name to the Sophomore Literary Society. In 1876, the Sophomore Literary Society had thirty-nine members of which only fifteen were Sophomores. For two years the Sophomore Literary Society enjoyed a brief period of glory, and then it, too, disappeared.

The last flurry of literary society activity—
anticlimactic, of course — came in February, 1874, when the literary society movement was breathing its last. At that time the Intercollegiate Literary Convention was held at the Allyn House in Hartford and, although Trinity College was not an official sponsor, the College was represented at the sessions by three members of the upper classes. 33

Delegates were present from Bowdoin, Amherst, Williams, Princeton, Columbia, Wesleyan, Lafayette, Hamilton, Brown, the University of the City of New York, Rutgers, Cornell, Trinity, and Syracuse. The convention was the brainchild of Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a popular literary figure of the time, and then a resident of Newport, Rhode Island. There were addresses by Colonel Higginson, Charles Dudley Warner, and Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain). All present found the meeting both stimulating and entertaining, and at the business session it was decided to hold an intercollegiate literary debate and oratorical contest in New York City the following January. 34 At that time, however, only six colleges participated, and Trinity was not among them. 35

With the final collapse of the literary societies, it was Phi Beta Kappa alone which kept the spark of literary interest aglow, albeit with little more than the annual meeting. In the late 1860s, Phi Beta Kappa abandoned the time-honored practice of admitting the highest third of the Senior Class. In the Class of 1869, for example, those elected were ranked first, third, sixth, eighth, and tenth of a graduating class of fourteen. 36 The “rival” Kappa Beta Phi Society, however, suddenly emerged as an active group. There were regular meetings of Kappa Beta Phi, not in one of the college halls, but in one of the back rooms at the Heublein Hotel where, it was said, orations and poems were delivered. Although the society consisted of the lowest third of the class, its members honored themselves by electing “honorary members” to grace the pages of the annual edition of the Ivy. And whether or not the “elections” were with the consent or notification of those so “honored,” the list was imposing indeed. In 1874, the honorarii included such public and literary figures as Bayard Taylor and William Cullen Bryant, the Right Reverend James Roosevelt Bayley ’35, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Honorable William E. Curtis ’43, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the state of New York. And the list was soon extended to include such worthies as the Right Honorable William E. Gladstone, Bishop Williams, Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Treasury Secretary B. H. Bristow, 37 President Rutherford B. Hayes, Popes Pius IX 38 and Leo XIII, Alfred Tennyson, Czar Alexander II, The Sultan of Turkey, David Pratt, 39 and Sitting Bull. 40

On the American college scene, the post-war period was the heyday of the fraternity movement, for in their recovery from the lean years of depleted student bodies, the competitive fraternity rushing was carried on with an unprecedented vigor. Trinity was no exception. Phi Kappa was re-activated in 1865 with eight of the students who had come to Trinity with Dr. Kerfoot from the College of St. James. 41 and this gave Phi Kappa a bit of advantage in members over the other societies. Beta Beta was revived more slowly, for in 1868 the Betas initiated only three men and in 1869 only two. In 1870, however, nine men were admitted and from that point on the number of initiations per year averaged nine. 42 And in this connection it might be pointed out that Beta Beta was the only Trinity fraternity which did not admit Freshmen. The alumni members of the fraternities were deeply concerned that the fraternities would get the “right” men, and that the young men whom they were directing to Trinity should get into the “right” fraternity. It became the practice for Alumni to urge candidates for fall admission to the Freshman Class to attend the Commencement exercises in July. At that time, the fraternity members would “look after,” as well as “look at,” the sub-Freshmen and decide which ones should be “rushed” when College opened in September. 43

The fraternities at this time began to assume permanent quarters “off campus.” I.K.A. moved from the room previously occupied in Jarvis
Hall to quarters in the State Bank Building. Delta Psi was a near neighbor in the building of the Hartford Times. In 1872, several graduate members of Beta Beta organized the Colt Trust Association in memory of the Reverend William U. Colt ’44, one of the founders of the society who had died in 1848. The purpose of the Colt Trust was to hold the trust funds of Beta Beta and such property as should come to the Society’s possession—obviously in the hope that a “chapter house” might be obtained. In 1873, the Epsilon Chapter of Delta Psi was chartered by Act of the Connecticut State Legislature.

The “downtown” rooms of the fraternities were not residence quarters. Fraternity members still lived in the dormitories, but here there was to be noted a pattern of room-selection somewhat resembling the later “crowding in entries.” Phi Kappa and Delta Psi men almost invariably lived in Jarvis Hall, and I.K.A. and Beta Beta lived in Brownell. And on patriotic holidays, the fraternities assumed responsibility to hang appropriate flags and bunting on that portion of the dormitory in which the members resided.

In 1869, a fifth society was founded at Trinity College as Delta Upsilon. The group which “swung out” with eleven members on Washington’s Birthday, 1870, described itself as an “Anti-secret Fraternity.” But if “anti-secret,” it was still as “exclusive” as the others; membership was always less than half that of the “secret” societies, and several of the campus leaders belonged to Delta Upsilon. Nevertheless, Delta Upsilon was never recognized as a real fraternity, and in 1876 the Anti-secret Society of Delta Upsilon disbanded.

The Grand Tribunal—that august body, keeper of the campus peace, and prototype of student government—had fallen upon evil days. Membership was still small and select, and the Tribunal, like the fraternities, rented quarters downtown. The initiation ceremonies which were conducted at night with elaborate and mysterious incantations, replete with coffin, human skeleton, sacred seals, and liquid flame, attracted much attention from the Hartford townsfolk. In fact, the Faculty thought that the Tribunal had attracted too much attention and urged its end. By this time, the Grand Tribunal had long since failed to serve any useful purpose and had become merely another secret society, regarded by the students (the non-members, that is) as an “antiquated fossil.” Alumni still boasted, it is true, of their former connections with the Tribunal, but even the active members were obliged to concede that the chief benefit from the Grand Tribunal was the annual “bum” given for the membership by the initiates. Although the Grand Tribunal would not disband, it did attempt an internal reform, and in 1874 membership was limited to Seniors.

The Grand Tribunal was a nuisance, a perennial nuisance. But the Grand Tribunal was not the only nuisance on campus for, late in the 1860’s, there appeared a rival organization—Po Pai Paig, a society whose origins, purpose, and activity were so shrouded in mystery that some students (obviously non-members) even doubted its very existence. Po Pai Paig revealed the name of members only after the individuals had left college and, assuming that all of those listed as “retired demons” actually were one-time members, the society comprised an interesting cross-cut of the student body, including both social and academic leaders. Active members were listed with either cryptic or nonsensical names. Still a third “ghoulish” group was Mu Mu Mu which was, if possible, even more secret than
By 1874, there were a dozen small groups devoted to card games: the Cribbage Club; the Cribbage Club of '75; the Euchre Club; the Ukur Club (was this really a club?); The Seventy-Four Whist Club; the S.P.F.D.; the S.P.F.D. Whist Club; the '77 Whist Club; Brownell Hall Whist Club; the Champion Whist Club; the Solitaire Club (with the motto: "go it alone"); and Ye Pipes of Peace, a group which listed the address of its "wigwam" as 41 Jarvis Hall. There were also several "eating clubs": the City Hotel; M.M.C.; and the Mutual Benefit Eating Society.

Musical organizations were late in making their appearance at Trinity and, for a long while, the Chapel Choir was the only formal singing group on the campus. Not that the students did not sing, they most certainly did, and on such occasions as Class Day and the Commencement Dinner several college songs were always heard. "Auld Lang Syne" was the Trinity Alma Mater, and to the original first stanza by Robert Burns, two Trinity stanzas were added. The third stanza was:

All hail to Trinity we sing,
Old Mother, staunch and true;
May added years fresh honor bring
And still her age renew.

Another favorite was "Lauriger Horatius," with words by John J. McCook '63:

Vale, Mater Trinitatis,
Valet, Professores,
Valeatis, Socii,
Etiam sorores.

Still another was "Annie Lisle" with words by James Walters Clark '63, the chorus of which was:

Then come, invoke their voices, from each waving tree,
Let them chant Eolian blessings, for old Trinity.

At Class Day the song "College Days" was always sung to the tune of "Figaro."

Hartford concerts by the glee clubs of Wesleyan and Yale inspired the organization of the Euterpean Society, the first glee club at Trin-
ity. The Euterpeans gave their first concert in the College Cabinet on February 9, 1869. The program was one of popular male-chorus songs of the day, and the only adverse criticism that was made was that the program did not include enough of the familiar college songs. At the Euterpeans’ second concert, given on June 11, there was a great variety of offerings: chorus numbers, “quartettes,” piano duets, vocal solos, and two selections composed especially for the occasion—“Spirit of Liberty” by Brady Electus Backus ’70, and “Farewell Song, Trinity College” by John Henry Brocklesby ’65. The attendance was large, and the concert was very much a success.

With a bit of prodding from the Tablet and competition from the Yale Glee Club, which sang to a large audience at the Hartford Opera House, the next fall the Euterpean Society was revived, enlarged, and improved. On February 10, 1870, the Euterpeans gave a concert in Philo Dramatic Hall in the Sisson Block in Hartford. The first part of the program was made up of glees, college songs, and comic skits. The second part was an original operetta, “The Sweets of Matrimony,” which was given with the assistance of an amateur orchestra and in which the female parts were sung by the student members of the society.

The Euterpean Society soon took the alternate name of the Trinity College Glee Club and thus enjoyed its status as an official college organization, but the absence of a long tradition of Trinity College as a “singing college” was soon reflected in the propensity to fragment the larger singing group into quartets. The early history of the Trinity Glee Club was, thus, largely a process of division, consolidation, division, and continuous repetition of this process. In 1874, for example, there were, in addition to the College Glee Club and Chapel Choir, the Thunderers, the Beta Beta Quartette, the I.K.A. Quartette, and Ye Sweet Singers of Israel.

The beginnings of instrumental music at Trinity were much more primitive. At the old-time ceremonies such as the Burning of Conic Sections or the Burning of Anna Lytics, there were usually present performers on such “instruments” as the fish horn, the cowbell, the dishpan, and the “musical comb.” And from time to time, ensembles of similar instrumentation gathered to nocturnally “serenade” faculty and fellow students. By the early 1870’s, one such group actually strove for recognition as an official campus organization under the title of the Calithumpian Band on the grounds that it had a legitimate function to perform at certain informal college occasions. The Tablet took a dim view of the “Tin Horn Association” or “Cape Cod Band,” as the group was derisively called, but the “Calithumps” would not be silenced, for, perhaps convinced that even such a band was better than none, they even insisted on listing their names and membership in the official undergraduate publications. Of course, the presence of such an outfit as the Calithumpians pointed up the paucity of musical talent on the Trinity College campus. In describing the musical situation at the College under the title of “What I Know About Trinity,” one undergraduate declared in the Tablet that the only musical instruments to be found on the campus were “a few dozen banjos, a few more fish horns, sundry tin pans, and the chapel organ.”

In the fall of 1873, a Freshman, unidentified but acknowledged to be an accomplished banjo
player, began to give instruction on that instrument. During the winter of 1873-1874, the halls rang with the brittle music of the many banjos. In fact, the banjo fad even brought an end to the Calithumpians.

The first serious college instrumental ensemble, the Cherubini Philharmonic Club (two violins, a flute, and the chapel organ) flourished during the winter of 1875-76. Two years later, the Trinity Hall Orchestra, with the mongrel instrumentation of flute, violin, piano, horn, triangle, and bones, was listed in the Ivy. In the fall of 1878, four undergraduate banjo players formed the Royal Italian Band (jo). The Royal Italian Band (jo) was soon augmented by two more banjos, and the organization took the name of the Royal Egyptian String Sextette, an organization which was to enjoy an unusually long life for a musical club of this sort.

In 1881, a very “proper” College Orchestra was organized with two violins, cello, two flutes, and piano. When the College Orchestra expired after a single season, the Royal Egyptian String Sextette adopted the motto: “Freshmen may come and Seniors may go, but the Royal Egyptian String Sextette goes on forever.” And so, it seemed, it would. For two years, the Royal Egyptians were alone in the field, so far as instrumental music at Trinity was concerned. In 1884-85, however, they shared the honor with another College Orchestra, this one comprising two violins, a flute, a clarinet, a piccolo, piano, and three of the banjos from the Royal Egyptians. Obviously, those whom the Royal Egyptians could not lick, they joined.

The story of college dramatics at Trinity is somewhat more dignified. In the earlier days, Junior Exhibition usually was concluded with a dramatic piece enacted by the class, albeit without costume, scenery, or props. With the disappearance of Junior Exhibition, it was quite natural that a dramatic club should have appeared on campus, and so in the Christmas Term of 1871-72 the Trinity Student Dramatic Club performed The Poor Gentleman in the Philo Dramatic Hall on December 14, 1871. The performance was for invited guests only and that was just as well, for the local critics described the acting as “that of beginners.”

On May 13, 1872, the Dramatic Club presented Sheridan’s The Rivals in Philo Dramatic Hall, this time to the public at an admission of fifty cents with the proceeds being donated to the Boating Club of the College. The performance was much better than the last, but the reporter from the Hartford Times (perhaps making a comparison with the professional company which had presented The Rivals in Hartford three years before) still thought it “inferior to the performance of similar groups.” Charitably, however, he added that a little training would bring much improvement. But just at the time that the “little training” would have been so useful to the Dramatic Club, the College’s Professor of Elocution, the Reverend Francis T. Russell, became Principal of St. Margaret’s School for Girls in Waterbury, Connecticut, and from that time on Russell’s connection with the College was little more than nominal. The Dramatic Club next scheduled a more modest undertaking, a dramatization of Twice Told Tales, to be given in the College Cabinet, rather than downtown. But despite chiding and prodding from the Tablet, the performance never came off. This was the end of Trinity’s first Dramatic Club and the end, too, of the Dramatic Club’s sister society, the Shakespearean Club, which had existed briefly under the guidance of Professor Johnson.

In this busy atmosphere of club activity of the 1870’s, it was quite natural that there should have been a succession of organizations devoted to athletics. The rise of team sports at Trinity was all the more phenomenal in that, with the disappearance of the College’s rowing team during the Civil War, the post-war athletic interest represented a starting from scratch. Indeed, it must be said that at the time of Abner Jackson’s taking over the Presidency of the College in 1867, not a single sport was being played at Trinity, and even football (or soccer, if you prefer) had come to a sudden end during the closing months of John Brocklesby’s Acting-Presidency.

Other than the single contest with a team of
young men from Hartford, interest in football had centered about the traditional game between the Freshmen and Sophomores which was usually held on a vacant lot opposite the Orphan Asylum on Washington Street. This game had lapsed during the war, but in 1865 the two classes played for the best three games out of five, and so this strenuous form of interclass "rush" continued until 1867, when a member of the Class of '69 broke his leg in the course of the game. The following year, the Faculty forbade the Freshman-Sophomore game, but to make up for the loss, the college authorities declared the first day of November to be "Compensation Day," an occasion which soon took its place as a high spot on the Trinity calendar. In 1869, the class of '73 inaugurated the custom of "burying the football," a nocturnal ceremonial carried out in lavish imitation of the Burning of Anna Lytics or the Burning of Conic Sections, complete with funeral procession (led by the Calithumpian Band), orations, and poems. The football was solemnly laid to rest in a grave dug in a remote corner of the campus, and then ensued a scramble for the beer which had been carried to the place of interment.

Compensation Day remained on the College Calendar (although officially as All Saints' Day), but the ceremony of burying the football soon disappeared. Although the bier was gone, the beer was not, and Compensation Day (or All Saints' Day) became the occasion of a "bum" given by the Freshmen for the entire College. And during the early 1870's there began the soon-to-become traditional push rushes between the Freshmen and Sophomores. If the Faculty had eliminated the Freshman-Sophomore football game in the interest of preserving life and limb, what developed in its stead was even more deadly for, in the rushes, the members of the contending classes met on an open field (usually at the vacant lot at the corner of Washington and Baker Streets), locked shoulders in a solid phalanx, and met head-on, with the team which gave way being declared the loser. And for a while, the loser was expected to pay for the "bum." The Sophomores usually had the advantage of size and weight, and the expense of the "bum" usually fell on the Freshmen, who got off by providing a barrel of poor beer and some crackers, usually on the field just after the rush.
The faculty prohibition of the Freshman–Sophomore football game did not necessarily reflect faculty hostility toward athletics as such. President Jackson, it will be remembered, had been something of an athlete in his earlier years, and at one time he had been quite adept at wicket, and there were, as we shall see, others on the Faculty who shared his interest in sports.

Following the Civil War, baseball was, far and away, the most popular collegiate sport. During the war, baseball had been played in both Union and Confederate Armies, and as the young veterans returned to the college campuses, they took the sport with them and soon baseball had become a mania among American collegians. On June 27, 1863, Harvard and Brown played the first game of intercollegiate baseball, and from that time on, the game was to take hold on almost every campus.

For a while, the Trinity students remained aloof from what the Hartford papers were even then referring to as the "National Game," feeling that a college with so small a student body could not find "material" for a baseball team. Occasionally a "scrub game" would be played on the back campus, but no one gave serious thought to the possibility of intercollegiate baseball. Early in the spring of 1866, Wesleyan announced that a varsity baseball team had been formed and that a schedule of games (including one with Harvard) had been arranged. In Hartford, too, there appeared a number of base-ball teams. In addition to the old Charter Oak Nine, there were now fire company teams, insurance company teams, factory teams, and all sorts of independent groups.

By the spring of 1868, Trinity, too, had a varsity baseball team, and on June 10, the Trinity team ambitiously played the Charter Oaks, to be defeated by those capable semi-professionals by a score of 41 to 26 in a seven-inning game. Just the experience of having played the Charter Oaks was enough to create a baseball craze on the Trinity campus. Soon each class had its team, and a lively inter-class rivalry ensued. Inter-class games were played on all favorable Wednesday and Saturday afternoons during the spring and fall months. Trinity's intercollegiate baseball competition began in 1870, and on June 1, the Trinity team of '71 lost to Yale 26-19. Three days later, the Trinity varsity defeated Wesleyan 42-31 and the Trinity second team defeated the Hartford Public High School, 36-13.

The beginnings of the Trinity–Wesleyan rivalry were most auspicious, for the Trinity students were lavish in their "thanks to the Wesleyan students for their kindness and hospitality." In the return match, Wesleyan defeated Trinity, 55-43.

Following this reasonably successful first season, the Trinity Baseball Team went into a period of inactivity. The team, along with the class teams, maintained its existence, but no games of any consequence were played. There was no intercollegiate competition, and what the Tablet called "lazyness" (apathy, if you prefer) caused Trinity to even pass up a game with Wesleyan. And even though the Hartford city officials had generously permitted the College to play ball on the north end of the park, the students were content to offer as their excuse the suggestion that they had no good grounds on which to play.

By the spring of 1874, however, there was some agitation for a new varsity baseball team, and in a short while, baseball was again a going concern at Trinity. New flannel uniforms in the college colors of green and white were ordered from...
Marster of Brooklyn, and on May 30, the Trinity team wore the splendid new costume in a defeat, 18-26, to Brown University at Hartford. On June 9, Trinity defeated Brown, 14-9 at Providence, and on June 28, Trinity won over Amherst, 15-11 at Hartford.

Upon their return from the long summer vacation in 1874, the Trinity Baseball Team tried to get back in the swing of their spring season. A victory over the team from the Deaf and Dumb Asylum was followed by a trip to Amherst, where the ardor of the Trinity players was somewhat cooled by what they described as shabby treatment from the Amherst men. The game was set for Saturday, October 10, and upon the arrival of the Trinity players at Amherst, there seemed to have been some sort of misunderstanding as to the exact date scheduled for the game. The Trinity men finally convinced the Amherst team that they had arrived on the proper date, and Amherst finally agreed to play. But rain held off the game until late afternoon and then, when the score at the end of the third inning stood at 5-0 in favor of Amherst, a Trinity man was injured, and the game was stopped. The Trinity men complained of the rudeness of the Amherst players, and on that unhappy note the season came to an end.

In the spring of 1875, there was again much interest in baseball. The College promised to lay out a new ball field, and some progress was made on the project during the spring months. Unfortunately, however, once laid out, nothing was done to keep the field in good playing condition. No game was played that spring, but in the fall of 1875 Trinity lost to the Charter Oaks 9-20 and defeated Wesleyan 16-11.

The following spring (1876), baseball enthusiasm was high. The students, first of all, wanted new uniforms to replace those which had been purchased in 1874, which by now seemed “rather countrified-looking.” The Faculty contributed $100, and new uniforms were purchased. The College authorities, too, resumed work on the new baseball field, and for several months the full-time service of two workmen was devoted to this project.

But by the time the first game was to be played, alas, the baseball spirit seemed to have vanished. Only seven Trinity men appeared to play the Hartford Baseball Club, and the Hartford club had to supply two men to fill out the Trinity team. One might wonder whether the Hartford club lent Trinity its best players, for the scores for the “double header” were 16-2 and 18-0, both in favor of the Hartford team. And at the next meeting with the Hartford Baseball Club, Trinity lost, 0-11. Of two games with the Charter Oak Nine, Trinity lost the first 1-2 and won the second 7-5. Later Trinity lost to Yale, 4-9.

In June, 1876, Trinity journeyed to Providence to be defeated by Brown University 6-7. Here the Trinity team complained of treatment similar to that received at Amherst: bad food (tough beefsteak and raw potatoes) and ungentlemanly behavior. Trinity further insisted that Brown’s victory was won by chance, rather than by skill. Next came a defeat by Yale, 2-12, and finally, two games with Harvard were lost by scores of 5-13 and 4-7.

Such a disastrous season was enough to dampen even the most optimistic spirits, and during the season Trinity spirits had been somewhat less than that. Baseball was not resumed in the fall, and the team disbanded, over $140 in debt and without even the remotest possibility of raising funds to satisfy the clamoring creditors.

In many ways, the history of the Trinity College Rowing Team during this period was just as pathetic—and even more tragic. The early success of the Baseball Team in 1870, probably more than anything else, led to the movement to revive rowing at Trinity. Rowing was an expensive sport—much more so than baseball—but Mrs. Colt generously gave the land for a boathouse, friends of the College and students subscribed money for the erection of the building, and soon the Trinity College Boat Club was fully organized as the successor of the old Minnehaha Club.

Membership in the Boat Club was open to all undergraduates, whether one hoped to make the crew or not, and almost all of the students be-
longed. The club raised enough money to purchase a fine boat from A. Chappelle and Company of Detroit. Unfortunately, however, the shell was seriously damaged in shipment and had to be returned to the manufacturer. This ended Trinity's hopes for an active boating season in 1872.129

On July 17, 1873, the Trinity crew for the first time entered intercollegiate rowing competition at the Springfield Regatta. Yale won an easy victory over the other ten competitors, and Trinity finished seventh, ahead of "Mass Aggies," Cornell, Columbia, and Williams.130

Although the outcome of the 1873 Regatta was not what the Trinity Boat Club might have hoped, interests in boating at Trinity had never been greater, for the mere participation in a major regatta was, indeed, something of an achievement for a college of only eighty students. In January, 1874, Trinity was host to the Regatta Convention held in Hartford at the Allyn House.

At that meeting, J. H. Brocklesby '65, the son of Professor Brocklesby, was appointed one of the judges for the Regatta to be held at Saratoga Lake on July 15, 1874.131

During the spring months, the Trinity crew engaged in extensive practice. Arrangements were made to board the team at 65 College Street where they could enjoy a special diet. The six members of the crew were the "athletic type"—average age 22, average height 6 feet, average weight 174 pounds. Everything seemed to foretell a successful appearance at Saratoga.132

The Trinity crew went to Saratoga Lake two weeks in advance and took up training quarters at James Riley's Resort at the upper end of the lake. The crew seemed much improved over that of the previous summer—that is, with the exception of one man who seemed to have become less proficient as each day passed. Four days before the race, that man was dropped from the crew and a substitute (totally untrained) was put in his place.133

As the Regatta day approached, it was apparent that the plans for the race had not been too carefully laid. Only nine teams appeared,134 and there was an air of informality (or disorder) which hung over the whole proceedings. The water was very rough, and before the boats could take their places at the starting line the waves nearly swamped the boats. Trinity's boat suffered some damage. Much confusion was caused by the premature firing of the starter's gun and, with the situation having become so chaotic, the race was postponed until the following day.135

The next day the boats again lined up, but one team did not report at the starting line until dark, and the race was again put off until the next day. When the race was finally run (July 18) Trinity got off to a good start and remained in the lead until the end of the first mile. Bad steering caused the Trinity boat to fall behind, and as the competing crews overtook the Trinity boat one-by-one, the Trinity rowers were completely unnerved by the strange actions of the man in the position of "bow oar" who suffered some sort of "breakup," stopped rowing, and loudly yelled "Ba, Ba, Ba." Trinity crossed the finish line in
seventh place ahead of Yale and Princeton. Trinity’s seventh place became something of a “moral victory,” and Trinity consoled herself with the fact that she had come out ahead of Yale, which had a freshman class almost twice the size of Trinity’s entire student body.136

On January 13, 1875, the College was again host to the committee to arrange the Regatta for the following summer when the Rowing Association of America met in Hartford at the Allyn House.137 And in the spring, Trinity sent two delegates to Springfield, Massachusetts, to the convention which organized the Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletes of America, the first over-all intercollegiate athletic association ever to be established.138

Again it looked as though Trinity would have a brilliant rowing season. The date for the Saratoga Regatta was set for Wednesday, July 14, 1875.139 The crew was again ensconced in training quarters at 154 Washington Street to enjoy the special muscle-building diet. In March, however, the crew lost two of the most valuable members: James B. Erwin, who accepted an appointment to the United States Military Academy, and Edwin M. Scudder, who was advised by his physician not to row.140 Calamity overtook the Trinity Boat Club on Friday, May 28. That evening, Henry Grover Cameron, a Junior, was drowned in the Connecticut River when the waves of a passing tug-boat caused the Trinity shell to capsize. Cameron was unable to swim and was swept beneath the water immediately. Sydney Douglas Hooker, the crew captain, ran from the Morgan Street Bridge to the campus to bring the bad news. Grappling and diving (including work by a New York man in “submarine armor”) were unsuccessful, and the body was not recovered until the following Wednesday when it was discovered on the eastern bank of the river.141

Cameron’s death caused the boat crew to disband. Several Trinity men, however, attended the Regatta where they were much affected by the condolences of the representatives of the other colleges and by the draping in mourning of the Trinity course.142 There were repeated efforts to revive rowing, but the Cameron tragedy was too much to overcome. In the summer of 1875, Trinity won a two-mile race against the Hartford Rowing Team, and in the fall the college rowers were already training for the next Saratoga Regatta.143

In the spring of 1876, still another misfortune befell the Trinity Boating Club. In the last week in March, heavy snows caused the roof of the
boathouse to collapse, and all of the Trinity boats except one were damaged. Shortly afterward, the boathouse was caught up in the spring floods, floated downstream, and sank. Although the boathouse was later located and recovered, these unfortunate losses precluded any intercollegiate rowing competition for 1876. That summer, Trinity's only race was with a Windsor crew. Trinity won by ten lengths, even after having rowed upstream six miles to the starting line.

During the fall months of 1876, there was no athletic enthusiasm of any sort at Trinity. The Baseball Team had disbanded, and now the Rowing Team had also become inactive. Several games of "pick-up" football were played with little enthusiasm, but the playing was poor, and there were no prospects for a varsity team in that sport.

But despite the demoralizing situation, there were still those at Trinity who felt that interest in rowing could be revived. On November 22, 1876, representatives of Trinity, Brown, and Dartmouth met in Boston to found the Rowing Association of New England Colleges, which was to sponsor four-oared (rather than six-oared) competition among colleges with enrollments of fewer than one hundred students. S. O. Hooker of Trinity was elected the first secretary of the Association. The Trinity College Boat Club continued a nominal existence until 1890, but the "baseball fever" which swept the College in the 1880's and 1890's brought on the Boat Club's ultimate demise. In 1891, the boathouse was sold to the Hartford YMCA, and the two remaining boats were hung in the college gymnasium.

The undergraduates must often have wondered how a sport such as rowing, which at Trinity had been so burdensome and yet so obviously devoid of success, could be justified. Perhaps it was just one of the necessary accoutrements of the men's college of the Gilded Age. In an editorial of October 23, 1875, the editor of the Tablet expressed the idea that successful athletic teams are an "advertisement" for a college. "We must," he wrote, "make 'Trinity' as familiar a word in the mouth of the people as 'Harvard' or 'Yale' is now, and when this is so, it will more readily receive the support it deserves... Success in a boat race... will certainly go very far toward affecting it."

This argument has been used ever since at Trinity, Notre Dame, Iowa State, and Podunk.

The most permanent monument to the Trinity Boat Club was the college gymnasium. Crew training was always taken very seriously at Trinity, and the oarsmen felt the need of a place for indoor calisthenics. The Tablet became the champion of the crew, and in 1871 the editor urged that although the College already had a boathouse, what was really needed was a gymnasium. The Trustees generously responded to the request, and in the fall of 1871, a small, temporary building was begun on the back campus to be used as a gymnasium.

Ungenerously, the students looked the gift horse in the mouth, and as the building neared completion they expressed much dissatisfaction with both the size and appearance of the new structure. Nevertheless, the gymnasium, such as it was, was dedicated on December 11, 1871, with a "formal, brilliant, and strictly select dance."

At first, the gymnasium was one of the most popular places on campus, but the students soon tired of swinging Indian clubs. As the use of the gymnasium by the students declined, the place became one of rendezvous for small boys of the neighborhood, and the Faculty were obliged to instruct all persons other than students to keep out. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the gymnasium's use was that the building was not heated in winter, but this did not prevent the organizing of short-lived Fencing and Boxing Teams. In the spring of 1873, the affairs of the gymnasium were placed under the Athletic Association which was formed by the students for this purpose.

But if the gymnasium was the scene of little physical exercise, it quickly became the place for the many dances which were held throughout the academic year. Traditionally, there had been only the Class Day dances, and an occasional dance organized by the undergraduate body and held in a hall in downtown Hartford. Class Day dances were usually held in the College Cabinet,
small and cluttered with museum cases, but the opening of the gymnasium offered unlimited opportunities for collegiate social activities. Soon almost any college occasion became the excuse for a dance. There was the Natal Day Dance, held on or near May 16 (the date of the granting of the College's charter) and supported by student subscriptions of $1.00, $2.00, and $3.00. The Boat Club sponsored a Regatta Dance, and the Burning of Anna Lytics was soon replaced by a dance given by the Sophomores. The Washington's Birthday Celebration ended with a dance—except when February 22 fell in Lent, when college custom demanded its omission. The Tablet, while regarding dancing as an appropriate collegiate pastime, deplored the substitution of dancing for some of the older college customs, and even suggested that the money spent for some of the dances might have better been given to support the expense of the crew. And an alumnus, writing to the Tablet, questioned the wisdom of using every college occasion as the excuse for a dance. The Tablet's contributor also predicted that Trinity would soon be known as the "Dancing College of America." But this, for weal or for woe, was almost inherent in the church-related college of the 1870's. And thus, it was hardly by design that the College, numerically and academically, had remained static. The college authorities were not committed to the idea of the "small college," even small as colleges went in those days. To the contrary, a sort of naive optimism seemed to prevail, and students were constantly being reminded "that Trinity was growing fast, . . . in wealth, in scholarship, in everything that can add to the true worth and dignity of a college." But the students knew better. Other than the telescope, the chemical equipment brought from France by Professor Pynchon in 1856, and a new and fascinating "electrical machine" purchased in 1868, the scientific equipment of the College had not been appreciably improved for almost half a century. And the Library, although boasting of 12,000 volumes, was still a hodge-podge collection of gifts and random accessions which as late as 1869 did not include either the Encyclopædia Britannica or what the Tablet then described as "the most familiar works on what we can style modern literature." If the students were aware of the College's inadequacies, so also were the Trustees and the Alumni. But the Trustees were hampered in their dealing with the situation by a lack of funds, and the Alumni were equally powerless for want of effective organization. By the 1870's, the House of Convocation was a
moribund body which met but once a year at Commencement time. True, the House of Convocation elected the Junior Fellows of the College, but the Board of Fellows, too, had virtually ceased to function, especially since the Faculty themselves gave the Senior examinations rather than the Fellows, as had been the case during the 1850’s and 1860’s. Class organization, too, was rudimentary, for while several of the classes from the 1840’s and 1850’s were kept in touch through class secretaries, the actual meetings were the informal fifth- and tenth-year reunions again held during the busy and distracting Commencement week.\textsuperscript{169}

Alumni activity set out on a new track in the spring of 1870, when the Tablet urged that as a large number of the Class of ‘70 intended to pursue studies in New York City the next year, it might be well for them to meet at regular intervals. The Seniors approved of the idea and even broadened the plan to include all Alumni living in New York City in a New York Trinity Alumni Association.\textsuperscript{170}

President Jackson, who dearly loved “organizations,” took the initiative, and without waiting for the class of 1870 to take up residence in New York, he called a meeting of New York Alumni for April 26 to be held in the Sunday School Rooms of St. Anne’s Church on Elizabeth Street, New York. At that time, there was organized the New York Association of the Alumni of Trinity College,\textsuperscript{171} and a second meeting was scheduled for June 15 at the Astor House. The Honorable William E. Curtis ’43 was elected president of the association.\textsuperscript{172} All who attended felt that the new organization would have a beneficial effect on the College.\textsuperscript{173}

The meeting held in June, described as the “First Annual Reunion,” was attended by some fifty to sixty persons. Dinner was followed by many toasts and an address by President Jackson. The President used the occasion to praise “the high standard of scholarship in the college” and to plead for a closer relationship between the College and her graduates. In this connection he also pointed out the needs of the College—a new “library, chapel, and above all things a gymnasium.”\textsuperscript{174}

The second “annual” meeting of the New York Alumni was held on April 13, 1871, at Delmonico’s. Almost sixty Alumni were present, and after the dinner there were speeches and toasts. President Jackson again addressed the group, and in his remarks he spoke in defense (or perhaps rationalization) of the small college, declaring that the small college is in many ways to be preferred to larger and more pretentious ones, and citing as examples of the small-college product, Longfellow, Bryant, and Whittier. That this sentiment hardly reflected the feelings of the New York Alumni was more than apparent in the response to a toast to “the Professors” given by Trustee Henry Joel Scudder. Scudder called for Trinity to become larger, and urged that the “younger alumni should lead the way in this job.”\textsuperscript{175}

The two philosophies brought forth in this meeting were both defensible, and each sincerely expressed. Jackson’s preference for a smaller college was confirmed in 1872 when he visited Oxford and Cambridge. At that time he concluded that 150 was a practical maximum for the Trinity student body, and that when that number had been reached, a second coordinate college should be created.\textsuperscript{176} At that time Trinity had a long way toward reaching Jackson’s suggested maximum.

Jackson’s stated preference for the small college was not necessarily an equation of smallness with excellence. The small college was all that Jackson had ever known, and to him the small college, with intimate faculty social relationships, was the best of all possible worlds. The New York Alumni would have been perhaps even less willing to equate size with worth, but they, too, were driven by their own experience to encourage the expansion of the Trinity student body. As professional and business men in the largest city in the United States, their day-to-day life was lived among people to whom Trinity College meant nothing—indeed, among people to whom “Trinity” was not even a name. Call it advertising, call it public relations, call it what
you will—the New York Alumni wanted Trinity to become better known. The New York papers had seldom bothered to report Trinity news, but this was soon to be remedied, for in the early 1870's, Arthur Dyer '70 joined the staff of the New York Daily Graphic, and until his death by suicide on June 9, 1875, 177 that young journalist did everything in his power to put the name of "Trinity" before the New York reading public. No occurrence at Trinity was too trivial for reporting in the Graphic, and the accounts of the Regatta of 1874 read as if Trinity were the most important college represented at Saratoga. The Graphic was read by the Trinity Alumni of New York, and this paper was sometimes used to express ideas regarding the policy of the institution itself.178

The Graphic was read on campus, too, and it must have thrilled the young collegians to see their college so well-covered by a metropolitan daily, even though the Graphic was not a "major" New York paper. The Graphic was one of the papers subscribed to by the Library for the reading room, and there were also students who received what must have been their favorite newspaper through the mails.179

And the students shared the hopes of the New York Alumni for a larger student body. They did not, however, want to see the enrollment enlarged by the admission of women; they preferred to leave the education of females to Vassar. 180 What they wanted, really, was more men who could improve Trinity's odds in athletic competition. The students had been constantly told that Trinity was growing, and they most certainly wanted it to be so. When the Class of '80 entered the College in the fall of 1876, the large number of Freshmen was regarded as an encouraging sign by the students, and as evidence of "how much more widely the college is known today than it was five or ten years ago."181 The Class of '80, with its thirty-five men, 182 was the largest class yet admitted, and the Tablet expressed the hope (and belief) that the Class of '80 would be "the first of a succession of large classes."183 This hope, as we shall see in our next chapter, was not to be sustained.