The Hartford Local

Our last chapter has presented a rather grim picture of the academic and administrative side of Trinity College at the turn of the century. That it was a "low" period in the College's history is confirmed by the testimony of graduates of the period, but then, it was a low period in general for higher education in the United States. For some colleges, the period between 1880 and 1905 was simply one of stagnation. Those which had made the transition to more modern curricula suffered from the low scholarship which resulted from too liberal an elective policy, and those which had refused to abandon the classical curriculum found themselves without students either willing or able to undertake the prescribed courses. Institutions which had been transformed from colleges to universities were suffering from the problems of adjustment and organization, and those which had tried to become universities but had failed were feeling both frustration and embarrassment.

The Trinity picture, however, was not wholly dark, for the College had assets which were to insure its permanence. A loyal and devoted Alumni was not the least of these. A successful Alumni made the asset even more precious, for in 1904, the College could take pride in the fact that Trinity had 4.1% of her living Alumni listed in Who's Who in America, the highest percentage of any college in the United States! And there were other statistics in which the College could rejoice. In 1902, only Stanford University exceeded Trinity's faculty-student ratio of 1-8, with a ratio of 1-7. Trinity was tied with Cornell, and followed by Columbia, Yale, and Pennsylvania with 1-9, and then trailed off Harvard with 1-11, Minnesota with 1-13, California with 1-14, Princeton with 1-15, and Chicago with 1-18.

The Faculty was in many ways an exceptional one, and few colleges in the country could boast so high a percentage of Ph.D.'s. Almost all of the appointees since 1885 had the Doctorate, including Flavel Sweeten Luther's homemade one, and most of the degrees were from German universities, a fact of which the undergraduates of the time were notably proud. It was hardly the salaries being paid that attracted and kept Professors at Trinity, but the College was apparently doing all in its power to provide adequate compensation. Fortunately, the Professors either had independent means or they held, in the case of the science men, positions outside the College. And then, there was the "psychic pay" of a congenial academic atmosphere and a place in Hartford society. The Faculty, too, had every reason to be comfortable in being obliged to teach only in the areas of their special competence. Certainly, one of George Williamson Smith's most significant accomplishments was that of bringing Trinity into line with the larger colleges and universities in defining academic departments. With the expanding knowledge in the several disciplines, the old non-specialist who could (or perhaps would) teach everything from Greek through Mathematics, Metaphysics, Chemistry, and Ethics could find no place in the college of the twentieth century. Across the country, even the older departments of the second half of the nineteenth century were becoming obsolete and were being divided and then further subdivided. Departments of Modern Languages were becoming, for example, Departments of
German and Departments of Romance Languages; Departments of History and Political Economy were giving way to Departments of History and Departments of Political Economy; and in the larger institutions Departments of Political Economy were fragmenting into Departments of Political Science, Departments of Sociology, and Departments of Economics. 10 And so it was at Trinity. 11

The last of Trinity's non-specialists, Thomas Ruggles Pynchon, who had served as President, Librarian, Chaplain, and Professor, and who had, in the course of his many years at the College, taught Chemistry, Ethics, and Metaphysics, continued until 1902 as Brownell Professor of Moral Philosophy. In his classroom in Seabury Hall, "Old Pynch" droned on, probably little more inspiringly than in his earlier years but comfortable beneath the portrait of his idol, Bishop Butler, the eighteenth-century Anglican theologian, a canvas presented to Trinity by Pynchon himself "to forever remind the students of the religious foundations of the college." 12

Samuel Hart, called "Sammy" by the undergraduates, left the College in 1899 to join the faculty of the Berkeley Divinity School, but during his long tenure at Trinity he had endeared himself to the college community and had achieved more than local recognition as a classical and liturgical scholar. He had been president of the Connecticut Historical Society and the American Philological Association. In 1892, he had been made Custodian of the Book of Common Prayer, and in 1898 he was made Historiographer of the Episcopal Church. 13

Hart, one of the few bachelors on the Faculty, was, without doubt, the most fastidious in his appearance. He was always immaculate in his black doeskin suit, clerical collar, and highly-polished shoes. Always, he wore his Phi Beta Kappa key, and sometimes he sported an Oxford cap. Hart loved good food and good wines, and he dined each evening at the Heublein Hotel. But Hart also loved his fellow men, and every evening on the way to the Heublein he stopped at the Hartford Hospital to visit the sick. When Hart left Trinity, the Alumni undertook to raise a book fund of $5,000 in his honor." 14

William Lispenard Robb, Professor of Physics since 1885, had a fine reputation among American physicists. Until his leaving Trinity in 1902 for a professorship at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Robb had attracted graduate students to Trinity in considerable numbers and, indeed, it might be said that he was the one largely responsible for the development of the graduate program at Trinity. Robb was quiet and retiring, he never strayed far from his laboratory in Jarvis Physics Laboratory, and he seldom, if ever, attended Chapel.

Until he left Trinity in 1906 to become rector of St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, Henry Ferguson was probably the most popular teacher at the College. The annual Commencement Supplement of the Trinity Tablet in reporting "Class Statistics" consistently listed Ferguson as the students' favorite lecturer. And well he might have been, for "Fergy" was a kindly and generous man. He and Luther had come to Trinity in the same year (1883) but Luther's appointment had been made, as Luther once put it, five minutes before Ferguson's. Thus Luther had a technical seniority, and when George Williamson Smith resigned, Luther was made Acting President on the basis of this technicality. During the early years of Luther's Presidency, Ferguson was a tower of strength to the new executive. 15

Ferguson was a man of considerable financial means, and he never hesitated to use his wealth for the benefit of the College. During his years at Trinity, he endowed the Hartford Admittitur Prize for the highest-ranking Freshman from Hartford Public High School and the Ferguson Prizes in History and Political Science. He contributed the College's share to institutional membership in the American School of Biblical and Oriental Study at Jerusalem. He also provided the Department of History with a complete reference library, and from time-to-time he supplied the Library with journals and periodicals and also gave the money to have them bound. He made sizeable contributions to the College for the
upkeep of the gymnasium, for the purchase of equipment of the athletic teams, and for the improvement of the grounds. And when the students urged that "outside preachers" be brought to the Sunday chapel services, Professor Ferguson underwrote the honoraria.

As Northam Professor, Henry Ferguson was obliged to teach History, Economics, and Political Science. When the course offerings in these three disciplines expanded to the point where they could no longer be taught by one man, Ferguson asked the Trustees to provide an Instructor in Economics. When the Corporation explained that the financial condition of the College would not permit such an addition, Ferguson himself paid the salary. In 1903, he gave $10,000 toward the endowing of a Professorship in Economics.\(^\text{16}\)

Charles Frederick ("Boo-Hoo") Johnson was the campus "character." He had once taught Mathematics at the United States Naval Academy, and in 1883 he was brought to Trinity by George Williamson Smith to teach English. Although he was recognized as something of an authority on English Literature and was a poet of sorts—his publications included *English Words* (1897), a textbook; *Three Englishmen and Three Americans* (1890); *Elements of Literary Criticism* (1898); *What Can I Do For Brady and Other Poems; Outline History of English and American Literature* (1900); and *Shakespeare and His Critics* (1909)—his hobbies (designing bridges and experimenting with gravitation) reflected his earlier associations. For many years he served as literary critic for the *Hartford Courant*. Although he attempted, with considerable success, to practice both, Johnson drew a sharp distinction between "artistic literature" and exact scholarship.

Johnson was popular with the students, and he reciprocated by following Trinity athletics with a keen interest. He was enthusiastic about his subject and tried to have his students share his love of Literature, so much so perhaps, that he showed some favoritism to those he felt were "kindred souls." Johnson's classroom humor delighted his students, and his jokes were responded to with applause and stamping on the floor. Professor Ferguson occupied the classroom immediately below that of Professor Johnson, and he sometimes expressed considerable displeasure. Once, after a particularly noisy session, Ferguson met Johnson in the entry with a complaint. "Boo-Hoo" quickly replied, "Hmm, keeps your class awake, does it?"

But "Boo-Hoo" was often the victim of practical jokes. Students would occasionally engage him in conversations while others would steal the quiz papers and carry them from the room. Once six alarm clocks went off in the room simultaneously. Johnson doubtless enjoyed the undergraduates' jokes as much as his own.\(^\text{17}\)

The Reverend John James McCook was the campus "Saint." "Johnny McCook," as he was called by Faculty and students alike, taught French and German. Although one alumnus once declared that McCook's severity in the classroom nearly turned his hair white and another thought him "lacking the tenderness, sympathy and consideration that go with . . . a Christian gentleman," the consensus was that McCook was gentleman, scholar, and saint.

McCook was graduated from Trinity in 1863, and following his graduation he had studied Medicine briefly and then proceeded to the Berkeley Divinity School. After graduation from seminary, he served several parishes before settling down at St. John's Church at East Hartford. In 1893, he joined the Trinity Faculty and, until

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his retirement in 1922, he served the cause of secular learning at Trinity and God at St. John's, East Hartford. He served St. John's Church, it might be noted, without remuneration. McCook was a High-Churchman, so much so in fact, that Presidents Smith and Luther both discouraged, if not actually forbade, student attendance at St. John's. But whatever the College authorities thought of McCook's churchmanship, Trinity granted him a D.D. in 1901 and the LL.D. in 1910. Upon his retirement in 1922, he was elected a Trustee of the College.

John McCook loved sports, and on several occasions he was instrumental in raising money for athletic purposes. Cricket was his favorite game, and once on a trip to England he purchased cricket equipment and attempted to reintroduce the sport at the College. McCook was also something of a practical sociologist, having made elaborate studies of the American hobo, vagrancy, poor relief, and the penal systems. 18

Winfred Robert Martin held the title of Professor of Oriental Languages, but in addition to teaching Sanskrit, Arabic, and Hebrew, he also taught Spanish and shared the instruction in French with Professor McCook. Martin was tall (6 feet, 4 inches), gaunt, and dignified. His height accounted for his nickname, “Shorty.” Martin always wore a Prince Albert coat, and he was seldom seen without his pipe or a cigar. While lecturing he would light match after match, allowing the flame to proceed almost to his fingers before letting the matchstick fall.

“Shorty” was the son of the Reverend Dr. W. A. P. Martin, the founder and first president of the Imperial University at Peking, China. As Professor of Oriental Languages, Martin taught the Old Testament portion of the course in “Piety.” And as a devout Presbyterian, he went to great lengths to explain the Old Testament miracles on rational grounds. When asked about the New Testament miracles, however, he was quick to respond that they must be taken on faith rather than reason.

Always regarded as a man of profound learning, Martin was a “Marathon Talker.” A colleague once declared that when addressing a large group, Martin became “hypnotized by his own eloquence and never knew when to stop.” But despite this shortcoming, Martin was held in highest esteem by the undergraduates. When he was given a leave of absence to visit Palestine during the Trinity Term of 1902, the students held a special College Meeting and presented him “with a case containing three handsomely mounted pipes, and an amber gold-mounted cigar holder.”

Martin dearly loved Trinity and worked incessantly for her welfare. He was one of those most genuinely interested in raising the academic tone of the College. But perhaps he was somewhat out of his element in a college which provided enrollments in his Sanskrit courses of from one to four students. When the “University Movement” collapsed, Martin felt that his dreams of academic excellence could not be realized at Trinity. In 1907, he resigned his Professorship to become librarian of the Hispanic Society of America in New York City. Shortly before his death in 1915, he was honored by the King of Spain by being made a Knight of the Order of Isabella the Catholic. 19

In the Chair of Greek was Frank Cole Babbitt, Ph.D., Harvard. Babbitt’s Soap was a much-advertised commodity of the time, and the students gave the Professor of Greek the nickname of “Soapy.” Babbitt was one of the younger members of the Faculty but one of the great American authorities on Greek Literature. Both the Professor and Mrs. Babbitt were popular as chaperoons and as sponsors of campus social affairs. Babbitt was fond of sports. He was a great tennis player, and in 1904 finished second out of twenty-eight in the College’s Fall Tennis Tournament, having been, in fact, the only member of the Faculty to enter the competition. He was also a member of a “Walking Group” which had been formed by William Newnham Carlton, the Librarian, and which also included Professor Riggs, Tutor Cleasby, and Edgar F. Waterman, the College Treasurer. The Walking Group was a congenial party which made several expeditions each year, walking as far as Meriden or New Haven, eating dinner at a hotel, and returning to
Hartford the following day by train. Babbitt was regarded as one of the more popular teachers, and for many years he was Secretary of the Faculty.20

Charles Lincoln Edwards was perhaps the member of the Trinity Faculty best known in the academic world and certainly the one who did most to make Trinity's name heard in scientific circles. Edwards had many friends among the leading biologists of his day as well as among the physical scientists. Largely through Professor Edwards' efforts, a Conference on Physiography and Geology was held at Trinity immediately following the dedication of Boardman Hall. Papers were read by Professors from Wesleyan, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, and Harvard, and there were also guests from Yale, Columbia, Massachusetts Normal School, and several New England preparatory schools and high schools.

In 1903, Professor Edwards introduced the seminar method of instruction to Trinity. The course numbered "Natural History 10" was a biological seminar intended to take advanced students in Biology beyond the usual material covered in undergraduate courses. Students were introduced to the periodical literature of the Biological Sciences, and they were required to prepare serious papers based on their reading and laboratory experiments. And it was Dr. Edwards' Biology Seminar which first offered instruction to women at Trinity. In 1903, in addition to four undergraduates and Dr. Genthe, Edwards' assistant, the seminar had two women members—a Miss Stone of Hartford Public High School and a Miss Watkinson of Smith College.

Because of his extensive training in the German universities, Edwards set high standards for himself and his students. Each year he published several articles in the major scientific journals, and his objective for the Trinity undergraduate biology student was to get him into a first-rate graduate school. Consequently, Edwards' courses were among the most difficult ones offered at the College. But although Edwards was most exacting in his demands, students found him "very exciting," and his enrollments were large.21

The "Bright Young Man" on the Trinity Faculty was Herbert Müller Hopkins, Ph.D. Harvard, 1898. After three years at the University of California, Hopkins came to Trinity in the Christmas Term of 1901 as Instructor in Latin. He had come with remarkable qualifications, for already he had published articles on Latin Philology in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association and several poems in The Bookman. Also, he had more than usual musical talent, and he soon took over as Chapel Organist. He was popular with undergraduates, Faculty, and administration, and soon he was advanced from Instructor to full Professor of Latin.22

But it was Hopkins' literary interest which made his stay at Trinity unfortunately short. In addition to writing scholarly articles and poetry, Hopkins had published several novels, none of them, however, of any real literary merit. The first novel, The Fighting Bishop, attracted little attention, but the second, The Torch, published in 1903 by Bobbs-Merrill Company, created quite a stir on the West Coast. The novel dealt with the downfall of Dr. Babington, the greedy and immoral president of the University of Argos, a state university located somewhere in the Far West. Reviewers thought that the University of Argos was Stanford University and that Dr. Babington was Stanford's president, David Starr Jordan. Hopkins felt obliged to issue a statement to the effect that no characters in The Torch were taken from life and that the University of Argos was purely the creation of his own mind.23

In 1905, Hopkins published a third novel, The Mayor of Warwick, in which, with little or no disguise, Warwick was Hartford and St. George's Hall was Trinity College. This was neither the first nor the last "Trinity novel." In 1875, Miss Julie P. Smith of Hartford wrote Courting and Farming with scenes in Trinity College and Litchfield, Connecticut.24 And in 1911, Samuel Richard Fuller, Jr. '00, writing under the pen name of Norman Brainerd, published Winning the Junior Cup: or The Honor of Stub Barrows, the scene of which was laid at Washington College, where commencement exercises were held in front of the statue of Bishop Darling in the shadow of Southam Towers and where the stu-
Students sang "'Neath the Elms of our Old Washington." The great difference was that practically every character in *The Mayor of Warwick* could be identified with someone on the Trinity Faculty or in the Hartford community. The mayor was a well-known Democratic politician and the ecclesiastical characters were obviously intended as caricatures of the Anglican Hierarchy of the Diocese of Connecticut. The Faculty at St. George's Hall could find obvious counterparts at turn-of-the-century Trinity, and few of the characters in the novel came off in a very flattering fashion. Thus, it was hardly coincidence that Professor Hopkins resigned from the Trinity Faculty in the spring of 1905 to enter the General Theological Seminary to prepare for Holy Orders.

Henry Augustus Perkins came to the College in 1902 as Professor of Physics. He was then one of the younger members of the Faculty, so young in fact that he grew a beard to distinguish himself, as he once said, from the Freshmen. And Professor Perkins kept the beard throughout his lifetime. Perkins' appointment, as has already been indicated, broke the tradition of appointing only men with Ph.D.'s, and, as his training had been in Engineering rather than in Theoretical Physics, it was perhaps quite natural that Perkins' teaching was more in the direction of the practical (or industrial) application of his branch of Science. It was this interest that caused Perkins to cultivate connections with the electrical industry and to have him take his class on regular "field trips" to the General Electric plant in Schenectady, New York.

Perkins' students held him, despite his youth, in high regard, and their admiration was enhanced by the fact that he purchased one of the first automobiles (a 1903 Oldsmobile) to appear on campus. His colleagues insisted that he had never really learned to drive and that to ride with the Professor of Physics was to take unnecessary chances. Perhaps Perkins shared their views, for as he grew older he came to rely on his bicycle to take him from his home to the College. Perkins was an amateur musician, and he enlivened his lectures on sound waves with practical demonstrations on the zither, flute, clarinet, and trombone. To quote his friend and later colleague, Morse S. Allen: "He played tennis and was a
member of the Hartford Golf Club; he painted; he collected stamps; he sailed; he rode horseback. Akin to his love of music was his delight in dancing. At a Senior Ball many years ago, the effect on him of 'The Blue Danube' was unforgettable. He persuasively begged the permission of an instructor's pretty young Belgian wife to waltz in the Viennese fashion. And they began a performance which, with its flowing grace and swooping élan, soon became a solo which ended with a round of applause.27

Karl Wilhelm Genthe, Ph.D., Leipzig, had come to Trinity in 1901 as a protégé of Professor Edwards. Genthe was a young man of extraordinary talent. He served as curator of the museum collection which occupied so large a portion of Boardman Hall, he taught courses in Geology, and he shared the instruction in Biology with Dr. Edwards. Genthe was a most prolific writer on scientific subjects, and for several years hardly an issue of the Trinity Tablet appeared without mention of another article having come from his pen. He was also a consultant for the Smithsonian Institution and the United States Bureau of Fisheries.

Although Genthe's early status was that of Instructor, his abilities were recognized by the administration, and he was soon promoted, doubtless on Professor Edwards' insistence, to Assistant Professor and then to full Professor of Natural History. This final promotion upset the traditional "table of organization" of the College, for never before had there been two full Professors in a single department. So long as J. Pierpont Morgan had assumed the payment of Professor Edwards' salary, there was no problem, but when Morgan's annual contribution could no longer be assumed, the presence on the Faculty of two top-rate biologists came under serious question by the President. In his Report of 1908, President Luther recommended that the "Department of Natural History be put in the hands of a professor and a tutor rather than in the hands of two professors," and that Professors Edwards and Genthe be advised of this policy. President Luther was asking somebody to make a choice; the Trustees could choose which one of the two Professors was to be retained, or the two Professors themselves could decide which one of them would leave. It was the Professors themselves who made the choice. They had virtually come to the College together and they left together and, thus, because of the shortsightedness of Flavel Sweeten Luther, Trinity lost two of her most valuable assets.28

Gustavus Adolphus Kleene, Ph.D., Pennsylvania, became Professor of Economics in 1902, when History and the Social Sciences went their separate ways at Trinity. Professor Kleene was a popular member of the Faculty both on campus and in town. His courses were well received by the undergraduates despite the fact that Kleene's discipline was a new one for that time. He was also a popular lecturer in Hartford on economic subjects.29

A most unusual member of the Trinity College Faculty was the Librarian, William Newnham Chattin Carlton. Born in England in 1873, he was the son of an English army officer who migrated to the United States in 1882. Young Carlton attended the Holyoke, Massachusetts, public schools and then spent a year at Mt. Hermon School. After a short stint in the Holyoke Public Library, he came to Hartford as an assistant in the Watkinson Library. While in Hartford, he continued his education under the direction of Professor Hart of the College Faculty until Hart's resignation in 1899. Hart recommended Carlton as his successor in the Trinity Library, and thus the College for the first time in its history was
able to secure the services of an experienced librarian.

And it was most fortunate that Carlton came to Trinity at that time. The book collection was expanding rapidly, largely through the efforts of Sydney George Fisher, who was then working diligently among the Alumni to secure books and money for book purchases. The library space, too, was expanding, for with the removal of the Department of Natural History to Boardman Hall, additional stack space was made available in Seabury. And as the curriculum was broadened and the method of instruction was modernized, new demands were made on the Library. There was no question as to whether the College needed the services of a full-time librarian.

Despite the limitations of his formal education, Carlton was something of a scholar, and during his years at Trinity he compiled several important bibliographies and wrote two treatises on Scandinavian literature. In 1902, Professor Johnson was given a sabbatical, and Carlton was selected to take over Johnson's classes in English I. Carlton was given an honorary M.A., and in the fall of 1902 he was made Instructor in English. As a teacher, Carlton was as competent as he was as Librarian. Students loved his sociability and his evenings with them at the Heublein. The Faculty, too, held Carlton in highest regard; he served as Faculty Secretary, and at Faculty Meetings and on Faculty Committees his wise counsels were much respected.

Carlton served Trinity until 1919, when he resigned to become head of the Newberry Library in Chicago. Later, he entered the rare book business with George D. Smith, the noted dealer in New York. Smith's sudden death put an end to this venture, and Carlton then served successively at the American Library in Paris, the Hamilton, Ontario, Public Library, and Williams College.

The Trinity Faculty in those Days of the Giants (and the older Alumni will insist, with justice, that they were Giants) was obviously far better than the College had any reason to expect. With small salaries and a small number of students to teach, the Professors shared the common denominator of having an intense love for the institution and the hope for a better day. Several of them, as we have seen, ultimately lost the hope of Trinity's ever rising to an academic greatness which they thought would be commensurate with their own worth, but others—and perhaps of equal ability—preferred to remain with the ship and refused to admit that it was sinking.

Most conspicuously loyal to Trinity was President Luther, who had assumed the administration of the College's affairs at one of her lowest points. Luther was an incurable optimist, and only an optimist could have induced himself to become President of Trinity College in 1904. Luther had been on the Faculty since 1883, and he had seen the remarkable developments of the early years of George Williamson Smith. He had also witnessed the "secularization" of the College and the alienation of a large body of the institution's erstwhile supporters. He had gone along with President Smith in his proposals for a closer relationship of the College and the Hartford community, and he had been one of those most ardent in urging the establishment of the technical school. And many of the policies adopted by his predecessor as negative measures of desperation became the positive positions of Flavel S. Luther after 1904.

Luther's devotion to the College had been repeatedly demonstrated beyond question. In 1895, for example, the Reverend Doctor Theodore Sterling resigned as president of Kenyon College. Luther had been the successful headmaster of the Kenyon Grammar School for twelve years before his coming to Trinity, and the Kenyon Trustees elected Luther to fill the position. Luther was sufficiently interested in the honor to go to Ohio to meet with the Kenyon Trustees but, after due consideration of what must have been a most flattering offer, Luther decided to remain at Trinity. Five years later, after what a colleague described as "continuous toil of seventeen years," Luther was granted a sabbatical leave for a year's study at Cambridge, England.

Although Luther was not the most popular teacher (student opinion of his abilities seems to have reflected the student's own preference or distaste for Mathematics), he was greatly be-
Flavel Sweeten Luther
loved by the undergraduates as an individual. Luther was always present at the athletic contests, and his occasional appearances for Sunday dinner at the College Commons were much appreciated by the students. And of the College Faculty, Luther seems to have been the most acceptable chapel preacher. 35

Luther was well known in Hartford. Several important local industries had long retained him as consultant, and he was known in Hartford manufacturing circles for having “made the reckonings for the famous Pope bevel gear chainless bicycle, and for the first scientific velodrome track built in this country.” He was an active member of the Hartford Board of Trade. He was a public speaker of considerable ability, and he was in great demand both as a public lecturer and as a preacher. Luther was one of the organizers of the Workingmen’s Club of Hartford, and he frequently appeared as a lecturer before that group. 36

But what were Luther’s qualifications for the Presidency of Trinity College? In physical appearance, he cut no remarkable figure, and it may be said that he totally lacked the cold dignity of his predecessors, Pynchon and Smith. He was of medium height, just a bit stout, moustached, and careless in his dress. His trouser legs were usually three or four inches shorter than were worn at the time, 37 and he smoked cigars incessantly—down to the last inch. 38

At first thought, it may seem that since Luther was the Trustees’ second choice as President, the Corporation had simply reverted to the old policy of placing the senior member of the Faculty in the President’s chair—especially as the financial situation of the College would not very likely have made the position attractive to someone from the outside. On the other hand, Luther had qualities and attitudes which were quite typical of the day, and he had evidenced interests and sympathies which doubtless indicated to at least some members of the Board the direction in which the College would be obliged to turn.

Luther had a fine sense of humor, and this quality had always made him welcome at the meetings of the local alumni groups. He was an Alumnus of the College, and influential Alumni and Trustees recalled that the College’s last great President, Abner Jackson, too, had been a Trinity man. Luther had had some success as a fund raiser, for between 1900 and 1902 he had been the driving force in securing $10,000 for the grading and draining of the College athletic field. 39 He had also at least partially resolved the technical school problem by instituting, during his Acting-Presidency, a curriculum in Engineering which met some of the demands from the Hartford community for technical instruction at the College. 40 Luther had thus demonstrated a capacity to provide accommodation to local pressures without following a course of action which would have heightened the fears of the Alumni that the essential nature of the College would be changed.

Luther’s canonical status, too, was a strong point in his favor. When he had gone west in the early 1870’s, Luther had taken Deacon’s Orders, probably because it was expected of him as headmaster of an Episcopal preparatory school, but he had never been ordained priest. Perhaps this anomalous position was an advantage, for it could have satisfied both those who preferred a clergyman and those who preferred a layman as head of the College.

But what perhaps most commended Flavel Sweeten Luther to the Presidency of Trinity College were his political views. Luther was an ardent Progressive, a strong advocate of social reform, a personal friend of President Theodore Roosevelt, and a great admirer of Lincoln Steffens, the Muckraking reformer who had attracted national attention with his shocking book, The Shame of the Cities. 41 Although Luther had once described himself as being “a good deal inclined to socialism,” 42 he was a staunch Republican, and in 1906 and 1908 he was to be elected to the Connecticut State Senate on the Republican ticket. 43

“Progressivism” was in the academic air, and with it had come ideas which were to make a lasting mark upon the American system of higher education. The most obvious of these new Progressive ideas was one regarding the very func-
tion of the American college and university. The Progressive educational philosophy was neither the traditional English idea of producing “gentlemen aristocrats” nor the German idea of producing scholars. The American function had come to be one of “service,” and President Luther’s inaugural address had been an unequivocal commitment to this ideal. Throughout his administration Luther was to repeat the “theme song” of “Education for Service,” and whether on campus or in the wide world, he would hammer away at his idea. Even his sermons were full of the idea of “service,” and his Baccalaureate sermon of 1914 was concerned largely with the theme of “Christian scholarship devoted to public service.”

Luther’s political Progressivism was infectious. The Courant, in an editorial for the opening day of the Christmas Term, 1906, reported that “Trinity College is better equipped than ever for the work of contributing to American citizenship well-taught, well-mannered, healthy-minded, public-spirited Christian gentleman.” The Tripod, too, reflected Luther’s idea of “service,” and the masthead of the undergraduate newspaper (founded in 1904) regularly carried one of Luther’s oft-repeated challenges: “Now then - Trinity!”

And perhaps it was the Tripod which helped make the undergraduates politically conscious, and politically conscious along the lines suggested by President Luther. Luther’s political career was, of course, closely followed by the student paper, and there were frequent editorials which urged the students to make political commitments and to support good government on local, state, and national levels. A Tripod editorial in 1911 perhaps caught the spirit of the College when it stated that “the dominant note in everything pertaining to Trinity College is progress.”

And from the Tripod, the Progressive interest in politics filtered down to the general undergraduate body, if metaphors may be crudely mixed, almost to the saturation point. Students regularly held electoral polls, and invariably they decided in favor of the Republican candidates. In 1906, when Luther was running for the state senate, 153 of the 183 students volunteered to work at the polls, and so earnest were the intentions of the undergraduates that the Faculty ordered the Freshmen “Volunteers for Luther” to attend classes on election day rather than divert their energies toward the election of the College President. In the spring of 1907, a Political Club was organized by the undergraduates, but although the intent was to have the group represent bi-partisan interests, the political preference of the undergraduates was reflected in the party affiliation of the four officers of the club - three Republicans and one Democrat. And because of this one-sided political interest, the Political Club soon gave way to the Trinity Republican Club, which affiliated with the Inter-collegiate League of Republican Clubs.

But there were also many non-political manifestations of the Progressive spirit at Trinity. Professor Frederick Rudolph has catalogued a number of areas in which this spirit entered the life of the American colleges in the early twentieth century. In addition to the Political Science Club, good government clubs, and similar organizations which proliferated on the campus, says Professor Rudolph, there were introduced student chapters of the Y.M.C.A., student government bodies, senior honor societies, and the honor system. Each of these current developments had
its effect, either positively or negatively, at Trinity.

Like his predecessor, George Williamson Smith, President Luther accepted the fact of Trinity’s Episcopal heritage, but Luther was hardly in a position to emphasize the “heritage” in quite the same fashion or to quite the same degree as had his predecessors beginning with Bishop Brownell. Although it had always been the function of the College’s head to maximize the “heritage” when dealing with Churchmen and to minimize it among non-Episcopalians, Luther came up with what might have been an adequate rationalization—adequate for the time, that is. “Trinity is an Episcopal College,” Luther delighted to repeat, “but it is Episcopalian not because it makes Episcopalians, but because Episcopalians made it.”

Luther accepted enough of the “heritage” to enable him to permit the traditional religious life to go on for a while without radical change. Luther himself prepared an annual Confirmation Class, and each year the Bishop of Connecticut made his Confirmation Visitation. The services in the Chapel were continued on their traditional schedule, and President Luther, despite his repeated complaints regarding undergraduate indifference or hostility to daily Chapel, showed no disposition to tamper with the system. Luther made serious efforts to make Sunday Chapel a high spot in the college week. In response to student requests, the Sunday preachers were almost invariably distinguished Episcopalian clergymen who after the Evening Service had supper with the student body in the College Commons and then met informally with the students in the Library.

When Luther assumed the College’s administration, the Missionary Society was a small, but still active, organization, and soon the Missionary Society was to be joined by a student chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. There was much undergraduate interest in the Brotherhood, and the new religious group entered into a friendly rivalry with the older Missionary Society in its attempt to stimulate religious interest. In the Christmas Term of 1905–1906, Trinity students participated in the Connecticut Valley Missionary Conference held at Mt. Holyoke and in the Church Students’ Missionary Association Convention held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the Episcopal Theological School. But by this time, and although the undergraduate body was still predominantly Episcopalian, there were pressures from the college authorities to combine the Missionary Society and the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in a new organization, to “be conducted,” as President Luther suggested, “along lines similar to the Y.M.C.A. rather than being bound to the work of the church.”

Both the Missionary Society and the Brotherhood survived the first attempt at forced amalgamation. For several years the Brotherhood was able to report considerable activity, and in 1909 it was host to a Conference of Churchmen of the New England Colleges which was held on the campus February 20–22. The Missionary Society lost some ground to its newer rival, but there were serious efforts to re-vitalize the oldest student organization on the campus. The Reverend Henry N. McNulty, general secretary of the Church Students’ Missionary Association, ad-
vanced the reasonable suggestion that the name of the society implied limited interest. McNulty proposed that the name be changed to the Brownell Society and that the work of the group be extended to include Bible study and personnel work and service in the Hartford community. 63

Here was a proposal for "service" which President Luther might well have welcomed. But Luther preferred the non-Episcopalian approach to undergraduate religious activity, and when the Missionary Society and the Brotherhood of St. Andrew refused to surrender, a student chapter of the Y.M.C.A. was organized in the fall of 1910 as a third distinct organization. 64

Although there was no apparent enthusiasm for the Y.M.C.A., the new group received every encouragement from the administration and the Tripod. 65 In 1911, the Y.M.C.A. was entrusted with the sponsorship of the Freshman Bible (later called the Freshman Handbook), an attractive little volume which contained the rules of the College, information about college customs and societies, and the athletic schedules. And each fall the Y.M.C.A. was the official sponsor of the reception (with refreshments and speeches of welcome) which was held for the Freshmen. 66 Soon the Y.M.C.A. encroached upon the domain of the Missionary Society by conducting Bible study classes and missions classes, and of the Brotherhood by undertaking a program of social service among the "underprivileged" of Hartford. 67

In the Trinity Term of 1913, the Y.M.C.A. even took over the Sunday evening 5:30 Vesper Service. This was a most interesting development, for it was the first time in the history of the College that a formal religious observance did not follow one of the Prayer Book services. Instead of the Choral Evensong which had been used since Reconstruction days, the Y.M.C.A. Vespers consisted of three hymns, the Lord's Prayer, a reading from the Bible, and a short talk by a student, a member of the Faculty, or a visiting Y.M.C.A. official. 68 The rationale of the Y.M.C.A. Vespers is perfectly obvious. By the time of its institution, the religious make-up of the student body was vastly different from what it had been twenty years earlier. The Episcopalians comprised only 57.2% of the undergraduate body, while Congregationalists accounted for 14.8%, the Roman Catholics for 10.5%, Methodists for 5.1%, Jews for 4.3%, Unitarians for 1.9%, and Baptists for 1.6%. 69 With the Episcopalians representing little more than half the student body, it was easy to argue that a non-Episcopalian service would be more acceptable. But the Y.M.C.A. service was voluntary, and when the rationale was put to the test it pleased nobody. Episcopalians doubtless felt cheated in being deprived of what they rightly regarded as part of the College's "heritage," Romans and Jews would not have been expected to attend under any circumstances, and the Protestants represented little more than 20% of the College. The result was precisely what might have been expected. Attendance was notably poor. 70 and in 1915 the President of the Y.M.C.A. was obliged to report that attendance averaged from fifteen to twenty men. 71

President Luther was much disappointed in the poor reception given his "Progressive" religious program, but he could not be moved to admit that the Y.M.C.A. was anything less than eminently successful. By 1910, both the Missionary Society and the Brotherhood had fallen upon such hard times that neither could afford inclusion in the 1911 Ivy; and in his Report for 1911 Luther reported that the religious life of the College was at a low ebb and that students attended church and chapel services "grudgingly." At that time, Luther suggested that a full-time Chaplain be appointed, but he also expressed doubts as to whether a competent man could be secured "except at a salary much larger than we are paying our Professors." 72

But if a Chaplain was beyond the College's limited means, Luther soon came to feel that a paid Y.M.C.A. Secretary was not, especially when it was learned that the "going rate" for such a position was $1,000 per year. And so President Luther set out to raise the necessary funds. It was his hope to raise $250 from the undergraduates and the remainder from the Alumni. The
Trustees approved of the project but appropriated no money. The students again were not to be stampeded into support for an organization in which they had little interest. Two fraternities pledged $55.00 jointly, but the total student contribution amounted to a mere $165.00. In fact, the students had no idea whatsoever about the duties of the Y.M.C.A. Secretary, and the Tripod was obliged to carry an article describing the duties of such an officer. The Secretary, said the Tripod would: 1) conduct the campus religious census (traditionally the function of the Tripod staff), 2) sponsor Bible and missionary study classes (essentially the function of the Brotherhood and the Missionary Society), 3) bring the college men in touch with the social service work of the city of Hartford (a service already being performed by the Brotherhood), 4) encourage attendance at religious conferences, 5) assist needy students in securing employment, and 6) to be a counselor to the undergraduates in moral and religious matters. It must have been obvious to all that the appointment of a Y.M.C.A. Secretary would have been a most wasteful duplication of effort, but the "hard sell" came from an unidentified Pennsylvania Alumnus writing to the Tripod. Singing the praises of the Y.M.C.A., that individual insisted that, as the student body represented so many different religious groups, the older Episcopalian societies had no real place at Trinity College, and that they would have to give way to the "Y." Nor was the image of the Y.M.C.A. enhanced by the Trinity Branch's support of several definitely un-Episcopalian evangelistic programs. In years past, there had been efforts to bring the Trinity religious societies into some sort of relationship with the Student Volunteer Movement, which had originated in 1886 at Mt. Hermon, Massachusetts, as something of an adjunct to the evangelistic work of Dwight L. Moody. In 1906, the Tablet had described the "Movement" as a group with a "messianic tinge," and this was enough to preclude any interest on campus at that time. In November, 1916, several speakers from the "Movement" were allowed to address the meetings of the Trinity Y.M.C.A. But the greatest shock came a few months later when the student officers of the Trinity "Y" distributed tickets for a Billy Sunday evangelistic rally to be held at Wesleyan University. Now it happened that President Luther was something of an admirer of the baseball player turned preacher, and he had once praised Sunday in an article in the Hartford Sunday Courant, in which he defended the evangelist's unorthodox style of preaching and absolved him of the commonly-made charges of vulgarity.

Perhaps it was Luther's wish, rather than that of the Y.M.C.A. officers, that the Trinity undergraduates should hear Billy Sunday preach. Forty undergraduates accepted the tickets and made the trip to Middletown where they were treated to a performance which included prayers which began with "Hello, God. This is Billy," and a sermon well-sprinkled with "hells" and "damns." The association of the "Y" with these two ventures probably hastened its long-postponed de-
mise, for other than raising $1,000 for the “War Friendship Fund” and $350 for the support of the missionary work in India of former Professor George O. Holbrooke, the Y.M.C.A. was totally inactive until its ultimate petering out in 1918.

Perhaps the Billy Sunday episode brought its own reaction, for there was an immediate return, at whose insistence is not clear, to the more conventional campus religious activity. In February, 1917, a Teaching and Preaching Mission was held at the College with the Reverend Arthur Gammock of Christ Church, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, as missioner. The Episcopalians on campus were much encouraged by the large attendance at each of the sessions which were spread over several days.

And immediately after the Mission ended, Trinity was host to a meeting of the Conference of Churchmen for the New England Colleges. Delegates were present from Bowdoin, Rhode Island State, Williams, and M.I.T. The conference was declared to have been a great success, and at last “Progressive Religion” was a thing of the past at Trinity!

But what about the other elements in what has been described as Progressivism in higher education? What about senior honor societies, student government, and the honor system?

When Luther took office, the Medusa was already in existence. There was, of course, a difference between Medusa and the typical honor society of the Progressive period whose membership “represented the values for which the Progressive temper stood: honor, character, a certain wholesomeness bordering on utter innocence, [and] ... an outlook that at a later day would make a good Boy Scout ... and, at the time, a good member of the campus Christian Association.” Medusa represented, rather, the campus sophisticate who had shown enough ingenuity to have himself “tapped,” and membership was, furthermore, self-perpetuating and there was no attempt whatsoever to apply any democratic process in the selection. There was occasional criticism of the Medusa’s exclusiveness, and there was some dissatisfaction with the Medusa’s having designated itself as the senior honorary society. But whether the Medusa’s honor was an academic or social one, Medusa truly was an honor society, and it was probably the presence of such a group at Trinity which precluded the “key-society” type of organization which appeared elsewhere.

Student government began at Trinity in the spring of 1909. Some years before there had been some half-hearted agitation for a “senate” to handle matters of campus discipline, but President George Williamson Smith at that time (1885) was so well satisfied with his personal success in preserving the campus peace that he refused to encourage the movement. Luther, however, could approach the matter from an altogether different angle. Luther liked “government” — government of any type, civil or academic — and the undergraduate request to organize a college senate was warmly received.

In March, 1909, a College Meeting gave approval to the plan, and an undergraduate committee soon worked out a constitution. Membership followed the traditional lines of student activity at Trinity. Included in the Senate were one man elected by the College from the Senior Class, one for the Junior Class, the president of the Athletic Association, the editor of the Tripod, the managers of the football, track, and baseball teams, each for one-third of the academic year, one member from each fraternity not already represented, one neutral if the neutrals were not already represented, and one man from Medusa on the same basis.

Although the Senate had been organized without any clear understanding as to what its function should be, the student governmental body soon found many areas in which to operate. In May, 1910, the Senate adopted rules “regarding the insignia and its wearing for the minor athletic teams,” and two years later, the Senate formulated rules for the Freshman-Junior Banquet. In 1913, the Senate vainly attempted to change the “cut-system” from sixteen class “cuts” per term (under which system students saved up “cuts” to extend vacation) to one cut per week.

In 1914, the Senate supported President Lu-
ther's plans for a College Union which was to occupy the old Library quarters in Seabury Hall after Williams Memorial had been erected. Luther's idea was to provide recreational quarters with pool tables, card-game facilities, and a reading room. This naturally appealed to the undergraduates, and the Senate agreed to undertake the management of the Union. The Trustees appropriated $1,000 for equipment, and the College Union was opened on November 28, 1914.

There was, however, one difficulty. As it turned out, use of the new facility was not open to the undergraduates unless they became members of the Union and paid regular dues. This was not the way the students had understood the original proposal, and there was no immediate rush to join. In fact, response was so poor that President Luther threatened to close the Union unless more undergraduates joined. As the students came to accept the fact of dues, membership increased, and the Union remained a useful campus facility for many years.

The Senate thus soon came to be a most important phase of undergraduate activity, and it might have been expected that the honor system would also have taken its place as a Progressive reform. When the plans for the Senate were first being laid, some students were discussing the honor system informally. The Tripod perhaps mildly favored some sort of honor system, and the editor offered his columns to a discussion of the subject. But the response was a most discouraging one, for such communications as the Tripod received revealed that most of the undergraduates did not even know what was meant by the term. The editor tried to "spell out" as simply as possible by explaining that all that was meant was the student was put on his honor not to cheat.

With that, the matter of the honor system was allowed to drop. It was not until six years later that the subject was again brought up—this time by the Trinity Debating Association, which argued the question—"Resolved: That the Honor System should prevail in college exercises." The debate was decided in the affirmative, and the victorious team cited the successes of the "system" at such colleges as Colgate and Hamilton. One debater, Francis Stuart Fitzpatrick '14, presented arguments that were shot-through with the Progressive spirit. An honor system, he said, "trains students for their duties as citizens in this self-governing country, ... and it has trained honorable men that [sic] must bring about the reforms that are needed in our government."

The affirmative carried the day, but the honor system was never instituted. Why? Perhaps Professor Frederick Rudolph has supplied the answer. In The American College and University he points out that the honor system had had a long history in the southern colleges where "gentleman's honor" was accepted as part of the academic way of life. In the North, says Professor Rudolph, the honor system made less appeal except in such small colleges as Bowdoin, Haverford, Wesleyan, Williams, Princeton, and Hobart, "where the clientele could be addressed in terms of the gentlemanly tradition and be expected to know what was meant."

And here is perhaps the key! For by 1912 Trinity was no longer the small, homogeneous institution it had been twenty years before. The student body had increased to 257, Episcopalian accounted for little more than one-half of the enrollment, and the proportion of "town students" had been increasing each year. Trinity had truly become the "Hartford Local!"

This transformation had been partly by Luther's design, but it had also been partly a trend of the times. The late Professor Harry T. Costello once pointed out that there were two types of New England men's colleges: the rural and the urban. The rural colleges became, according to Professor Costello's observation, "gentlemen's country clubs," and the urban institutions became commuters' colleges with an emphasis on "practical" courses. Trinity's location, at the time of the move to the new campus, would perhaps have permitted description as a "rural" college, and the description of undergraduate life given in a previous chapter would go far to confirm this classification. But as the city of Hartford expanded to the campus and far beyond, inclusion within the built-up area once more made Trinity
by definition an “urban” college. Trinity was able to resist most of the pressures to make the institution a “practical” college, but, given the circumstances, there was little that could be done to prevent it from becoming a “commuters’” college.

George Williamson Smith had failed to enlarge the student body as both Alumni and undergraduates had expected him to do. Flavel S. Luther succeeded where Smith had failed, and each year the enrollments showed a steady increase. And each increase showed a larger number of Hartford students. In November, 1904, Luther addressed the Hartford Board of Trade. He declared that Trinity College was essentially a Hartford institution, that 55 per cent of the College’s graduates had expected him to do. Flavel

Two years later, Luther could boast that in the past four years (1902-1906) Trinity’s growth had been “proportionately greater than that in any other New England college.” This statement was expanded by the *Tripod* to be the “largest gain of any college in the United States,” and from time to time the *Tripod* supplied such comparisons which would have done any Chamber of Commerce secretary proud. Although committed to admitting more and more town students, Luther did not want to see Trinity become exclusively a “commuter” college. Alumni were urged to recruit new students and Luther, from time to time, made extensive tours on which he visited preparatory schools with the idea of attracting well-trained students from a greater distance. In February, 1910, Luther made a two-week trip to the Midwest, where he visited the Racine Grammar School and Saint John’s Military Academy in Wisconsin, St. Albans School in Illinois, Howe School in Indiana, DeVeaux School in Niagara Falls, New York, and the High Schools in Buffalo, Milwaukee, and Chicago. A similar tour was made in 1912. But despite these efforts to attract students on a national level, a breakdown of statistics for enrollment at the close of the Christmas Term of 1914-1915 showed that of the 248 undergraduates, 70 were from Hartford, and an additional 69 were from Connecticut exclusive of Hartford. Only 26 were from New York, only 15 from Pennsylvania, only 12 from New Jersey, and only 9 from Massachusetts. These changes had a decided effect upon the Trinity way of life. A smaller proportion of the student body had been prepared in the preparatory schools and a proportionately large number of them had come from the high schools, a trend not displeasing to President Luther, who, in his Baccalaureate Sermon of June 17, 1917, declared the dual system of preparatory schools and public high schools to be “most ominous – freighted with danger to the republic.” In that sermon Luther made a frank statement of his belief in “the complete or partial public support of schools[,] grading from the kindergarten to the professional degree . . . [as] an absolute necessity.”

There was also to be noted a decline in the number of activities in which undergraduates could participate. Instead of the *scores* of clubs and societies of the late 1800’s, there were only the fraternities, the athletic teams, the undergraduate publications, the moribund religious societies, and a few “strays.” In 1906, the question was even raised in the local press whether there might not be too many different athletic teams at Trinity, considering the number of students!

Also, proportionately fewer men were joining the fraternities, for as the student body more than doubled, the number of fraternities had been increased by only one. The new fraternity was a local, Sigma Psi, organized in June, 1911, which took over the house at the corner of Broad Street and Allen Place which had formerly been occupied by Alpha Chi Rho and which in 1918 became a chapter of Sigma Nu. Although each of the fraternities was initiating more men each year than in the past, more boarding students found their way into the chapters than did the town students, and the fraternities were on a fair way toward becoming the exclusive preserve of the boarders.
Many were aware of the uncomfortable division of the students into these two groups. President Luther deplored the fact that the fraternities tended "to separate the college body into cliques not always in agreement," and that a student's failure "to make" a fraternity was often a "serious disappointment." And yet, Luther also conceded that "the good resulting from these fraternities is very great and in my mind quite over-balances the evils. . . ."\textsuperscript{124}

\textit{Twenty-fifth reunion of the Class of 1881}

Older Alumni were commenting on the situation. One "old grad" noted, too, that the College was becoming more "impersonal," and that there were fewer contacts between students and Faculty. But this same Alumnus felt that the day student was the chief object of concern and that "some means [should] be found to bring the town men into closer connection with life at the college."\textsuperscript{125} Anyone who would have made the most cursory perusal of the \textit{Ivy} for any year during the Luther period would have noted that in each graduating class there were men, mostly "town men," who had passed through four years at Trinity College without having participated in a single student activity!

And was there also a moral and scholastic breakdown? Perhaps a case can be made for the affirmative. There were, unfortunately, several scandals, and these in an area which was particularly embarrassing to President Luther. The President was devoted to sports, and he had been a strong supporter of Trinity athletics from the time he had played first base on the Trinity baseball team. He was a firm believer in the benef\textsuperscript{icial} effects of football upon undergraduate life. But he disliked the commercialization of athletics which had swept over the American colleges at the turn of the century, and he was the first to deplore betting, the noisy celebration of victories, and the hysterical grief which he felt followed each defeat. As a remedy to these situations, Luther wanted to do away with "gate money," and to select the athletic coaches from the regular Faculty rather than employ outside professionals.\textsuperscript{126}

President Luther succeeded in effecting the second proposed reform when Northham Professor Raymond G. Gettell was made football coach in 1908. Gettell served until the end of the football season of 1913,\textsuperscript{127} and there was little fault to find with the coaching arrangement. But on the matter of "undergraduate professionalism" there was no happy solution. In the spring of 1905, Trinity engaged Union College at Schenectady in an all-day track meet, and Trinity came home with the victory pennant. Word soon got out that Trinity had played a "ringer"—"a prominent Y.M.C.A. athlete from Hartford"—and that Trinity's victory of 57-51 was due to points scored by the outsider. Although he had not been paid for his services, the Y.M.C.A. man played under the name of a regular member of the team who did not participate on that day. When the matter was brought to the attention of the Graduate Athletic Committee, a student was sent by the committee to return the trophy and to apologize for the track team's dishonesty. The undergraduates, too, took action in holding a College Meeting at which resolutions deploring the dishonesty of the team were adopted.\textsuperscript{128}

President Luther was shocked beyond belief, and in his report to the Trustees on June 26, 1905, he spoke of the low moral tone of the College, noting that evidence of dishonesty was not limited to athletics, but to academic work as well.\textsuperscript{129} The President found himself in an especially embarrassing situation, for just two months earlier he had spoken to the Trustees in favor of adopting an honor system.\textsuperscript{130}

The College's forthright handling of the track team scandal had a salutary effect upon student
morale. The Tripod endorsed Luther's stand against professionalism, and the students in College Meeting adopted a most unusual resolution in “requesting the faculty to raise the minimum number of hours which a man must pass in order to represent the College on any of the teams.”

But this was not the end of athletic professionalism, for even though the students could make a moral case against the over-emphasis of athletics, there were those among the Alumni who could not. With the constant efforts to increase the size of the student body, there had been considerable recruiting on the part of the “old grads,” and some of these gentlemen had paid the tuition and other fees of promising athletes. This practice brought severe criticism of the College, and President Luther, who shared, of course, the alumni interest in a larger student body, found himself in a dilemma. Fortunately for his own peace of mind, Luther was able to resolve the problem, for in his Presidential Report of 1908 he declared that he could “see no reason why a wealthy alumnus should not defray the expenses of a young man in college for any reason which seems to him good, provided the young man is able to pass his examinations for admission and to maintain satisfactory standing as a student.” As to the question of whether athletic scholarships were demoralizing, Luther insisted that he could see no reason why a student sent to college under such incentives should be “more likely to suffer demoralization” than any other. And while expressing his ideas on the general subject of college athletics, President Luther added that, so far as he was concerned, there was nothing wrong with a young man’s playing professional baseball during the summer and then playing on a college team in the fall.

Perhaps Luther’s statements represented moral equivocation, but subsequent Presidential Reports were to suggest a reaffirmation of his earlier stand against low morals and low academic achievement, and once he was to lament that “the College hero is not the prize winner but the athlete and the leader.”

Trinity, throughout this period, was still a small college with enrollments from between 200 and 250. And yet, Trinity’s athletic competitors were all larger institutions with enrollments ranging from Bowdoin’s 400 to Columbia’s 6,000. Under circumstances such as these, it was certainly to be expected that the College should have wanted to make use of every eligible player. “Eligibility” at Trinity was usually taken to mean any bona fide student who was a candidate for a degree. Rival colleges appreciated Trinity’s situation and they respected Trinity’s honesty in
refusing to resort to the "special examination" the night before the game, or permitting professionals to play under assumed names. The only formalized statement of Trinity's policy was an agreement with Wesleyan of 1907 regarding one-year eligibility for transfers.\textsuperscript{136}

In the fall of 1915, George Brickley of Everett, Massachusetts, entered Trinity as a Freshman. Brickley's brother, Charles, had played at Harvard during the football seasons of 1912, 1913, and 1914, and he had been credited with many a "Crimson" victory during these years. George Brickley had played semi-professional baseball during the preceding summer, but it probably never occurred to him that his going out for football at Trinity should bring the charge of "professionalism."

Brickley's "eligibility" was not challenged at the early games of the season. Norwich, Brown, Bates, and Amherst raised no question, but a few minutes before the scheduled start of the Williams game, the Williams manager demanded that Brickley not be permitted to play. Trinity refused to comply, and the game was played with a victory of 38-0 for the Bantams. Williams had, in a sense, the last laugh, for Trinity was removed from Williams' schedule, and it was not until 1920 that athletic relations between the two colleges were resumed.

Williams' protest was widely publicized, and both Columbia and New York University cancelled their Trinity games. The I.C.A.A.A.A.A. put Trinity under the ban and ruled that any college which would play Trinity would lose its amateur status. Wesleyan defied the ruling, invoked the 1907 agreement, and argued that Wesleyan had already prejudiced its amateur status in playing Springfield Y.M.C.A. College, which should properly be classified as a professional team. Tufts also defied the I.C.A.A.A.A.A. ruling and played Trinity to a 0-0 tie.

In the controversy regarding Brickley's eligibility, the New York press made sport of the refusal of Columbia and N.Y.U. to play Trinity. The Trinity Graduate Advisory Committee sent sharply-worded defenses of Trinity's eligibility policy. The college administration firmly stood by the football team in its insistence that Brickley play, and Acting-President Henry A. Perkins reaffirmed President Luther's earlier stand that the College would not disqualify a student who had played professional baseball.\textsuperscript{127}

But in his bold support of the recent action of the Trinity football team, Professor Perkins was willing, also, to admit that the athletic situation left something to be desired. In speaking of the criticisms leveled against the College, Perkins said that "some of [them] . . . were wholly unmerited and unfair; some were due to a frank difference of opinion; and a few, unfortunately, were deserved." Although perhaps reluctant to do so, Perkins admitted that Alumni were still recruiting athletes from preparatory schools and other colleges, and he insisted that "the practice must stop if we are to retain our self-respect and the position of high athletic morality of which we have been so proud in the past."\textsuperscript{138}

The outward defiance of the whole athletic and academic world was something of a cover for an inwardly contrite Trinity heart, for hardly had the football season of 1915 ended than a careful reappraisal of the eligibility code was undertaken. The Committee on Eligibility Rules came up with what must have been a shockingly strict set of regulations. After January 1, 1916 (and the rules were not to apply to men already in college), no student who had played for a baseball team belonging to a classified league or who had ever accepted pay for any sport would be permitted to compete on a Trinity team, the one-year transfer rule was reaffirmed, participation in college athletics was to be limited to four years, and no student over twenty-six years of age would be allowed to represent the College.\textsuperscript{139} At last, Trinity must have felt that her heart was pure and her hands clean.

These unfortunate incidents may have impaired the "Trinity image" in the larger world, but to the Hartford community "The Hartford Local" was still Hartford's college! Luther was determined to keep it so, and almost everything he did was, apparently, with an eye to enhancing this good feeling which prevailed between the College and the city and also with an eye to
extending Trinity's services to the local community.

Luther was a man of many ideas – few of them, however, original, and most of them reflective of the Progressive spirit of his day. One of these ideas was that of “acceleration.” In the early years of Luther's regime, several of the nation's foremost educators had come out in favor of speeding-up the educational process by one method or another. William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago was preaching against the “four-year fetish,” and Harvard was encouraging graduates of the better preparatory schools to enter as Sophomores. Johns Hopkins assumed three years for the A.B., and encouraged two.

Chicago developed the four-quarter system and encouraged year-round attendance. On the other side of the “acceleration” argument, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia thought that three years were not adequate for “the simple profession of gentlemen,” or for “the generous and reflective use of leisure.” And Butler's feeling was that much of the argument in favor of acceleration was based on the assumption that the educational process took place solely in the classroom.

With this “nonsense” of the colleges and universities as training schools for “gentlemen,” Luther had little sympathy, for if the purpose of higher education is training for “service,” the sooner the young man be released to serve, the better. In his President's Report for 1905, Luther came out in favor of a summer term based on the year-round system of the University of Chicago. Why, he argued, should the college plant be idle for three months of the year when it might be placed at the service of the community? The same plea was repeated in 1913.

To this proposal there was no response, but in the closely-related idea of university extension (or what would now be called adult education) Luther was at least given a chance. In the Christmas Term of 1905, Trinity began a program of university extension studies in cooperation with the Hartford Y.M.C.A. Free non-credit courses were offered by Trinity Faculty in college classrooms, with offerings in Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Economics, and American History and Government. But there was no response from the Hartford people. Only Professor Kleene's course in Economics was actually given, and it met with little success. President Luther blamed the failure on the “inaccessibility” of the College, and in the fall of 1906 classes were scheduled to meet in rented rooms in downtown Hartford. Again the program aroused little interest, and the question might well be asked whether it was not the “non-credit” feature which doomed the program from the beginning.

To recount these incidents is not to suggest that Flavel Sweeten Luther's administration at Trinity College was strewn with failures. Given the situation when he assumed office, it might be said that his part in preserving the institution's mere existence was no mean achievement. But, on the other hand, it must be said that other than to dramatically increase the size of the student body Luther's administration was marked by no spectacular success. And once more it must be said that the problems and difficulties of the College were basically financial.

Luther had once had some success in raising money for the improvement of the athletic field, and it was hoped that he would be able to set Trinity's financial house in order and break the Trinity tradition of ending each year with a deficit. Such, however, was not to be the case. The deficit for 1903-1904, the last year of George Williamson Smith's term, was $23,031.88. Luther's first year saw a reduced deficit of $9,323.64, but the fiscal year 1905-1906 ended with an all-time high deficit of $23,964.08, which was accounted for, in part, by the exceptional expense of repairing the college heating system. For 1906-07, which saw no capital expenditure, the deficit was $12,062.10. Two things were obvious: 1) Luther had not brought prosperity to the College, and 2) the time had come for a large-scale, fund-raising drive!

But the Trustees were in no mood to set out to raise money, nor had they been for some time. In 1900, the Trinity Corporation had given consideration to raising $1,110,000 for buildings, endowment, additional professorships, and general
expenses. The Trustees at that time had agreed that the money would have to be raised, and the matter was referred to the Board of Fellows.\(^{147}\) The Fellows recommended that Professor McCook be relieved of teaching duties and that he be permitted to devote his energies to raising money for the College. President Smith had concurred because of "his own personal disinclination to undertake the work," but the Trustees, instead of putting McCook in charge of fund raising, voted to relieve the President of his regular responsibilities in order to enable him to raise money.\(^{148}\)

Nothing, of course, came of this action, and three years later, Dr. Jacob Ewing Mears '58\(^{149}\) prodded the Alumni Association into passing a resolution requesting the Trustees to raise $5,000,000—one-half for endowment and one-half for new buildings and current operations. The Alumni Association pledged to raise $100,000 and then passed the resolution on to the Trustees.\(^{150}\)

The Trustees received the recommendation of the Alumni Association just after George Williamson Smith had resigned from the Presidency, and the summer of 1903 was hardly an ideal time to launch a fund-raising drive. Alumni committees continued to meet with the Trustees on the matter of college finance\(^{151}\) and President Luther attempted to cultivate his connections with the Hartford community. All this, however, was to no avail, and the College turned next to the philanthropic foundations.

When Trinity applied to the Carnegie Foundation for participation in the pension program for retired faculty, the question was again raised regarding the relation of the College to the Episcopal Church. It was then the stated policy of the foundation to exclude from participation all church-related or church-controlled institutions, and it was because of this policy that President Luther had a long correspondence with several officers of the foundation. Although Luther rightly insisted that the Episcopalian relationship had become one of tradition rather than of law, the foundation repeatedly reminded Luther that Trinity was listed as "denominational" in Whittaker's Almanac and that the College advertised regularly in Episcopal periodicals.\(^{152}\) For once, Luther made a very convincing case, and Trinity was admitted to participation in the Carnegie retirement program.\(^{153}\)

With the General Educational Fund, however, Luther had no success. When Luther wrote to the General Educational Fund requesting a grant of funds,\(^{154}\) George Foster Peabody, the Fund's executive officer, replied in terms which could have been little less than insulting. Peabody made it clear that the fund had a policy of assisting only clearly-defined projects and that Trinity's request for assistance in meeting operational expenses did not qualify under these terms. Furthermore, the fund gave money only on a dollar-matching basis. And to add to the College's embarrassment, Peabody added a postscript to his letter suggesting that Trinity might do well to encourage support from the Episcopal Church. "Apparently," he wrote, "the Episcopal Church as such is less interested in higher education than any other Church Organization."\(^{155}\)

And with this rebuff Luther was obliged to state that the "financial outlook" for Trinity College was "dark." He was also willing to admit that the situation was "very likely . . . due to my own inability to master the problems of college administration." As a remedy, he said that he was "quite ready at any time to allow someone else to try to meet the situation which so far I have not been able to meet."\(^{156}\)

The Trustees, however, failed to act upon this wise suggestion, and the next year, even with gifts from Alumni and friends amounting to well over $20,000, ended with a deficit of $14,810.08. The Treasurer called attention to the fact that the "deficit for the past nine years . . . [had amounted] to the large sum of $118,274.36, all of which it has been necessary to meet by diminishing the principal of the Academic Fund each year."\(^{157}\) When President Luther once more urged "the desirability of appointing some person under salary, other than myself, to devote his entire time to this undertaking of raising money,"\(^{158}\) the Trustees finally decided to act.
On October 31, 1908, the Trinity Corporation appointed Professor John J. McCook as financial agent for the College. McCook and College Treasurer Edgar F. Waterman compiled an elaborate set of statistics regarding the College's finances, and in December personal letters were sent to Alumni and friends. By April, 1909, almost $300,000 had been pledged by sixty-nine individuals, and by June over $354,000 had been subscribed. This was one of the most unusual financial campaigns ever conducted, for it was not until the June meeting of the Trustees that the general public became aware of what had been going on. Even then the report on the campaign's progress had been made only to the Alumni Association without intending that it should be sent to the public press. The Alumni were so pleased and amazed at the campaign's progress that the Trustees were finally obliged to inform the newspapers of McCook's successes, and when they received the news, the Hartford papers—the Courant, the Times, the Post, and the Sunday Globe—gave enthusiastic editorial support. Beyond the Hartford community, other Connecticut newspapers, as well as the Associated Press, gave wide publicity.\(^{156}\)

In the fall, a canvass was undertaken in the more distant cities where there were active alumni groups—Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York City, and Reading, Pennsylvania. And at Christmastime, 1909, the campaign went into its final phase. McCook organized an all-out attempt to raise the remaining $100,000 of the half-million. "Follow-up" letters were sent to non-contributors. Members of the secret societies wrote to their fraternity brothers, and Alumni wrote to their reluctant classmates. Lists of subscribers were published regularly in the Hartford newspapers. Although it was hoped that the half-million would be raised by the end of 1909, on the morning of December 31 there still remained $37,823 to go. More than a score of Hartford Alumni devoted the whole day and night to personal solicitation. By midnight, the $500,000 had been oversubscribed by $47.\(^{160}\)

The final figure of $506,522 revealed that Trinity's friends could be induced to support the College if proper leadership were provided. And a breakdown of the campaign statistics must have made it abundantly clear that Trinity need not resign herself to remaining a commuter college or a "Hartford Local!"

Of the half-million, 595 alumni (68% of a total of 875) contributed $223,471 or 44.1% of the total. Fifty-seven of the 217 undergraduates contributed $970, even though no special appeal had been made to the students. Contributions were made from 21 states, one U.S. territory, and two foreign countries. And although Connecticut led with 34% of the pledges, New York followed with 31.3%, Pennsylvania with 17.1%, and Ohio with 10%. Perhaps the most significant percentage was that, although $436,304 came from the North Atlantic region, $12,327 came from the South Atlantic states, and $56,215 from the North Central states.\(^{161}\)

When the campaign ended, Johnny McCook was the Trinity hero. For his extra services he had received no compensation and, although the Trustees had offered to relieve him of his teaching duties, McCook had not even accepted this benefit.\(^{162}\) The Trustees, however, urged him to take a vacation to rest from his strenuous labors, and this he consented to do. At the beginning of the Trinity Term of 1910, McCook and his family sailed from New York for Jacksonville, Florida, thence to Miami, to Nassau in the Bahamas, back to Miami, and home to Hartford by train.\(^{163}\) On April 21, he was given a testimonial dinner by the New York Alumni Association\(^{164}\) and all, when speaking of the half-million, referred to it as the McCook Endowment Fund.\(^{165}\)

During the Commencement Week of 1910, there was considerable sentiment for raising a second half-million dollars.\(^{166}\) And well there might have been, for the recently-concluded campaign had not provided a full solution for Trinity's financial problems. The salaries of the "nine oldest professors in point of service" were raised from $2,000 to $2,500,\(^{167}\) and the new resources enabled the Trustees to decline with a good conscience an attractive offer by the Plymouth Congregational Church to purchase a portion of the southern end of the campus.\(^{168}\) But
the McCook Endowment did not end the traditional deficit. For each of the fiscal years ending July, 1911, and 1912, the deficit was slightly in excess of $13,000.\textsuperscript{169}

Professor McCook had no illusions that the half-million would alleviate all of the College’s economic ills. In the midst of the campaign, he once stated that Trinity actually needed $2,000,000,\textsuperscript{170} and at the campaign’s close he declared himself willing to undertake whatever fund-raising program the Trustees should decide upon.\textsuperscript{171} Perhaps a second campaign would have been begun immediately had it not been for another development for which McCook himself was largely responsible.

The largest contribution to the half-million was J. Pierpont Morgan’s $100,000.\textsuperscript{172} Although the sum amounted to almost one-fifth of the total, it was hardly a munificent one for a man of Morgan’s wealth—especially since he was a Trinity Trustee and in view of his generosity to the Wadsworth Atheneum and the Metropolitan Museum. Professor McCook had visited Morgan in New York and had suggested that the philanthropist might wish to do something further for the College\textsuperscript{173} but, as was his wont, Morgan made no immediate commitment. In October, 1912, however, Morgan came to Hartford to visit his cousins, Francis and James J. Goodwin, both of whom were Trinity Trustees, and to inspect the Morgan Wing of the Atheneum which was then under construction. Following the visit to the Atheneum, Morgan and the Goodwins drove out to the College and called upon President Luther. In talking of the College’s needs, Luther mentioned the desirability of a new College Library, and Morgan at once said that he would be pleased to provide such a building as a memorial to his late friend, Bishop Williams.\textsuperscript{174}

The news of a new Library was most welcome. As a memorial to Bishop Williams it was regarded as a double blessing, for in 1899 the Trustees had voted that the College erect “some splendid memorial” to Bishop Williams,\textsuperscript{175} a plan which had never been realized because of the College’s limited financial resources. Nor could there be any doubt that a new Library was needed. Since the completion of Boardman Hall, the Library had occupied the entire southern portion of Seabury Hall, but with rapid growth of both the book collection and the student body, the Library was becoming desperately pressed for space.\textsuperscript{176}

But the most significant thing about the new building was its location at the north end of the Long Walk at precisely the point specified in the original campus plan prepared by William Burges. The Burges Plan had long since been abandoned, but it had never been forgotten, and from time to time voices had been raised to keep alive the hope of completing the Burges Quadrangle. In 1897, the \textit{Tablet} had urged a permanent Chapel to be erected according to Burges’ design,\textsuperscript{177} and in 1899 Professor Martin spoke of the dream of completing the Burges Plan. Charitably, he referred to the building of Boardman Hall, then under construction, as “the interval of rest before completing the great plan,” in which “structures of a more transitory type have been reared to answer immediate need.”\textsuperscript{178} And, somewhat ironically, the “Program” for the Groundbreaking Ceremony for Boardman Hall carried the instructions that after the benediction “the procession will be re-formed and will return to the Great Quadrangle,”\textsuperscript{179} which then consisted, of course, of a single string of buildings: Seabury, Northam, and Jarvis. The \textit{Ivy} for 1901 paid its disrespects to Boardman Hall by following the description of that new building with a seven-page presentation of the Burges Plans for Chapel and Library. Although the \textit{Ivy} writer conceded that it might not be possible to ever carry out the three-quadrangle plan, Chapel and Library should be located at opposite ends of the Long Walk, thus complementing three sides of the intended central quadrangle.\textsuperscript{180} The location of the new Library suggested that a first step had been taken toward the ultimate completion of the Burges Plan.\textsuperscript{181}

As his architect, Morgan selected Benjamin Wistar Morris ’93, of the New York firm of La Farge and Morris, who had recently designed the Connecticut First Regiment Armory and the Morgan Wing of the Wadsworth Atheneum.\textsuperscript{182}
Morris designed a building to combine library and administrative offices in a style he described as “an English treatment of French Gothic.” The exterior fabric was of Portland brownstone with Ohio sandstone trim to harmonize with the older buildings of the Long Walk, and the interior was to make use of an interesting combination of tile and oak.\(^{183}\)

J. Pierpont Morgan died in late March, 1913, in Rome, Italy,\(^{184}\) and it was not until the summer that actual construction was begun. There were many delays. There was a vexing problem of transporting materials—particularly stone.\(^{185}\) And when the Ohio stone finally arrived, President Luther was not satisfied that it would be durable enough for the building. Only a test proving that it would bear up under a pressure of 6,250 pounds to the square inch (a test conducted by the engineering firm of Ford, Buck & Sheldon) convinced him that the right choice of material had been made.\(^{186}\)

There was no cornerstone ceremony—in fact, there was no cornerstone. The College was eager to proceed with the construction, and Luther did not want additional delay of any sort.\(^{187}\) By the opening of the Christmas Term of 1914–1915, Williams Memorial was practically finished. The administrative offices were already in use, and the reading and stack rooms of the Library then were being fitted.\(^{188}\)

The new building was formally dedicated on October 31, 1914, with appropriate ceremonies in Alumni Hall. There were speeches by Walter B. Briggs, the Librarian; Samuel Hart; Arthur A. Hamerschlag, director of the Carnegie Institute of Technology; William N. C. Carlton, the former Librarian; and by the architect, Benjamin Wistar Morris. Morris’ informal address was filled with good advice for the College. First, he pleaded for a course in Art History in which the students would be familiarized with representative works in Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture. Secondly, he urged that the beautiful Trinity Campus be developed according to a regular plan. Although he admitted that Burges’ original plan was much too ambitious for an institution of Trinity’s size and potential, he urged that a permanent committee on Grounds and Buildings be appointed, and that this committee develop a general campus plan, “broad in its principles and elastic enough to meet the requirements of the future which none can predict.” Only then, he said, could the College be saved “from irreparable blunders and enduring regrets.”\(^{189}\)

The excitement which the erection of Williams Memorial engendered provided temporary relief from the serious financial straits of the College. The deficits of $15,987.90 and $16,579.81 which ended the fiscal years of 1912–1913 and 1913–1914, respectively,\(^{190}\) were perhaps hardly noticed, or at least as little was said about them as was possible. There was talk in unofficial quarters—in this case very unofficial quarters: the Trinity Tripod—of a plan to raise $1,000,000,\(^{191}\)
but all that was actually being considered was another of Luther's proposals to seek local support. At the Trustees Meeting of June 23, 1914, "the President submitted a proposition looking toward a closer connection between the City of Hartford and Trinity College, whereby the City may extend financial support and the College be coordinated more closely with the system of public instruction."192

Nothing came of the proposal beyond the appointment of a Trustees Committee to consider the matter.193 There were still repeated requests from the friends of the College to undertake a fund-raising campaign, but in the fall of 1914 the Trustees decided that the financial situation of the country made it inadvisable to attempt to raise funds at that time.194

The fiscal year 1914–1915 ended with another deficit—this time of $20,333.23.195 Luther was now ready to throw in the proverbial sponge! In a letter to the Trustees he respectfully asked permission to retire as President, effective July 1, 1916. And Luther's letter was that of a defeated old man. "I am utterly weary—tired out," he wrote. "With difficulty have I driven myself through the last two years, leaving many things undone that ought to be done."196

But the Trustees were not convinced that Luther's day of usefulness had passed. Instead of accepting his resignation, they granted him a year's leave of absence with full pay and appointed Professor Perkins as Acting President.197 Luther spent the winter of 1915–1916 in the West—mostly at Pasadena, California, where he had friends. For several months he enjoyed a complete rest, and in the spring he returned to Hartford in the best of spirits.198

In March, the Trustees decided that conditions at last were such as to insure success to a financial campaign. A committee was appointed by the Trustees to study the financial condition of the College, and in mid-March the committee (F. L. Wilcox, Charles G. Woodward, and Henry A. Perkins) presented a detailed report. The committee felt that the College's chief financial difficulty came from the large number of students who paid no tuition fees to the College. In fact, it was revealed that 63% of the student body was receiving free tuition—either on a formally endowed scholarship or by simply having all fees remitted. The committee also noted that if only the endowed scholarships were continued the student body would be reduced by fifty men. The committee, therefore, recommended a cautious approach to any measure which would deplete the undergraduate body, but they did recommend two alternatives. First, they suggested that only the formal scholarships be filled and thus let the student body decline to 175, reduce the size of the Faculty, and "carry on the work of the College at about the same level as it was in 1906." Second, the committee proposed as the alternative: raise $1,000,000 in addition to the $500,000 fund to cover the deficit, $250,000 to raise Faculty salaries to $3,000, and $250,000 for additional physical equipment.199

The Trustees accepted the second proposal and decided to raise $1,000,000. Formal announcement of the campaign was made by President Luther in an address to the Hartford Chamber of Commerce on April 5. Luther asked for $600,000 from the city of Hartford. "We are seeking this endowment," he said, "not because we are in debt, for the College doesn't owe a cent—not because of any loss, for our Trust funds are absolutely intact."200 Luther's words may have sounded strange in a community which had so long heard of the College's debts and deficits, but for once, and for the first time in sixteen years, there was actually a small surplus of $429.36. This changed financial picture had come about during Luther's leave of absence, but not, on the other hand, because of Acting-President Perkins. The Trustees had saved the day by subscribing $15,650 toward operating expenses, and there had been several sizeable legacies.201

The campaign got under way late in April. Great care was taken to insure cooperation from all sections of the college community, and a joint committee was created "to consider the educational, financial, and administrative policy of the College." From the Trustees, there were appointed Henry Ferguson, Edward B. Hatch,
Frank L. Wilcox, and Edgar F. Waterman. And, wisely, included were representatives of the Board of Fellows: Walter S. Schutz, E. Kent Hubbard, and Shiras Morris. To coordinate the work so far as alumni giving was concerned, the Trustees approved a plan (incidentally, initiated by the joint committee) to establish an Alumni Council. And as “advertising literature,” the Trustees published an attractive, illustrated brochure, entitled Trinity College: Historical and Descriptive.

No outside promoter was employed, nor, for some reason, did the Trustees accept Professor McCook’s standing offer to head the campaign. Despite President Luther’s repeated apologies for his own ineptitude in matters of raising funds, Luther was placed in command by the Trustees. The President was relieved of “such administrative details as he may desire,” and Professor Perkins was given powers to act in an executive capacity during Luther’s absence from the campus.

Early in December, President Luther opened an office in New York City, 27 Cedar Street, Room 1202. As usual, the New York Alumni were enthusiastic. By January 9, 1917, almost a quarter of a million dollars had been subscribed but then came America’s declaration of war on Germany, April 6, 1917, and the fund raising campaign, to all practical purposes, came to an end. The First World War was to have a great effect upon Trinity College, as it did on all others, and President Luther quickly closed his New York office and returned to Hartford to try to gear his college to a program of wartime “service.”

But long before the declaration of war, the “war spirit” had pervaded the campus. In the summer of 1916, the Congress of the United States passed the National Defense Act which permitted the colleges to provide Reserve Officer training. Only sixteen colleges applied for R.O.T.C. sponsorship but the Trinity undergraduates were eager to have Trinity participate in the program, and they seemed to care little whether the courses were to be given with or without academic credit. President Luther was an advocate of military training, even as part of the peace-time curriculum, but the proposed course was strongly opposed by the Faculty.

Despite the faculty opposition, Luther sent a questionnaire to the undergraduate body asking whether the students would enroll for a course in military training if such a course were to be offered. Luther presented the possibility in most attractive terms, assuming that the instruction would be provided by an officer from the regular army and that arms, uniforms, and equipment would be supplied by the federal government. Only one-half of the students replied but Luther, nonetheless, assumed that the response had been sufficient to apply to Washington for assistance in setting up the course in military training.

Military training was begun at Trinity on a volunteer basis on March 22, 1917, by Captain Emerson Gifford Taylor of the Machine Gun Company, First Connecticut Infantry Regiment. When the Connecticut National Guard was mobilized and Captain Taylor was called into active service, Captain J. H. Kelso Davis ’99 volunteered to assume Taylor’s place.

By March, students were already being ordered into military service. Luther advised against enlisting and suggested that the students wait and see what the nation would expect of college men— as he put it, “until we are sure where we are most needed and most capable.” As the term wore on, students became increasingly uncertain as to their immediate futures. Class Day was first cancelled and then rescheduled. The question of granting credit for the military training was solved, after a fashion, first by allowing students to substitute the course for one other course and later by substituting it for History 7.

When the Christmas Term opened in September, 1917, Military Science was made a compulsory course. Uniforms of dark gray wool, barracks caps, and puttees arrived late in the term, and Captain Davis issued orders that the uniforms were to be worn on the campus at all times.
Early in 1918, a Congressional Act replaced the R.O.T.C. with the Student Army Training Corps (usually known as the S.A.T.C.), an ill-conceived program whereby the Government, instead of adapting the training to the special skills of the colleges, literally turned the campuses into army camps. None of the colleges was to benefit academically from this move, for the indiscriminate admission by the War Department to the Training Corps brought to the colleges many young men who were totally incapable of profiting from even the much diluted form of higher education which was being carried on for the Army. There were long hours of drill, and this left little time for study. President Luther soon reported that the scholastic work of the College had fallen to a deplorable low, and that the students were “thinking and talking of very little except the war: their chances of ‘getting in,’ and the awful fate of being, even unjustly, termed ‘a slacker.’”

Under the new S.A.T.C. program there were changes in personnel. Colonel Calvin D. Coles was placed in charge of the program, and Captain Davis was retained as Coles’ assistant. And as so much of the students’ time was taken up with military drill, there was a reduction in the number of academic courses taken and a consequent pressure to reduce the size of the Faculty. The Trustees felt that all heads of departments should be retained, but that a reduction should be made in the lower ranks. In April, 1918, the Trustees voted to terminate the contracts of all junior Faculty but one (Edward C. Stone, Assistant Professor of Chemistry) and to have President Luther “confer with Professors Barrett, Kleene, and Barrows in regard to their obtaining positions elsewhere.” Luther carried out his unpleasant duty and was able to report that of the Professors concerned, two accepted, “good naturedly” and one “resentful.”

At this same time another Trinity Professor, Wilbur Marshall Urban, Brownell Professor of Philosophy, was coming under sharp criticism in the Hartford community for his alleged “Pro-Germanism.” Before America’s entrance into the War, Urban had been outspoken in his sympathies for the German cause, and after war had been declared he was still remembered as one who had spoken well of the present enemy. The Trustees yielded to the community pressures and called Urban before the governing board to explain his position. The Trustees were somewhat less than satisfied with his statement, and a Committee of Investigation was appointed. The committee reported (on June 14, 1918) that although Professor Urban did not support the war effort in his classroom—as the Faculty were expected to do—he had at least remained neutral, and there was no evidence upon which a charge of “disloyalty” could be based. The unpleasant situation was soon happily resolved, for Urban was invited to teach at Harvard during the Trinity Term, and thus the only professor of questionable “patriotism” was removed from the Trinity scene for the duration of the war.

Trinity Term of 1918 marked the high tide of the “war spirit at Trinity.” The Political Science Club, under faculty leadership of Professor Edward F. Humphrey, held regular meetings which featured militaristic programs and speeches. The campus east of the Gymnasium was ploughed up for “war gardens” in which plots were assigned to residents of the neighborhood by the Home Gardens Commission. And at an “Open Air Patriotic Service,” which was held on
Sunday, June 18, 1918, the day before Commencement, Ex-President of the United States Theodore Roosevelt delivered an address which urged the Trinity community to the greatest heights of patriotic endeavor.205

On October 1, 1918, all Trinity students physically fit for military service were inducted into the S.A.T.C., made subject to all military regulations, supplied with uniforms, and paid $30.00 per month.204 And then came sweeping changes in the Trinity routine. The War Department ruled that "fraternity activities and military discipline are incompatible in the very nature of things," and all "Fraternity activities" were temporarily suspended.205 But the most radical measure taken by the War Department was to abolish compulsory Chapel.206

Hardly had these measures been adopted, when the Armistice was signed on November 11. There followed an immediate rescinding of most
of the War Department orders. Fraternity activity was resumed, compulsory Chapel was restored, physical training was substituted for the purely military drill, and the course in Military Law was replaced by one in Contemporary History taught by Professor Humphrey. On December 14, 1918, the S.A.T.C. was formally disbanded.

In retrospect, President Luther had mixed feelings regarding Trinity's participation in the war effort. Although he was obliged to admit that "from an academic standpoint the work of the term was a distinct failure," he felt that "the effect of the military training upon the students was distinctly and obviously good," in that "it taught them that many of those things which had been called for many years features of 'college life' were unnecessary." At Trinity, as elsewhere, the first months following the Armistice were months of chaos. Although most of the S.A.T.C. men left the campus as soon as they could be discharged, those who remained as civilian students did little to assist in the return to academic "normalcy." Few of them were prepared for college work, and a great portion of them represented backgrounds with no intellectual tradition.

But slowly the College did return to "normalcy." By January, 1919, the College Union had re-opened with an all-college smoker, and Juniors and Seniors were already making plans for "proms." Soon a basketball team was formed and the Jesters revived, a Literary Club organized, and on March 17, that most characteristically Trinity affair, the "St. Patrick's Day Scrap," was held.

On December 7, 1918, Flavel Sweeten Luther announced that he had been a casualty of the war when, on that date, he submitted to the Trustees his resignation as President of Trinity College. Luther stated that he would be in his seventieth year, that he had been in poor health for several years, and that he was, consequently, unable to discharge his duties properly. He asked that his resignation take effect on July 1, 1919. Luther's resignation was accepted by the Trustees on January 18, and a committee (William E. Curtis, the Right Reverend Chauncey B. Brewster, William G. Mather, Robert Thorne, and Charles G. Woodward) was appointed to consider the choice of a successor.

The Committee could come to no speedy decision and, as July 1 approached, no selection had been made. Professor Perkins was then made Acting-President and Luther was made President Emeritus by vote of the Trustees. The Carnegie Foundation gave the President Emeritus a pension of $3,400, and the College Trustees generously voted an additional $1,600. Following his move to California, a number of Luther's former students, in a most gracious gesture of affection, raised another $1,500, "which added amount enabled him to live in comfort and enjoy many needed luxuries that he would otherwise have had to forgo." After Luther's death, the Carnegie Foundation continued to pay his widow $1,700 per year, the College Trustees continued their annual $1,600, and Luther's friends among the Alumni contributed an annual $1,500 as a "Luther Fund." Professor Perkins assumed the acting headship of Trinity College at a most distressing time, for it fell upon him to lead the College back to a peacetime "normalcy," to meet the persistent alumni demands to restore the institution's national prestige, and to deal with the problems which went with the moral disintegration of American society in the immediate post-war years. Under such conditions, it was understandable that Perkins was not happy with his new duties. His daughter later remembered that the Acting-President was much withdrawn from his family and that "sometimes he wore a preoccupied look." On October 27, 1919, Congress passed the National Prohibition Enforcement Act (Volstead Act) over President Wilson's veto. The Act forbade the sale of any beverage containing more than ½ of 1% of alcohol, but the Trinity students had no difficulty in obtaining wine and spirits in Hartford. Perkins, in fact, felt that the students drank more after "Prohibition" than before, and he was particularly shocked when it was reported
Henry Augustus Perkins
that certain alumni had provided intoxicants for the students, a deed which both Acting-President and Faculty regarded as “a deliberate corruption of student morals by older men.”

Although the post-war moral breakdown was probably no more serious at Trinity than elsewhere, Perkins felt particularly annoyed about the form it took at the College under his temporary direction. There was much rowdyism and there were several transgressions of the code of propriety and decency, incidents which Perkins conveniently blamed on low moral standards which were being set by the music halls and motion picture theatres. There was much cutting of classes and of the restored compulsory chapel. The level of academic performance remained lower than both Faculty and Administration desired, and there was a remarkably large number of failures in courses and suspensions for academic deficiency. The athletic teams, too, were making a showing which was somewhat less than spectacular. In 1919, the Football Team won only two of the six games played, and in 1918, the single game scheduled was lost to Amherst by a score of 21-0. These were situations over which Perkins had little control, but one important incident – the affair of Professor Humphrey – was solely of the Acting-President’s making.

Edward Frank Humphrey had come to Trinity in 1915 as Northam Professor of History. Humphrey was a westerner and a graduate of the University of Minnesota. Although he had taken both Master’s and Doctor’s degrees from Columbia and had studied at the University of Paris, he retained many of what were thought to be “western” personality traits. Not the least noticeable of these was a frank and open way of dealing with both persons and questions. During the war, he had been most ardent in his patriotism, and on more than one occasion he had clashed verbally with Professor Urban on the matter of the latter’s “neutrality.” Urban had been on leave to teach at Harvard during the closing months of the war, but he had returned to Trinity at the opening of the first term in which Professor Perkins was in acting command. Humphrey had held the popular positions during the war, but with the return of Professor Urban there was found among Urban’s friends a small faculty clique which soon demanded that Professor Humphrey be removed from the Faculty.

In mid-January of 1920, Perkins met in conference with nine members of the Faculty who were demanding Humphrey’s dismissal. After a further conference with several members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, Perkins advised Humphrey that, because of “temperamental incompatibility,” he resign from the Faculty. Perkins insisted that he had presented the suggestion as a bit of friendly advice and, as Perkins had provided to pay Humphrey a year’s salary and to use his good offices “in his behalf towards securing a suitable professional position elsewhere,” the Acting-President believed that the suggestion would be accepted and that the forced resignation would receive no publicity.

But Humphrey did not act as expected on the “friendly advice,” nor could the secret be kept for long. One of Professor Humphrey’s friends, whom the Professor had asked for advice, was so incensed that he informed the newspapers of the situation. The local papers carried many columns devoted to what they described as the “schism.” Public indignation was exceeded only by that of the students who held a mass meeting to protest the injustice done to Professor Humphrey. The students adopted a strongly-worded resolution: “Be it resolved, that Professor Humphrey has the unanimous support of the student body, the greatest respect as a teacher, and as a professor, working always for the best interests of the College. Be it further resolved, that the student body request that the question of Professor Humphrey’s resignation be taken up with the trustees through the Advisory Committee on the State of the College.” Following the mass meeting, the students hanged and burned an effigy of Odell Shepard, Goodwin Professor of English, and one of Humphrey’s most articulate critics.

The Hartford Times sent a reporter to the campus to poll the Faculty as to their support of or opposition to Professor Humphrey. Voting against the Professor were Acting-President Perkins and Professors Urban, Kleene, Riggs, Babbitt, Adams,
Galpin, Carpenter, and Shepard. Those supporting Humphrey were Professors McCook, Rogers, Barrett, Swan, and Fischer, and Robert E. Bacon (Instructor in English). Assistant Professor of Chemistry Edward Collins Stone gave his position as "uncertain." 257

Obviously, a majority of the Faculty sided with Professor Urban. All were full Professors, and these nine men were referred to in the local press as the "Old Guard." But the term "Old Guard" was hardly accurate, for in the ranks of those favorable to Professor Humphrey was Professor McCook, the senior member of the Faculty, and listed among the "Old Guard" was Professor Shepard who had come to the College only in 1917. 258

As the conflict progressed, sentiment seemed to be on the side of Professor Humphrey. Alumni wrote letters to Alumni Secretary Johnson in support of the Northam Professor, 259 and The Tripod carried an editorial endorsing the stand taken by the undergraduates at their mass meeting. 260

When the undergraduates' resolution was presented to the General Advisory Committee on the State of the College, the Committee decided, after informal discussion, that "it does not lie within the province of this Committee to investigate the situation." But this was not a matter of evading responsibility. The Committee requested the Board of Trustees to conduct "an investigation by them of the whole matter under consideration." 261

The Trustees referred "the whole matter" to the Executive Committee, and on April 22, 1920, Professor Humphrey appeared before that body. The Executive Committee heard the Professor's side of the story and decided that the "Humphrey matter" had "in part adjusted itself" and that there was no longer any serious disharmony in the Faculty. They recommended that the Trustees retain Professor Humphrey for at least another year and that a public statement be made "that there are no charges against Professor Humphrey." The Trustees accepted the recommendations of the Executive Committee, 262 and Professor Humphrey remained a useful member of the Trinity Faculty until he reached the age of mandatory retirement in 1948. 263 Acting-President Perkins soon dismissed the whole affair as the work of the Hartford newspapers. In his last official report, he wrote: "The local press in particular, with that eagerness for sensation which characterizes most American newspapers, was determined that a schism must exist, and with the aid of hearsay evidence and innuendo vigorously exploited the situation..." 264

On April 24, 1920, Remsen Brinckerhoff Ogilby was elected President of the College, his term to begin on July 1. 265 Ogilby visited the campus several times during the spring, and each time he appeared he was greeted with much enthusiasm. 266 Once more it seemed that all at Trinity would be "sweetness and light." The stormy interlude under Acting-President Perkins was coming to a close.