SOME INSTITUTIONS are regarded as the projection of the shadow of a single man. Kenyon College was, for example, the creation of Bishop Chase, and the entire history of that institution has reflected the personality of the founder. Williams was influenced for more than a century by the educational philosophy of Mark Hopkins. Brown will probably always reflect to some degree the influence of Francis Wayland. And Union has always borne the identifiable stamp of Eliphalet Nott.

Washington College (and later Trinity) has never been the reflection of a single personality. Presidential tenure has generally been comparatively short, but as every president of the institution has been a communicant of the Episcopal Church and as eleven of the first twelve presidents have been clergymen of this Church, the stamp placed upon the College has been that of an ecclesiastical body rather than that of an individual.

To be sure, each president has had his influence so far as the immediate circumstances of the College were concerned, but most of these influences reflect as much an accommodation to the academic spirit of the times as they do the personal interests of the presidents. In 1893, Bernard C. Steiner in his *History of Education in Connecticut* accurately indicated the influence of the several presidents of Washington College so far as curricular emphasis was concerned. Bishop Brownell, it will be remembered, attempted to fashion a course of study which would be responsive to the needs of a nation which was rather timidly moving toward urbanization and industrialization, and this he endeavored to achieve through placing Mathematics and the Natural Sciences on at least an equality with the traditionally respected Classics. Nathaniel Wheaton (1831–1837), although himself an excellent Classical scholar, followed Bishop Brownell's policy of developing the mathematical and scientific departments. Silas Totten (1837–1848) paid greater attention to Political Economy, Constitutional History, and International Law. John Williams (1845–1853) re-directed attention to the Classics and gave the study of Languages the same attention as that given primarily to Philosophy and the Sciences. Daniel Raynes Goodwin (1853–1860) gave impetus to the Modern Languages, and Samuel Eliot (1860–1864) and Abner Jackson (1867–1874) gave greater encouragement to History and Philosophy, respectively. The institutional history of the College, as we shall soon see, was largely a step-by-step accommodation of curricula to changing times and a re-defining of the institution's educational philosophy. That this should have been true would in no sense make Washington College unique, for this process is the history of all higher education in America. But what is unique in the story of Washington (Trinity) College is that at any point in the College's history the officers of the institution could declare their own educational ideals to be the same as those of the college founders—and that without any real mental reservation.

The first course of study for the A.B. degree under which instruction at Washington College began was unusual but not revolutionary. The Partial Course, although revolutionary, failed from the beginning to fulfill its expectations. Both were intended as "practical" approaches to
higher education, but one course (the Arts Course) was soon revised, and the other (the Partial Course) never attracted any large number of students. Popular prejudice against "book farming" doomed the course in Agriculture to early failure, and students interested in the serious pursuit of scientific studies found the regular degree course of sufficient scientific emphasis to satisfy their tastes. Occasionally, a student used the Partial Course as one preparatory to the study of Medicine, but admission requirements at even the best medical schools were so low that no back-door course was even necessary. The "English Diploma" of the Partial Course was occasionally granted, but the diploma seems to have carried no particular prestige, and its recipients were not listed among the graduates of the College. Few students enrolled for the Partial Course and, although in 1839 the course was made still more "Partial" by permitting a one-year program consisting of junior and senior subjects, the offering still found few takers. And for the academic standards of the College this was, perhaps, just as well, for with the requirements for admission to the Partial Course virtually nonexistent, those who elected this program could have contributed little to classroom recitation.

Before the completion of the College's first academic year, the Trustees had decided that a revision of the A.B. course was necessary, and the Faculty were instructed to make recommendations for changes in the curriculum. The Faculty undertook the proposed revision, and a new course of study was submitted to the Trustees a year later. The Trustees approved the changes, which were more or less in keeping with the Trustees' emphasis on the "practical" and the "useful." Essentially, the curricular revision represented a substitution of courses in Modern Languages for several of the Mathematics courses of the junior year and the introduction of French in the first term of the freshman year. In announcing the addition of the courses to the public, the Trustees particularly emphasized the value of Spanish because of American commercial interest in South America and the West Indies. Instruction in the Modern Languages was far from common in the American colleges at this time and, even at Washington, French and Spanish were not quite accepted as the equals of the older disciplines, even though both languages could then be offered toward graduation. M. P. Gellineau, who was hired as "teacher" of French and Spanish, was really an adjunct to the Faculty in that he was regarded as neither Professor nor Tutor and thus had no faculty status. Furthermore, M. Gellineau received no salary, and students who elected the Modern Languages paid the teacher for the instruction in addition to the regular term fees which were paid to the College Bursar. The teacher of French and Spanish attempted to augment his meager "take" in student fees by offering Spanish instruction to the public but, as literate Hartford apparently did not share the College's belief in the importance of Modern Languages, M. Gellineau soon left the city, and instruction in French and Spanish at Washington College came virtually to an end. For several years the College Catalogue carried the option of Modern Languages as a substitute for Junior Mathematics and the required freshman course in French, even though the courses were seldom actually taught. In 1828, the Trustees authorized the Standing Committee to employ an Instructor in Modern Languages at a stipend not to exceed $200 per year but, because of the paltry salary offered, no instructor could be found. In 1831, M. Joseph De Noris came to the College as "teacher" of French as an "optional" course for which the students were to pay a fee not to exceed $10.00 per term. When it is remembered that the tuition fee at that time was but $11.00 per term for the entire regular course of study, it is easy to explain De Noris' early departure from College Hill. The Trustees, too, had come to doubt the necessity of French as a part of the regular curriculum, and in 1831 they had specifically designated French as an optional course, such it remained until 1849. Until the appointment of Charles H. Berlin as Instructor in French in 1852 and of the
Reverend Daniel R. Goodwin as President and Hobart Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in 1853, French was taught—when it was taught—by adjunct teachers without faculty status or by Professors from other departments. Spanish was occasionally taught in the same fashion, and it was not until the twentieth century that credit was given for the study of that language. Several other curricular changes were made from time to time, some of which were designed to utilize the services of persons then available to the College, and some of which reflected the general educational trend. In 1830, courses in Modern Greek were introduced, and the College made the probably accurate claim that Washington College was the only institution of the higher learning in the United States in which such instruction was then being offered.

Hartford, it will be remembered, was one of the most active centers in the enthusiasm for the Greeks in their struggle for independence, and the Hartford townspeople had been notably generous in their support of charities for Greek relief. Indeed, much of this pro-Greek feeling was generated by those who were connected with the College either as Faculty or Trustees. Bishop Brownell, even before he had come to Hartford at the opening of the College, had “sponsored” several Greek refugees. Professor Doane had translated the “Greek War Song” of Rigas Pheraios, the proto-martyr of Greek independence, and had included the translation in his own book of verse, Songs by the Way. Professor Hall was in correspondence with American missionaries in the Levant and with officers of the Mediterranean Squadron of the United States Navy, and the Professor of Mineralogy was especially proud of the specimens of Greek minerals in the collection which had been sent to him by his friends. But it was the Sigourneys—Trustee Charles, and his wife Lydia Huntley—who were instrumental in giving the College its brief day of glory as the Athens of America.

Mrs. Sigourney was secretary of the Women’s Committee for Greek Relief in Hartford, and in 1828 the Committee had gathered a large quantity of clothing and other necessities to send to Greece. The good ladies of Hartford had composed a “Letter from the Ladies of Hartford, in Connecticut, to the Ladies of Greece” which was to accompany the gift, and to translate the letter into modern Greek, Mrs. Sigourney called upon Gregory Perdicaris, a young man of twenty-four who had come to America in 1826 and who was then teaching at the Mount Pleasant Classical Institution in Amherst, Massachusetts. Young Perdicaris obligingly translated the letter which was taken with the gifts to Greece by Judge Samuel Woodruff of Granby, Connecticut.

In Greece, Judge Woodruff met Demetrios Stamatiadis, a refugee from Samos, and so impressed was he with the young man’s qualities that he arranged to have Stamatiadis live with the Sigourneys while continuing his education in Hartford. In March, 1829, Stamatiadis came to the Sigourney home, and in the fall of that year he was admitted to the Sophomore Class at Washington College. In 1832, Stamatiadis was graduated from the College with the A.B. degree.

Meanwhile, Perdicaris had cultivated his friendship with the Sigourneys, and his friendship was to prove his means of professional advancement. In 1830, he was given an honorary A.M. degree by the College, and with the opening of the fall term of that year he was appointed to the Faculty as Tutor in Greek. For a while Perdicaris was the sensation of Hartford. Frequently he was invited to address public gatherings, and once he gave an immensely popular series of lectures on “The Moral and Intellectual History of Modern Greece” in the lecture room of Central Congregational Church. In the larger academic world, too, Perdicaris created quite a stir. At the Second Literary Convention at New York in 1831, he proposed the teaching of the modern Greek pronunciation in the American colleges, and the suggestion was so seriously regarded that the Convention appointed a committee consisting of the Presidents of Yale and Wesleyan and a Professor at Princeton Theological Seminary to consider the proposal. Both Perdicaris and Stamatiadis were active in the abortive
Admission, Instruction, etc.

Requirements for Admission.

Candidates for admission to the Freshmen Class must sustain a thorough examination in the following studies.

English Grammar, Geography, Elements of Ancient History, Arithmetic, Algebra (Loomis's) to Quadratic Equations.

Latin Grammar and Prosody, Virgil, Sallust or Caesar entire, Cicero's Select Orations, writing Latin.

Greek Grammar and Prosody, Jacob's, Colton's, or Felton's Greek Reader entire, one Book of Xenophon's Anabasis, the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and writing Greek.

They must be able to translate with facility any part of the required authors, or others which shall be deemed equivalent; and an intimate knowledge of the principles of Grammar and Prosody, will be strictly required.

Candidates for an advanced standing, must sustain a further examination on those studies which have been read by the class they propose to enter.

No student can be admitted to the Freshman Class before he has completed his fifteenth year.

All candidates for admission must present satisfactory testimonials of good moral character; and those who are from other Colleges must produce certificates of dismissal in good standing.

Requirements for admission and Course of study for freshman year

Efforts of the early 1830's to establish an American college in Greece, which, had it materialized, would have antedated Robert College in Constantinople by some thirty years. 28

But despite the local Greek enthusiasm, few students elected the study of Modern Greek, and it was soon found that the Tutor in Modern Greek with a salary of only $400 per year was still an expensive luxury. In 1832, Perdicaris was made College Librarian, but even this arrangement could not justify his retention by the College, and at the end of the summer term of 1833 his career on College Hill came to an end. 29 After leaving Hartford, Perdicaris lectured in a number of American cities and contributed to American literary magazines. In 1838, he was appointed American Consul at Athens and in 1843 he returned to America and married a lady from Charleston, South Carolina. His later life was spent as a businessman in Trenton, New Jersey, where he died in 1883. 30

The brief offering of instruction in Modern Greek was nothing more than a manifestation of the "Greek fad." Sympathy with the Greeks did not evoke any widespread desire to learn their language. And it would have been difficult to justify a preference for Modern Greek to either French or Spanish at the time those two

Course of Study.

Freshman Year.

Advent Term. Xenophon's Anabasis, second and third books.

Livy, two Books.

Writing Latin.

Algebra, (Loomis's)

Mythology and Classical Antiquities.

English Translations and Readings.

Lent Term. Herodotus.

Writing Greek.

The Odes of Horace, with Latin Prosody.

Writing Latin.

Plane Geometry.

Mythology and Classical Antiquities.

English Translations and Readings.

Trinity Term. Xenophon's Memorabilia.

Writing Greek.

The Epistles and Satires of Horace.

Writing Latin.

Solid Geometry.

Latham's English Grammar; English Composition and Declamation.

On Monday mornings throughout the year, there may be a lesson in the Greek Testament, from the Gospels.
languages had been, to all intents and purposes, abandoned. Because of the importance of Classical Greek in the curriculum, Modern Greek had little to offer. Doubtless, it gave the College international publicity, but beyond that it served no useful purpose.

In view of the fact that neither French, Spanish, nor Modern Greek met with any success at Washington College, it may seem strange that Hebrew should have been among the early course offerings and that a Professor of Oriental Languages should have been listed in the College Catalogue for nine years. Even though the course in Modern Greek served no useful purpose, the offerings in Hebrew did, for with the appointment of the Professor of Oriental Languages, the College was able to list among its Faculty one of the most distinguished names in the Episcopal Church, to avail itself of one of the most unusual libraries in the United States, and to take the first step toward developing a Faculty of Theology.

In the summer of 1826, the Reverend Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, who was about to leave for an extended stay in Europe, deposited his library at the College. Dr. Jarvis, and he was always known as "Dr. Jarvis," was the only son of the Right Reverend Abraham Jarvis, the second Bishop of Connecticut. Dr. Jarvis was doubtless a man of some considerable talent, and in certain quarters of the Episcopal Church he was regarded as an accomplished linguistic scholar and ecclesiastical historian. From 1819 to 1820, he had been on the Faculty at the General Theological Seminary, and until 1826 he had been rector of St. Paul's Church in Boston. No one could ever be indifferent to Dr. Jarvis; one either greatly admired him or intensely disliked him.

In 1825, St. Paul's Church, Boston, found the parish torn by internal conflict between the disciples and the opponents of the rector. Jarvis resolved the unpleasant situation by submitting his resignation but only after he had distributed a bitter pamphlet in which he attempted to vindicate himself. Jarvis thereupon decided to go to Europe with his family in order to provide a European education for his children and to devote some time to writing a large-scale work on Church History, and it was at this point that the Jarvis library came to College Hill.

Before the arrival of Dr. Jarvis' books at the College, the Washington Library consisted of the volumes which had been gathered in England by Nathaniel Wheaton. These thousand-odd volumes were probably selected with little care, and many of them were quite old. The Wheaton Collection hardly represented a working college library, and the Jarvis library, rich in literature and history, was a recent selection of leading authors. There was some ambiguity, however, about the arrangement whereby the books had been placed at the College. Jarvis wrote that he had "deposited his library with Bishop Brownell," but the College authorities probably assumed that the College had at least limited use of the volumes, and they were placed in the library room in what a student later described as "great foreign-looking cases." The librarians attempted to forbid the undergraduates' use of Dr. Jarvis' books but use them the undergraduates did without "signing out" for them. Needless to say, many were never returned.

With the Jarvis library, the College had a collection of 5,000 volumes, and the College in 1832 boasted that the Washington College Library was "second in magnitude and first in value of all [libraries] in the country." With the beginning of the libraries of the literary societies, the total of volumes on the Washington campus increased rapidly. Dr. Jarvis, while in Europe, indulged his expensive tastes in the purchase of books which he sent on to the College with a view, some people believed, of avoiding the payment of customs duties. By 1835, the number of books housed on College Hill had increased to 12,000, and by 1837 the collection had grown to 14,000 volumes. For his own collection, Jarvis purchased four hundred volumes from the library of the late historian Edward Gibbon and thousands of books from several princely and ecclesiastical libraries. Late in 1832, he urged the College Trustees to purchase a handsome library "formerly belonging to the late Cavaliere de Ocheda." The Trustees were receptive to the idea, and they authorized Dr. Jarvis to purchase
the library for the College at a sum not to exceed $5,000. The Standing Committee of the Board of Trustees was authorized to advise Dr. Jarvis to make the purchase, but either the library had already been sold or the money could not be found. At any rate, the collection never got to Washington College.

Among the Trustees and Faculty of Washington College, Samuel Farmar Jarvis had many friends, chief among whom was Bishop Brownell. Thus, it was more than mere gratitude for the use of his splendid library which prompted the Trustees on August 1, 1828, to vote "that it is expedient to establish in the College a Professorship of Oriental Languages and Literature" and to appoint Dr. Jarvis to the new Professorship. There is reason to believe that the Professorship was created for the Professor and that, as Jarvis had given no indication of an early return to America, the appointment honored both the College and the appointee with no financial outlay to the College. And, except for the fact that Hebrew was not then a regular undergraduate discipline, the explanation may seem to be a reasonable one.

Actually, the appointment of a Professorship of Oriental Languages was the first step toward a Theological Faculty, and this was the understanding between Dr. Jarvis and Trustee Charles Sigourney at the time of Jarvis' appointment. Also, on August 10, 1830, the Reverend Francis L. Hawks was appointed Professor of Divinity and the Reverend Smith Pyne was appointed Professor of Moral Science in Washington College, the Trustees then going on record as believing it to be "of the greatest importance to the interests of the College," that the two Professorships be established at that time. Of what might be described as a Theological Faculty of three, Jarvis remained in Europe until 1835, and Pyne and Hawks were deputed to fund-raising activities for the College and, after a short while, and before either had met any classes, both resigned.

During the seven years before Jarvis' return from Europe, the College Catalogue proudly listed the name of Dr. Jarvis first in the list of Professors. No Hebrew was taught before 1835 and the college administration took particular care to point out that such religious instruction as was offered was geared to a "professedly classical course" and that Paley and Butler, the two theological writers studied in the curriculum, were included for academic and not professional reasons.

By 1835, Dr. Jarvis had become involved in serious domestic troubles which were to culminate in divorce. Leaving his family in France, Jarvis came to Hartford and took a suite of rooms in Jarvis Hall. During the fall term of 1835, Jarvis met twenty Juniors and Seniors in a class in Hebrew three evenings a week. The course was given without credit (another example of the "optional" languages), but Dr. Jarvis had great plans to form classes in Chaldee and Syriac with lectures which would demonstrate "the derivation of Western and Eastern alphabets, and the influence of Oriental Literature upon modern languages." Jarvis also met the Senior Class in Kames' Elements of Criticism, heard the Juniors and Seniors in composition and declamation, taught two classes in French, and had hopes of introducing the study of Italian.

Perhaps Dr. Jarvis was an ornament to the Faculty. Bishop Brownell, at least, thought so. But as had been true wherever Jarvis had been, trouble soon occurred. The instruction in Hebrew had met with no marked success, and it is doubtful whether Jarvis ever taught a second class in that language. The few duties involved in his Professorship doubtless gave the Doctor opportunity to work on his Ecclesiastical History, but Jarvis was not happy on College Hill, and soon he antagonized his colleagues on the matter of his beloved library. To be sure, the College had been lax in caring for the books and had neglected to insure their safety, but Jarvis had no appreciation of the problems involved in administering so large a collection. Matters came to a head in the summer of 1836 when the Professor of Oriental Languages sent the Trustees a strongly-worded complaint regarding his missing books. And perhaps the Trustees, by this time, were willing to have the matter settled once and for all. A committee was appointed from the Trust-
The matter of the Jarvis library brought Jarvis and President Wheaton into open conflict, and this undisguised animosity may have had its part in Wheaton's resignation of the Presidency in February of 1837 to accept a call to the rectorship of Christ Church in New Orleans. Perhaps Jarvis himself aspired to the Presidency of Washington College, but at a meeting of the Trustees held on February 28, 1837, the Trustees accepted Wheaton's letter of resignation and elected the Reverend Horatio Potter as his successor. At this same meeting, a committee of the Trustees was appointed to confer with Dr. Jarvis "upon the subject of his connexion with the College, with a view to ascertain his wishes in regard to official title—and the amount and nature of the duties he is willing to perform." When the three Trustees—Burgess, Scovill, and Huntington—called upon Jarvis they were met with a flat refusal to discuss any matters pertaining to the College until Jarvis had been able to confer with Bishop Brownell.

Potter declined the Presidency and on May 4, 1837, the Trustees again balloted on the choice of a President, this time choosing the Reverend Silas Totten, Professor of Natural Philosophy at the College since 1833, who outranked Jarvis in time of actual service to the College, although not in time of appointment to the Faculty.

While the Trustees were considering a successor to President Wheaton, Dr. Jarvis was involved in ecclesiastical and academic intrigue—probably with a view to furthering his own ambitions to the College headship. As is so often true in matters so delicate as this, documents which would have revealed the exact nature of the activity have been lost. Be that as it may, at the meeting of the Trustees at which Silas Totten was elected President, the Trustees saw fit to absolve Jarvis of responsibility for instigating a student "memorial addressed to the Trustees on the subject of the election of a President." Did the students request that Jarvis be made President? Did they ask that Totten or Potter not be made President? Whichever the answer may be, Totten was selected by unanimous vote.

Jarvis had reached the point of no return as far as relations with his colleagues and the Trustees were concerned, and he wrote to his New York friend, James F. De Peyster: "I receive assurance from every quarter that there is but one voice in Hartford, of those out of our Church as well as in it, wishing me to remain here." Even Dr. Jarvis knew that his usefulness on College Hill was at an end. Fortunately for Dr. Jarvis, Holy Trinity Church, Middletown, elected him rector and on August 2, 1837, he resigned his Professorship to accept this call. In 1838, he was appointed Historiographer of the Episcopal Church and until his death in 1851 he remained popular among those who found Dr. Jarvis to be the sort of a man they liked.

For a while after his resignation, relations between Dr. Jarvis and the College remained somewhat strained, although several of the Washington graduates pursued their theological studies with the Doctor at Middletown. Time helped heal some of the old wounds and, as new faces appeared on the Faculty and the Board of Trustees, Jarvis renewed his interest in the College. In 1841, he was elected to the Board of Trustees and in 1845 he was made a Fellow of the College. After 1841, he was also a member of the board which conducted the public examination of the students.

In his departure from the College, Jarvis was given an honorary Doctorate in Laws at the Commencement of 1837 but, along with his sheepskin, Dr. Jarvis also took his library which, with the accumulation of eleven years, was then valued at $50,000. Again the College found itself with an embarrassingly small collection of books. From the proud number of 14,000 volumes in 1837, the Library was reduced at a single blow to the Wheaton Collection, the society Libraries, and whatever had come to the College by bequest or gift—certainly not more than 6,000 volumes in all. For many years the annual Catalogue omitted any mention of the size of the College Library, and it was not until 1847 that the number of volumes was given—
that year a total of 9,000, of which 3,000 belonged to the literary societies.\(^{59}\)

The resignation of Dr. Jarvis ended, for the time, any attempt to offer instruction in Hebrew, even though that language was carried for many years in the annual *Catalogue* as a senior elective. Nor was there any attempt until the 1840's to revive (if that is the word) the Faculty of Theology. Later we shall see how a full-scale program of theological instruction was then developed, but by that time it came as a pure accident and was soon to be dissociated from the College.

But in view of the failure of this early attempt at theological instruction, the question must be asked whether the Trustees seriously intended to develop a professional School of Theology to prepare candidates for Holy Orders in the Episcopal Church. The answer is "yes." And what is perhaps more amazing is that almost from the beginning of the College the Trustees entertained the idea of expanding Washington College into a *university* with faculties of Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine. Never was this intention publicly stated, and only occasional and passing implication suggested that the Trustees had ambitions beyond a conventional New England college. Action by the Board, however, revealed that it was the ultimate hope of the Trustees that Washington College would someday become Washington University.\(^{60}\)

The Charter of Washington College stipulated that the Trustees were empowered "to grant all such literary honors and degrees, as are usually granted by any University, College, or Seminary of learning in this State, or in the United States."\(^{61}\) This meant, quite plainly, that Washington College could offer instruction and confer degrees in such disciplines and faculties as were given at Yale. If Washington were to be to the Episcopal Church what Yale was to the Congregational Churches, expansion of curricular offerings would have to follow developments in New Haven. By 1823, Yale was offering instruction by faculties of Theology and Medicine and, by 1826, the elder sister had also created a chair of Law.

In a sense, all American colleges of the period offered instruction in Law. Vattel’s Law of Nations was a standard course and, at Washington College as elsewhere, it was offered not as a professional course but on the assumption that some knowledge of the Law was an essential part of a liberal education.\(^{62}\) In 1827, however, the Trustees voted to establish a Professorship of Law and, at the same time, they appointed the Honorable William W. Ellsworth, A.M., as Professor of Law. Ellsworth was not appointed to hear Seniors recite Vattel; he was engaged to develop a full program of professional training in the Law. The Trustees instructed Trustees Brownell, Welles, and John S. Peters "to apply to the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and [to] request them to extend to the students in the law-school established in connexion with this college the privilege granted the students at the law school of Judge Gould in Litchfield,\(^{63}\) that the time spent in their studies at this school [in Washington College] be allow’d & accepted as part of the time required to be spent in the study of the law, before admitted to practice, in the State of New York: And that the same Committee be authorized to apply to the Supreme Courts of the other States, to obtain the same privilege, if in their judgment it be expedient."\(^{64}\)

William Wolcott Ellsworth was, at the time of his appointment to Washington College, one of Hartford’s most promising young lawyers, a graduate (A.B., 1810) of Yale College, and a son-in-law of Noah Webster, the lexicographer. From 1829 until 1834, he served in the United States House of Representatives and from 1838 until 1842 he was Governor of Connecticut. From 1847 until 1861, he was Judge of the Superior Court of the State of Connecticut, and during this period he twice declined election to the United States Senate.\(^{65}\) Throughout his public career he was regarded as one of the principal leaders of the Whig Party of Connecticut, and of all Connecticut politicians of his day he was probably the one most universally respected.

Had the College seriously carried out the plan to develop a law school, William W. Ellsworth would most certainly have been the man
to serve as its head, but the time chosen to begin instruction was perhaps the most unfortunate in the College's history. In 1828, the institution was deeply in debt and there was serious question whether the College would even survive. Nevertheless, Ellsworth began his services to the College in the summer term of 1829 by lecturing to the Senior Class on Vattel's Law of Nations and on the Constitution of the United States. Professional study of the Law never became a reality at the College, but Ellsworth continued to teach law as a branch of the liberal studies until just seven years before his death in 1868. Upon Ellsworth's resignation, he was succeeded in turn as Professor of Law by Samuel Eliot (1861-1871), Judge William Davis Shipman (1871-1874), William Hamersley (1874-1900), and Sidney George Fisher, who lectured from 1900 until 1903.

Although both the faculties of Theology and Law died in infancy, the Trustees were to make still another try with a Faculty of Medicine. In 1832, the Trustees appointed a committee "to confer with the medical gentlemen of this town and vicinity upon the expediency of establishing medical lectures in connexion with the College." Evidently the "medical gentlemen" were convinced of the desirability of such a program, for in August of 1835 the Trustees authorized the President and the Standing Committee "to make arrangements with suitable persons to deliver lectures on the subjects of Anatomy, Physiology, & Natural Sciences." Accordingly, Samuel Berwick Beresford, M.D., was appointed lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology in 1838. But again no professional school developed. Beresford lectured to the Seniors on Anatomy and Physiology in much the same fashion as Ellsworth and his successors lectured on Law. In 1852 Dr. Beresford was joined by George Shattuck, M.D., who was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine. At that time, the course offerings in Medical Studies were expanded to include Anatomy in both junior and senior years and lectures on the Institutes of Medicine and Physiology in the Senior year.

In her attempts to compete with Yale in the matter of professional instruction, Washington College was eminently unsuccessful. But ludicrous as these efforts may seem, they did have the effect of bringing to the College men of renown in their professions. Although the physicians merely lectured at the College between visits to patients, and the Honorable William Wolcott Ellsworth lectured on the Constitution during Congressional recess, the business of part-time teaching was somewhat in keeping with what purported to be the more regular instruction of the College, for few - if any - of the Faculty were actually "full time." Between 1823 and 1845, the Catalogues of the College listed a Faculty of from six to eight persons, including the President and a Tutor in Languages, but in the 1830's even the students could see that the Faculty was a "sham" Faculty, and that the instruction was actually given by three persons: the Professor of Mathematics, the Classics Tutor, and the Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. Dr. Jarvis was listed as Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature for seven years before he even appeared on the campus. The clerical members of the Faculty had parishes which made considerable demands on their time, and the good Dr. Sumner, Professor of Botany until 1855, taught only one course during the summer term, and that at his country home some way from the College. The Faculty who were actually in residence on College Hill paid scant attention to departmental barriers, and one undergraduate of this period recalled in later life that a single professor taught Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Philosophy.

Paradoxically, the part-time Faculty retained their connections with the College longer than the "regulars." Dr. Sumner taught his single course in Botany for thirty-one years, Judge Ellsworth lectured for thirty-five, and Dr. Beresford for nineteen. The Classical Tutors were almost always either young clergymen or candidates for Holy Orders, and their stay at the College was never more than a year or two unless they were advanced to a Professorship. Even those of professorial rank were seldom inclined to make a career of teaching at Washington College. Of the original faculty, George Washington Doane re-
signed in 1828 to become assistant rector of Christ Church in Boston. Frederick Hall resigned in 1828 to become Professor of Mineralogy in Columbian College in Washington, D.C., and Hector Humphreys resigned in 1830 to accept the Presidency of St. John’s College in Annapolis, Maryland. By 1831, the full-time faculty had undergone a complete turnover and, by 1840, all of the replacements but one (Dr. Duncan L. Stewart) had again been replaced, several of them more than once.

This rapid turnover of Faculty had the advantage of injecting what college administrators call “new blood,” but it also had its bad effects. Faculty were unable to “dig roots” into College Hill and the Hartford community, and it was many years before the Faculty had a “grand old man.” But with the coming and going of Professor after Professor, it may even be surprising that so many of them remained at the College as long as they did, especially in view of the low salaries and the rather restrictive requirement that the Faculty live in the College buildings or in the immediate vicinity and that they be on twenty-four-hour call. The Trustees had done their best to raise the salaries from the mere pittances which were doled out at the beginning, but the goal of matching the salaries paid at Yale was never achieved. In 1828, Tutor Norman Pinney was raised to rank of Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages at a salary of $600 and the Reverend Horatio Potter was given an initial salary as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy of $500, with $600 for the second year. In 1830, Samuel S. Lewis was appointed Tutor at a salary of $400 and the following year William M. Holland was appointed Professor of Ancient Languages at a salary of $600, with an additional $300 for serving as Bursar of the College. Occasionally there were raises, but usually only after the Professor involved had urgently pleaded his case to the Trustees. In 1836, Professor Totten and Professor Stewart asked for salary increases; Stewart had his salary raised from $600 to $750, but Totten’s request was tabled until the next meeting of the Board. The request was never acted upon, for at the next meeting of the Trustees, Totten was elected President of the College. In 1837, the first salary of $1,000 was voted, that to the Reverend Caleb J. Good, Professor of Ancient Languages. In 1840, when Abner Jackson, A.B. 1837, was “translated” from Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages to Professor of Intellectual Philosophy and Lecturer in Chemistry and Mineralogy at a salary of $750 for the first year and $1,000 per year thereafter, he accepted the multi-titled position only after he had wrangled another $50 from the Trustees. With the first appointments to the Seabury and Hobart Professorships in 1837, the Trustees came to regard a salary of $1,000 as standard, at least for these two chairs.

The problem of attracting and retaining competent Professors was hardly exceeded by that of securing a student body adequately prepared to undertake the regular course of study. Quantitatively, the student body left little to be desired, and except for a sharp decline in the number of students in 1835 to a low of forty-eight, the number remained at what the Trustees must have regarded as “capacity.” By 1837, the enrollment had again risen to sixty-five. By 1838, it had reached eighty-two and for the next ten years annual enrollment averaged about eighty, fluctuating between seventy-two and eighty-three. Admissions officers of the present day would be delighted with the diversity of geographic origin of the students of the College before the Civil War—and this was achieved without benefit of quotas or athletic scouting.

The wide geographic origin of the student body had, of course, the advantage of lending a cosmopolitan spirit to the College, but there was also a distinct disadvantage which was soon to be felt. In order that there be no sharp drop-off in the number of students, the College had been reluctant to adhere strictly to the stated requirements for admission. The normal “feeder” to the College was the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, but during the late 1820’s and the 1830’s the Academy suffered serious reverses and at least thrice during this period the institution had been temporarily closed. Some of the better-prepared students had entered Washington College from
Bacon Academy in Colchester, Connecticut, which was then regarded as one of the best in New England, and during the 1830's there was usually a "delegation" from the Walnut Grove School in Troy, New York, a school of fair repute and patronized by Episcopalian families of the upper Hudson Valley. An occasional student from the West or South had attended a first-rate preparatory school, but it was these students from the more distant points who were least adequately prepared to undertake college study, and it was the poorer students who continued to set the pace which enabled the better students merely to "coast along." The college authorities insisted in 1837 that "the qualifications for admission are essentially the same as at Harvard University, and Yale and Union Colleges," but the subsequent performance of those admitted as Freshmen demonstrated that the qualifications were not infrequently ignored.

In 1829, the College entered into an arrangement with the Trustees of the Hartford Academy whereby students in the Academy were permitted to attend lectures at Washington College in Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Botany, Political Economy, and Law. And the program was intended particularly for "those students who do not intend to acquire a Collegiate education." Hartford Academy had been chartered in 1819, and the Trustees were all members of Christ Church. That Hartford needed a good secondary school is beyond doubt, but the creation of Washington College had diverted interest and support, and the Academy was not to open until May of 1830. Certainly the Academy was to be a "feeder" to Washington College, but this purpose was hardly served by placing terminal secondary-school students in the advanced courses of a college already much concerned about its inability to appreciably raise academic standards. Fortunately for Washington College - if not for secondary education in Hartford - the Academy expired within a year after having enrolled a mere thirty students.

Perhaps the Trustees of Washington College had intended that the arrangement with Hartford Academy would be reciprocal and that college students with academic deficiencies would take preparatory subjects in the Academy. At any rate, the Academy was closed before any such arrangement could be tried. In 1835, the College instituted its own preparatory department by forming an "Introductory Class" to which students with academic deficiencies at the time of their admission were to be assigned until they were prepared "to recite with one of the regular classes." Such students were not regarded as regular "members of the College," which probably meant that they were not eligible for membership in the literary or secret societies or in the Archers.

The Introductory Class was never large. During the middle 1830's, the number listed in the Catalogue varied from three to six. After 1837, the Catalogue listed no Introductory Class, but such must have existed until 1844, when the College officially closed the Introductory Department and - in order "not to expose the students ... at so early an age to the bad influences necessarily incident to a large town" - entered into an informal affiliation with the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut. At that time, the Episcopal Academy's course of study and instruction were described as "being under the supervision of the Faculty of the College." The "supervision" must have been purely nominal, for the affiliation was never again mentioned in either the college or academy publications. The College had simply divested itself of another embarrassing appendage.

During the decade of the 1830's, Washington College was able to at least hold her own so far as the number of students and the quality of the Faculty were concerned. The same, unfortunately, could not have been said regarding the institution's physical equipment, whether library, philosophical apparatus, or buildings. The College's boast of her splendid Library has already been told, and likewise, the loss of this Library. In the matter of philosophical apparatus, too, the College began with equipment worthy of the emphasis which was to be placed on the Natural Sciences, but here again, early eminence was cancelled out by later neglect.
In England, Nathaniel Wheaton had gathered not only books for the Library but scientific equipment as well, and in May, 1825, the Trustees voted that $2,000 be spent for additional philosophical apparatus. Also, a "Botanic Garden" had been laid out on the college grounds and a Cabinet Room was provided in Seabury Hall. Professor Frederick Hall, the first to occupy the chair of Chemistry and Mineralogy, brought to the College his valuable collection of minerals and this provided the nucleus of the Washington College Mineral Cabinet. Hall also circulated throughout the scientific world the College's desire to exchange mineral specimens with mineralogists in various parts of the world and, as a consequence of Professor Hall's plea, the College immediately received a valuable collection of minerals from Montreal, Canada, and vicinity, from a Mr. J. Viger of that city. Commodore Isaac Hull, father-in-law of Dr. Jarvis and then United States Minister to Chile, sent minerals from Peru and Chile, beautiful shells and corals from South America, implements of war, articles of dress and other curiosities from the islands of the Pacific, and "some very curious ancient vessels taken from the graves of the aboriginal Peruvians." The Honorable J. R. Poinsett sent minerals from the mountains of Guanexalto in Mexico, and an anonymous donor presented a collection of minerals "from the interior of Germany." The "Botanic Garden," too, received gifts from afar. Monsieur Bosc, Professor at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, sent a box containing seeds of more than three hundred species of "useful and ornamental plants." By the summer of 1828, Dr. Sumner, Professor of Botany, was able to report that the "Botanic Garden" already had more than one thousand species represented. That fall, Thomas Nuttall, F. R. S., Director of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, England, sent a choice collection of plants, including some exotics from South America, and the College immediately undertook to build a small greenhouse.

Of this scientific paraphernalia Washington College was justly proud. The boast that the philosophical apparatus was the best in America was a great exaggeration, of course, but the more modest claim made by the Episcopal Watchman that the College possessed "every desirable facility" for the study of science was probably correct.

The resignation of Professor Hall was a great loss to the College, for with him went his large mineral collection. Hall's successor, however, John Smyth Rogers, M.D., not only replenished the depleted mineral collection, but he also made valuable additions to the philosophical apparatus and, presumably at his own expense, set up an elegant chemical laboratory. After two years of service as Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy, Dr. Rogers submitted his resignation. Rogers was prevailed upon to reconsider, and his resignation was withdrawn. The Trustees, by way of encouragement to the Professor of the Natural Sciences, appropriated another $300 for the purchase of additional philosophical apparatus.

Dr. Rogers fully lived up to early expectations, and his laboratory and cabinet were always well-kept during his tenure at the College. With Dr. Sumner and the "Botanic Garden," however, it was another matter. Dr. Sumner was a busy man and the management of the "Botanic Garden" was entrusted to the campus caretaker. Sumner taught his Botany class at home, and probably little use was ever made of the collection of plants of which he was at first so proud. By the mid-thirties the garden was almost completely grown with weeds and soon it disappeared entirely.

Astronomical equipment, too, was soon to make its appearance on the campus. During several pleasant evenings preceding Commencement of 1836, the College had an unusual treat when Mr. A. Holcomb of Southwick, Massachusetts, exhibited a reflecting telescope. Under Holcomb's direction, the Faculty were shown such astronomical phenomena as "the division in Saturn's Ring, which it is believed no other telescope in the country has done, except one or two from the same author." The Trustees were prevailed upon to purchase a similar instrument for Washington College, and the Board obliged.
by ordering from Mr. Holcomb "the best instrument he could produce." The telescope delivered to the College was one with "a mirror of 10 inches in diameter, and 14 feet focal distance." 118

In 1838, Dr. Rogers again submitted his resignation, and this time there was no reconsidering. Rogers took his mineral collection with him, and as one alumnus put it, the Mineral Cabinet was "left very destitute." As the Trustees did not feel able to purchase replenishments, they asked the Alumni to undertake the restoration of the College Cabinet. At the annual meeting of the Associate Alumni in 1839, a resolution was passed urging the Washington College graduates to send specimens of minerals and natural history to the College under care of Professor Abner Jackson, Rogers's successor as Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy. The challenge met with immediate response, and the Reverend C. J. Ives of Matagorda, Texas, sent "a box containing several curious specimens of the Natural History of Texas." Others sent mineral collections, and the Trustees gratefully acknowledged the gifts. 119

This incident is of considerable interest as the first time in the College's history that the Trustees appealed directly to the Alumni to carry out a project for the improvement of instructional facilities. But the incident was also the occasion of announcing, rather incidentally, that the College was once more in serious financial trouble and of "sounding out" the Associate Alumni, the Ecclesiastical constituency, and the Hartford community regarding the prospects for financial assistance.

During the first fifteen years of the College's existence, Town and Gown relations, despite the occasional student disturbances, had been exceedingly pleasant, and the Faculty and students had participated in the activities of the Hartford community. The Washington Archers were usually on hand to parade on national holidays, and on several occasions members of the Faculty had delivered the town's Fourth of July oration. 120 When Hartford held her Centennial Celebration in 1835, the College took a prominent part. 121 When the Connecticut Historical Society was organized in 1825, the entire Faculty had been among the charter members, 122 and in 1835 Dr. Jarvis had organized the Connecticut Society of Natural History. At least one member of the Faculty, Professor Holland, became active in local politics, and in the election campaign of 1836 he was so vigorous in his support of the nascent Democratic Party that his academic activities suffered as a consequence. 123 The College cultivated a reciprocal interest by the community in the academic affairs of the College and encouraged the attendance of Hartfordites at the public exercises such as the Exhibitions and Commencements and even the more prosaic public examinations of the Senior Class, an academic exercise which was spread over four days. 124 But with all this friendly exchange, the College had not appealed to the Hartford citizenry for large-scale financial support since 1823.

With the Episcopal Church, the College had maintained an equally friendly relationship and the Church, in fact, regarded the College as her own. The Church press took delight in pointing out that the Founders had been Episcopalians, that the Trustees, Faculty, and student body were largely members of the Church, and that the College was "an Episcopal Institution, in the same sense that Columbia College is Episcopal, or Yale College is Presbyterian, or Harvard University, Unitarian." 125 When the Diocesan Convention met in Hartford the officers of the College were given honorary seats in the Convention. 126

In 1834, the Diocese recommended the College "to the patronage of this and other States," 127 and the following year the Diocese conducted a full-scale investigation of the internal affairs of the College, in the course of which the committee appointed for the purpose pried deeply into the religious and academic life of the institution, finding, fortunately, that both were of such standards as to warrant the continued support and patronage of the Church. 128 This Diocesan concern with the internal operation of the College was welcomed by the officers of the institution, and in 1837 the Trustees resolved that "the Right Reverend Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut be requested to extend a particular religious superintendence over the students of the
College – [and] that in connexion with the clerical members of the Faculty he designate the course of religious exercises & instruction to be provided in the Institution, and [that he] preside at all meetings of the faculty (at which he may be present) for carrying the same into effect.”

In 1839, the Diocese of Connecticut directed that the records, papers, and documents of the Diocese be placed in the Library of the College under the care of the President, and thus the College Library became the depository of the Diocesan Archives. In that same year President Totten reported to the Diocese on the spiritual state of the College.

But these friendly relationships with Church and community had not resulted in any financial support for the College. The Church was a loving mother and the Hartford community was a pleasant neighbor. That was all. To be sure, Churchmen had completed the subscriptions for the Hobart and Seabury Professorships, but the Diocese of Connecticut had never appropriated a penny for the College, and throughout the 1830s Washington College was precariously dependent upon tuition fees to meet the necessary operating expenses. The Trustees still hoped that some large benefaction could be found.

In 1835, the Trustees had half-heartedly set out to increase the permanent funds of the College. The endowment funds and house and land rentals were then yielding an income of about $1,500 per year, and the College had resources of between $12,000 and $14,000 then described as “not yet productive.” The Trustees realized that money would be given more readily to an institution which was financially solvent than to one which was deeply in debt, as the Catalogue of 1835 put it, “Men contribute more freely to build up, than to repair.”

And the time would have been ideal to launch a full-scale drive for funds, for the country was then in what seemed to be a period of unusual prosperity. The nation had no public debt, and money was circulating as it had never done before. Huge speculative profits were being made in western lands, and business indexes reflected huge profits for investors. Washington College might well have come by some of the money which was going to charities, had the Trustees only carried through on their plans to increase the endowment. But instead of issuing a general appeal, the Trustees turned once more to Trinity Parish in the City of New York, asking for a gift of $50,000 or the pledge of an annual gift equal to the interest on such a sum.

But Trinity Parish in the City of New York declined to come forth with the gift of $50,000 or, for that matter, with any funds for the assistance of the College. Within a year, the country was in the Depression of 1837, and business in Hartford, as elsewhere, was prostrated. Washington College, like the others, suffered severely for, while there was no loss of students, income from investments fell off sharply. The Phoenix Bank, in whose stock much of the College's endowment funds had been invested, stopped paying its semi-annual dividend, and it seemed for a while that the bank would have to close. Although it was a case of locking the stable door after the horse had gone, the Trustees set themselves to the task of raising money for the permanent funds of the College, and this they attempted to do by appealing to parishes within the Diocese of Connecticut and well-to-do individuals beyond the limits of the Diocese. On August 1, 1838, Professor Jackson was released from his instructional duties and was sent out as Financial Agent of the College. Although the financial circumstances of the country virtually precluded any great success for Jackson's mission, the Professor faithfully visited each of the parishes of the Diocese and, while apparently obtaining no immediate cash gifts, he received at least the promise of scholarship endowments.

Promises would not tide the College over the immediate difficulties, however, and the Trustees, albeit in desperation, fell into that old pitfall of collegiate financing – the hope of increasing college income by enlarging the student body. Tuition fees were still only $33 per year but, with the number of students at roughly 80, income from that source – assuming the fees were always collected – amounted to $2,640. To double the enrollment meant to double the income from
tuition and thus bring the College a revenue from student fees of $5,280, and this sort of arithmetic accounted for almost the entire instructional budget. It could only have been reasoning such as this which prompted the Trustees on August 1, 1838, to authorize the Standing Committee to make application to the Legislature of the State of Connecticut for aid in the construction of another college building and to "take any other measures they may deem appropriate to raise funds for the same purpose." 141

In May, 1839, a bill was presented to the Connecticut State Legislature asking for an appropriation for Washington College. The Washington College bill was virtually forgotten, for Wesleyan University had already requested the same session to appropriate $24,000, also for the erection of a new building. 143 Debate on the Wesleyan bill consumed much of the Legislature's time and, although the Wesleyan petition was finally continued to the next assembly, the Washington College bill died in committee. 144

Now it was at this point that the Trustees had presented the matter of the College's financial embarrassment to the Associate Alumni and had asked the graduates to help replenish the depleted Mineral Cabinet. But why had the Trustees not been more direct in their appeal to the Associate Alumni? And why was there no plan advanced whereby the graduates of the College could be included in a general fund raising scheme? The Associate Alumni of Washington College had been one of the earliest of such organizations, and the whole program of alumni activities was then in its infancy. The "Class Gift," the "Alumni Fund," the "Class Secretary," and the "Alumni Secretary" were still in the future, and it perhaps never even occurred to either the Trustees or the Associate Alumni that graduates would, if encouraged to do so, contribute. All that had been asked for were mineral and natural history "specimens," and such were all that were received. But it might also be added that in 1839 the first graduating class was just twelve years out of college, and that of the 140 living alumni, 55 were either clergymen or students of theology, and with clerical salaries then little more than pittances, it was hardly an affluent Association! Nor did the Associate Alumni come forward with a plan or program of their own.

In the summer of 1839, the College's situation was not unlike that of ten years before. The Connecticut Legislature had just declined to make an appropriation to relieve the institution's financial distress, the Church had done nothing to remedy the situation, and the Hartford community had offered no assistance of any sort. The only different element in the situation was that despite the annual deficit with which the last few college years had closed, Washington College had considerably more by way of financial resources than she had in 1829, and the debt had not reached the earlier high. The Trustees had wisely invested some of the tuition money which had been gathered in the prosperity years of the early 1830's in real estate, and the College owned several parcels of land in Hartford and its environs as well as in scattered locations as far west as Ohio. And, the money raised for the endowment of the Hobart and Seabury Professorships had been invested in Phoenix Bank stocks. 145 Doubtless these resources had appreciated in value, and they were available to be pledged as security on the loans which the Trustees were obliged to make to cover the deficit at the close of each year. And it was on a program of emergency borrowing that the Trustees began to shore up the College's financial structure. Presumably acting on the assumption that there would be neither state appropriation nor gift from Trinity Parish, New York, and little hope of a large personal benefaction, and perhaps remembering their own unacted-upon words of a few years before, "Men contribute more freely to build up, than to repair," the Trustees took the bold action of resolving to raise $20,000 as soon as possible for a new building, for new books for the Library, and toward the liquidation of the debt of the College. 146 And to get the program under way, the Treasurer of the College was directed by the Trustees "to borrow for the use of the College the sum of five thousand dollars, and as collateral security for the same, to execute a mortgage
Money, at this time, was not hard to borrow, for by the summer of 1840 Hartford had already passed the economic crisis and business in the city showed much improvement. The Phoenix Bank, upon whose success the College's invested funds depended, had come through the depression without closing, and the endowment income of the College amounted to $2,500 per year. Tuition would have provided another $4,000, had not $1,200 been lost in the form of free tuition for candidates for Holy Orders. President Totten estimated at the time that $6,000 per year would have been sufficient to balance the budget, and at the Diocesan Convention of 1840 he had appealed to the Churchmen of Connecticut to help meet the deficit which he suggested had been incurred in the interest of the Church.

The Diocesan newspaper responded to Totten's appeal and urged the constituency of the College "to endow it; to foster it; [and] to support it. . . . Let parents send their sons to Washington College; the wealthy give their money to Washington College; and let every Churchman pray for Washington College." But there was no "follow up" to this stirring editorial, for although the Practical Christian and Church Chronicle frequently reported during the next year on the doings at Kenyon and at Jubilee College, Bishop Chase's latest academic creation in Illinois, no mention was made of the affairs of the College in the Diocese of Connecticut.

Not until the issue of May 27, 1842, did the Practical Christian deal with the College's financial needs, and then only to suggest that "a few more students would balance the budget." Thus, it was with rather ill grace that three months later the editor of the Practical Christian lamented that the College had not received the support it deserved.

By the fall of 1841, sufficient funds had been borrowed to insure the College's opening in mid-September when a new "take" in student fees would enrich the academic coffers. A year later, the Phoenix Bank resumed payment of semi-annual dividends, and the $3.50 per share on the College's invested funds was most welcome. In the spring of 1843, the College received several gifts: $1,000 by bequest of Mrs. Emily Phillips and $35.00 from an anonymous friend of the institution. By this time even the Church press had become enthusiastic regarding affairs on College Hill. In the issue of June 2, 1843, the Church Chronicle and Record editorialized in such fashion as to suggest that the Trustees had been lax in their public solicitation: "Will not some one acquainted with all the facts of the case, give us some articles on the claims of Washington College."

Although the editor of the Church Chronicle may have felt that the Trustees had been remiss in matters of public relations, certainly such was not the case in their concern for college finance. At each Board meeting, financial matters continued to dominate the agenda and, although the situation was far from flattering, the Trustees must have taken comfort in the fact that Washington College was able to mortgage her property rather than sell it outright as her sister-college, Kenyon, had been obliged to do. The Trustees had agreed that there were certain fixed expenditures which could not be reduced, and on the matter of buildings, grounds, and equipment there was to be no retreat. There was, however, (and unfortunately) an item in the budget upon which some adjustment could be made and that was, of course, faculty salaries. A committee had been appointed to work out an emergency salary schedule, and this committee reported to the Board at a special meeting held on June 15, 1843, recommending that there be a salary cut of ten per cent, and that the duties of Librarian be performed by a student for remission of fees. The Trustees voted to formally consider the committee's report at the next meeting and, after authorizing the Treasurer to make further emergency loans, the Board adjourned until August 2, 1843, at which time a salary cut, not to exceed ten per cent, was authorized.

Having thus reduced the operating budget, the Trustees turned to the raising of $15,000 for additional permanent endowment. The Board at
once accepted an offer of an annual grant of $200 to be provided by the Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning in the State of New York for Washington College graduates who wished to pursue studies in the General Theological Seminary. There was but one difficulty; the College was to give a full scholarship to a pre-seminarian for each graduate attending the Seminary under the plan. 160

When the Trustees launched their $15,000 campaign there was evidenced a vigor not altogether unlike that of the College's launching some twenty years before. Advertisements (and they were probably paid advertisements) appeared in the Recorder, the Banner of the Cross, and the Church Chronicle and Record, in which contributions were earnestly solicited and in which the claims of the College upon the Church were boldly stated.161 Fortunately, the Trustees did not sit by and await the arrival of contributions through the mails. Several agents, described in the College's releases to the press as "active and able clergymen," were sent out, not only to raise funds, but also "to enlist more interest in the institution itself, by making people acquainted with it, and interesting them in its behalf."162 The agents visited the parishes of the Diocese of Connecticut and particularly carried the campaign into the enemy camp at New Haven. There they made public collections in the churches and called upon individuals who had been "spotted" as potential contributors.163

The collections, and especially those in New Haven, met, as the Chronicle stated, "with some success,"164 and the canvassers next turned to the city of Hartford. In this phase of the fund-drive, there developed some confusion as to the purpose of the $15,000. The Trustees had originally hoped to add the amount to the permanent funds of the College, apparently without designation.
By the summer of 1844, however, the agents in Hartford were referring to the $15,000 as a "Charity Fund" and to the ultimate use of the money as the endowment of a Brownell Professorship. On August 1, 1844, the Trustees voted that such should be the use of the "Charity Fund." Subscriptions in Hartford were unexpectedly generous. The city was then enjoying great economic prosperity, a condition which the local Whig politicians attributed to the protective tariff, and by the spring of 1845 the $15,000 which the Trustees had set as their goal had been subscribed in Hartford alone. It was probably this local contribution which prompted the Trustees to revive the plan for the erection of a new building while, at the same time, raising money for the Brownell Professorship.

A third building on the Washington College campus had been assumed from the beginning, and a master-plan called for a mate to the "College" north of the "Chapel." Early woodcuts, one as early as 1827 which appeared on the title page of the bound volume of the Episcopal Watchman, showed an exact duplicate of the "College" in the northerly location, balancing the campus façade in conventional New England college-hill fashion.

Plans were drawn up by President Totten and work was commenced in May, 1845. A Mr. Goodwin and Trustee and Treasurer Thomas Belknap served as the Building Committee, the Messrs. Campbell were engaged to do the stonework, and a Mr. Rowell was engaged to do the woodwork. Construction progressed at such a rapid pace that the cornerstone was laid, with appropriate ceremonies (including an unscheduled and somewhat embarrassing "mock" corner-stone laying by the students) on August 1, 1845. At the same time, the building thus in progress was christened Brownell Hall, and the older buildings were given names honoring Brownell's Episcopal predecessors in the Diocese of Connecticut. The "Chapel" was named Seabury Hall and the "College" was named Jarvis Hall.

In just a little more than a year Brownell Hall was completed, and an imposing building it was. Within the structure were thirty-eight student rooms, a recitation hall, and an apartment to be occupied by a Professor and his family. Although similar in external appearance to Jarvis Hall, the new building's interior was notably different from Jarvis. An arrangement of rooms around "entries"—rather than the long halls of Jarvis—provided better light and also precluded the boisterous log-rolling contests which had caused so much trouble for the faculty committee on student discipline. The total frontage of the college buildings now extended to 450 feet.

Much of the money raised by the College between 1843 and 1846 was spent on Brownell Hall, but the other objects of the College were not entirely neglected. Although the Brownell Professorship fund was abandoned for the time, at least eighteen scholarships, equal in income to the tuition fees, were founded during these years and it was to this purpose that much of the money raised in the Diocese of Connecticut was directed.

In the matter of operating expenses, the "salary cut" of 1843 had done much to help balance the budget. Although the "cut" was doubtless unpopular among those whom it affected, "salary cutting" was the common nineteenth-century method of meeting collegiate budgets, and the marvel is, of course, that the measure had not been resorted to in Hartford before. And even more marvelous, perhaps, was the fact that by 1845 all salaries had been restored to their previous scale.
The eighteen Diocesan scholarships helped reduce the number of those whose tuition was remitted, and it seemed that the policy of remitting tuition was quickly being abandoned, for in August of 1845, the Trustees resolved to take action regarding several students who had left the College without paying their fees.\textsuperscript{177} Several parcels of land (particularly those lying south of the campus on Washington Street, which was then being developed and which soon became Hartford’s “Quality Row”) were sold at a very advantageous price.\textsuperscript{178} And, although little of the money raised between 1843 and 1846 was added to the unrestricted permanent funds of the College, the income from the Hobart and Seabury Professorship Funds was augmented by the increased semi-annual Phoenix Bank dividend, which by the latter year had risen to four percent.\textsuperscript{179} Thus, through a happy combination of the general economic prosperity of the times, the diligence of the Trustees, the sacrifices of the Faculty, and the generosity of the Diocese of Connecticut and the Hartford townspeople, the College was once more saved from extinction. So successful, indeed, had been the efforts of Churchmen and citizenry that by the time of the dedication of Brownell Hall the institution was able to report that it was once more free of debt.\textsuperscript{180}