CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND HARVARD STUDENT YEARS

Early Years

Charles Ammi Cutter was a member of a nineteenth century family that can be described as, "solid New England stock." The members had a pride in ancestry "not so much because their forbears were prominent in the social, political, or financial world, but because they were hard-working, plain-living, clear-thinking, and devout people, with high ideals."\(^1\) The Cutter family had its start in America with the arrival in Massachusetts from Newcastle-on-Tyne in England of the widow, Elizabeth Cutter, and her two sons about 1640. Through her son, Richard, she became the progenitress of descendants who, each in his own way, helped to civilize the colonial wilderness and who played a part in bringing the young nation through its revolutionary birth pains.\(^2\)

The Cutters were primarily farmers and merchants but included among their ranks clergymen, physicians, and later, ....

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\(^1\) W. P. Cutter, Charles Ammi Cutter, p. 3.

soldiers. For example, Ammi Ruhamah Cutter (1735-1810) served as a physician during the second capture of Louisburg during the French and Indian War.\(^1\) He later distinguished himself as Physician General of the Eastern Department of the Continental Army. Many Cutters fought against the British Army around Menotomy and Lexington during the Revolutionary War. Charles Cutter's great-grandfather, Ammi (1755-1830), had been mustered in as a private during that period and took part in several battles.\(^2\) His father, also named Ammi (1733-1795), too old to go, was himself involved in a surprise capture of a British convoy by the "old men" of West Cambridge on April 19, 1775.\(^3\)

By the end of the eighteenth century, members of the Cutter family were settled mainly in the towns now known as Woburn, Winchester, Arlington, Charlestown, and Cambridge and participated regularly in the local government and church life of their respective communities. The first Ammi Cutter (1733-1795) fathered twenty-one children and numbered among his descendants Benjamin Cutter, a physician, and his son, William Richard Cutter, a contemporary of Charles Ammi Cutter, and both a librarian in Woburn, Massachusetts and a local historian. Others of the family were businessmen.

\(^1\)A brief genealogical chart of Cutter family members referred to in this study is given in the Appendix.

\(^2\)Benjamin Cutter and William R. Cutter, *History of the Town of Arlington, Massachusetts.*... (Boston: David Clapp and Son, 1880), pp. 58, 83. Other sources are also listed in this work. (Hereinafter cited as Arlington)

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 61-63.
One such businessman, the third Ammi Cutter, was born on September 17, 1777 in West Cambridge. At that time the town was the second precinct of Cambridge, but it successfully gained its own charter in 1807, sixty-eight years after the formal establishment of the second precinct's own parish church. In 1867 after several changes of boundaries the town changed its name to Arlington.¹ West Cambridge was a picturesque little village immediately to the north and west of Boston. Noted, in the words of Charles Sumner, for its placid beauty and its seclusion, it supplied, like other surrounding communities, farmer-businessmen who found Boston a convenient market for their goods.² The second Ammi Cutter had himself been "among the first who carried milk for sale in Boston."³ The third Ammi left his parental home perhaps in the last decade of the eighteenth century and went into business as an oil merchant on T-wharf in Boston. His partner and intimate friend in business was Caleb Champney. Such was their friendship that Ammi named his first son after him. Upon his first wife's death, Ammi remarried, this time to the sister of his partner's wife. Tragedy struck again shortly thereafter, however, when both his wife and Champney died. Subsequently Ammi married Hannah, Caleb Champney's

¹Ibid., pp. 114, 161; Charles S. Parker, Town of Arlington, Past and Present (Arlington: C. S. Parker & Son, 1907), pp. 59, 123.


widow. Of the several children that survived him, three maiden daughters, Catharine, Charlotte, and Cordelia subsequently played an important part in the life of his grandson, Charles Ammi.¹

For a time Ammi Cutter's business prospered and he was able to establish himself in a building on Portland Street in Boston, not far from his Charter Street residence. It is said, however, that at a later time he met with losses that eventually reduced his success.² Also at a later time, perhaps in the 1820's, Ammi Cutter returned to become a permanent resident of the older part of Charlestown and West Cambridge, making the trip between there and Boston in his old-fashioned chaise.³

Ammi Cutter's eldest son, Caleb Champney Cutter, most likely learned the fish-oil business from his father, although he did not apparently fall heir to his father's business. He became, in later years, an inspector of fish oils in Boston. In 1821 Caleb married Hannah Biglow and together they had four children, one of them Charles Ammi. Upon the death of his wife he remarried and subsequently fathered three more children. Of these siblings of Charles Ammi, Clarence Henry and Francis Edward both served in the Union Army during the Civil War, the former having engaged in

¹Ibid., pp. 124-25. See also the information on the Lombard family, p. 327.
²Ibid., p. 124.
³Parker, Town of Arlington, p. 76.
extensive action with the 95th Regiment of the New York Volunteers. After the war Clarence settled in Washington, D. C. His son, William Parker Cutter, entered library work and subsequently became closely associated with his uncle.¹

Charles Ammi Cutter, the fourth child of Caleb and Hannah Cutter, was born on March 14, 1837 in Boston. Boston at that time still retained much of its pre-Revolutionary War appearance and was a city that later writers would look back upon with nostalgia. It was only then beginning an era of industrial and urban expansion that would change it drastically during the next forty years. The Cutter residence on Charter Street was situated on Copp's Hill at the North End in an area that had become populated after the Revolutionary War by industrious Yankee mechanics, artisans and lesser merchants. Their livelihood was related to Boston's growing maritime and commercial importance and for the most part they had achieved a comfortable and secure existence.²

¹ B. Cutter, A History of the Cutter Family, p. 124. In addition it is likely that Francis Edward Cutter emigrated to the West sometime after the above volume by Benjamin Cutter was written. Cf. "City Suffers a Great Loss," Daily Hampshire Gazette, September 8, 1903, p. 1.

² A full description of the Boston of Cutter's birth is not germane to a picture of his early life because of his move to West Cambridge described in the next paragraph. Nevertheless, an appreciation of that community does amplify the sense of Cutter's solid commercial class roots and for that purpose the most helpful sources have been: David Ward, "Nineteenth Century Boston, A Study in the Role of Antecedent and Adjacent Conditions in the Spatial Aspects of Urban Growth," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1963), chs. 2 and 3; Samuel Eliot Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1941), pp. 225-52; and Walter
Charles was not destined to grow up in the everyday life of that Boston, however. A little more than a month after he was born his mother died. In the following year Caleb Cutter remarried. His new wife, Frances Clark of Milton, Massachusetts, bore him a son, Francis Edward, in December 1839. About the same time Charles Ammi was sent to live with his grandfather, Ammi, in West Cambridge. It proved to be a change in course that greatly determined his future.¹

Ammi Cutter had with others who worked in Boston built his house on Pleasant Street in West Cambridge. His was opposite the south end of the old burying ground and near the West Cambridge town center.² There the young boy led a placid existence where he could enjoy the adventures of boating on Spy Pond immediately to the southeast or

¹The two best sources for Cutter's early life are W. P. Cutter, Charles Ammi Cutter, and Foster, "Charles Ammi Cutter: A Memorial Sketch." Both authors were supplied with information on Cutter's early life by his widow, Sarah Fayerweather Cutter. The chronology of the early period has never been accurately established, however. An indication of when Charles went to live with his grandfather is only implied in the 1840 U. S. Census records. While Ammi Cutter's location in West Cambridge or Charlestown has not been found in the records, Caleb Cutter's home in Boston is, nevertheless listed. The individual names of children are not given, but in Caleb's household only one child under five is listed (probably Francis Edward, born December 2, 1839), suggesting that Charles had already by the time of the census been moved. See U. S. National Archives, "Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840," Boston, Ward 1, sheet 30.

²Parker, Town of Arlington, p. 76.
exploring Devil's Den in what later became Menotomy Rocks Park. He might also find himself at the Russell Store watching the traffic passing through from Vermont and New Hampshire or listening to reminiscences of the fateful events of April 19, 1775. It was perhaps even at the store's dancing school that young Charles was first introduced to the minuets and reels that he so enjoyed at American Library Association meetings later in life.\(^1\)

Charles' home training was supervised by his cultured and devout maiden aunts and early included exposure to books and study.\(^2\) The town was fortunate too in having one of the earliest free public libraries. In 1835 Dr. Ebenezer Learned of Hopkinton, New Hampshire left a legacy of $100 for the establishment in West Cambridge of a juvenile library. The sum was to be used by the town leaders to purchase "such books as in their opinion will best promote useful knowledge and the Christian virtues among the inhabitants of said town, who are scholars, or by usage have the right to attend as scholars in their primary schools."\(^3\)

Books were purchased immediately and the fund was increased by a gift of sixty dollars the next year from the

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\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 88, 90, 106, 292-94. Charles Cutter's spirited dancing is mentioned in almost all of the biographical vignettes that include the social side of the annual American Library Association meetings.

\(^2\)Cf. W. P. Cutter, Charles Ammi Cutter, pp. 4-5.

\(^3\)B. Cutter and W. R. Cutter, Arlington, pp. 141-42; Parker, Town of Arlington, pp. 266-67.
West Cambridge Sewing Circle. In 1837 the town officers voted an annual appropriation of thirty dollars and opened the previously restricted privileges to all members of the town. By 1844 the size of the library exceeded 1,000 volumes. Young Charles frequented the library after his tenth year and, significantly, Charlotte Cutter served as librarian from 1849 to 1851.¹

Although Charles Cutter enjoyed hiking and boating all of his life he was never very robust. His physical weakness, extreme nearsightedness and a natural tendency to study probably early led him towards a life of scholarship. Another factor, however, was the religious atmosphere of his adoptive home. His grandfather and his aunts had regularly participated in the activities of the West Cambridge First Congregational Parish Church. During the latter years of the forty-one year ministry of the Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, an orthodox Calvinist, the congregation had increasingly followed the growing liberal movement. In 1829 the coming of Frederic Henry Hedge, later a Unitarian leader of note and a transcendentalist professor at the Harvard Divinity School, signaled the obvious move of the church into the Unitarian camp. From 1835 to 1854 the parish came under the leadership of David Damon, William Ware (a son of Henry

¹Parker, Town of Arlington, p. 267. In 1872 the library became the Arlington Public Library and in 1892, as a result of a bequest from Maria C. Robbins, the Robbins Library. William E. Foster notes the age of Cutter's "first taste" of libraries in a letter to Mrs. Mary S. Cutler Fairchild, October 22, 1903, CUL, Dewey Papers.
Ware, Sr., and a brother of Henry Ware, Jr., both distinguished Harvard professors), and James Francis Brown, likewise Unitarians.\(^1\) They no doubt influenced the direction of the young boy for in his subsequent enrollment sometime during the 1840's in the Hopkins Classical School, Cutter was set on a path that would eventually lead him to Harvard and to preparation for the Unitarian ministry.

Edward Hopkins, a governor of Connecticut in the seventeenth century, had created in his will a trust to be used for "the breeding up of scholars in the study of Divinity."\(^2\) Contested at first by those who thought the proceeds rightfully belonged to a Connecticut institution, a legislative decree in 1712 stipulated that the funds be used both to support selected young men at the Cambridge grammar school in their preparation for entering Harvard College and to send others to Harvard itself. Funds were first applied to the institutions in 1726 and one of the first to benefit

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was Ammi Ruhamah Cutter, who became first a minister and afterwards a physician.\footnote{Bowditch, \textit{An Account}, p. 76. This Ammi Ruhamah Cutter was the father of the one of the same name mentioned on p. 2 above.} From 1803 to 1837 the grammar school had enjoyed an only moderate success because of the uneven qualifications of its teachers. In 1837 its fitness to receive the funds was questioned. Not only had the quality of the instruction become suspect, but the issue of whether or not it was adequately emphasizing the classics in its preparation of the selected recipients for Harvard was also raised. As a result, in April 1839 the funds were withdrawn and a separate school established. By an act of the Legislature the trustees were authorized to form the Hopkins Classical School in Cambridge with the visitation "vested in the President and Fellows of Harvard College, the minister of the First Church in Cambridge, and the Chairman of the Selectmen and of the School Committee of Cambridge."\footnote{Ibid., pp. 32-33.} Though successful for a few years, the arrangement did not ultimately work out and in 1854 the school was discontinued. The funds were given at that time to the Cambridge High School to be used for its classical department. Trustees of the Hopkins Charity included many of the most eminent men in the Cambridge-Boston community. Those elected during the period of the Classical School included Convers Francis (elected 1838), Henry Ware, Jr. (1838), Ezra Stiles Gannett (1839), Nathaniel I. Bowditch (1838), Edward Everett (1846), Jared Sparks (1849)
and Edward Wigglesworth (1851). Later they would also include Charles Eliot Norton and Francis Parkman.¹

The school was opened in a building on the grounds of Harvard College near the future site of Boylston Hall. In 1841 it was moved to a building on Main Street on Dana Hill. Its main purpose was, of course, to train the several students allowed free instruction each year. Though there were a total of four masters over the fifteen year period of its existence, one of these, Edmund B. Whitman, served the longest in that capacity, from 1841 to 1853. Under his direction the scope of the school was expanded to that approaching an academy. It came to include both elementary and secondary departments. As early as 1843 the school committee appealed to the townspeople for students; that those "who desire their sons to be prepared either for college or for active business, and who may find the Public Schools too crowded for their purpose, or for other reasons may prefer the instructions of a select school, will avail themselves of this valuable privilege."² Whitman himself advertised regularly in the Cambridge Chronicle touting the excellence of the school.

The object of this School is not only to prepare boys for college, but for the Counting Room and the Mechanics Shop; in fact, no efforts or expense will be spared to give to those pupils who will labor for

¹Ibid., pp. 67-71.

themselves, a thorough preparation for any department of life. The motto of the school is strict discipline and hard labor.\textsuperscript{1}

Students were admitted to the school under the same standards as those of the Boston Latin School and remained in the course for periods ranging from four to seven years, advancing as rapidly as their attainments would allow. Whitman was praised for his "rare qualities as an instructor."\textsuperscript{2} The thoroughness of his work with Cutter can perhaps be surmised from the regular awards that the latter received after entering Harvard.

Thus young Cutter finished out his stay in West Cambridge making the daily trips to Cambridge by omnibus coach or perhaps by the West Cambridge Branch Railroad begun in August 1846.\textsuperscript{3} The pleasantness of the situation was broken in March 1850, however, when grandfather Cutter died. Young Cutter had planned to enter Harvard in the fall of 1850 but was thought too young, being then only thirteen years old. As a result, he spent the year of 1850-51 "chiefly in reading novels and reviews--till just before examination."\textsuperscript{4}

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\textsuperscript{1}Advertisement, \textit{Cambridge Chronicle}, April 29, 1847.


\textsuperscript{4}"Harvard College Class Book, Class of 1855," p. 173, MS, HUA.
of 1850 and that decision was reaffirmed in January 1851.\textsuperscript{1} The three aunts and the young boy subsequently moved to Cambridge sometime during the interim year. Cutter was provisionally admitted to the Freshman class in July 1851 subject to his passing an examination in mathematics, and by the fall a new chapter had begun in his life.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Harvard College Years}

The Harvard College that Charles Cutter entered was in many respects a relic of an already antiquated educational philosophy. Although it had experienced considerable reform and expansion under President Kirkland earlier in the century, the acceleration of that movement had been allowed to slow down under the administrator, Josiah Quincy, in favor of measured, albeit solid, progress. Under Kirkland, George Ticknor had introduced the ideal of German literary scholarship and had advanced the ideal in the establishment of the department of modern languages and literature. With the appointment of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in Ticknor's place in 1836 during Quincy's regime, the department received a special emphasis on Old World culture and beauty. Some progress was made with the introduction of elective courses in the 1840's and the library, long neglected, was given increased

\textsuperscript{1}Harvard College, College Papers, 2d Series, XVIII, 1, January 3, 1851, MS, HUA.

attention both in building its collections and in opening its new home, Gore Hall, in 1841. But the deadening recitation method and its scale of merit remained, not to be wholly discontinued until the administration of Charles W. Eliot.¹

Quincy's five short-termed successors are noted by Morison as superintending the school through an age of transition. He writes succinctly that, "With the passing of Quincy, the presidency fell into a rut, from which it was only rescued when the genius of Eliot transformed a respectable university into a great one."² Of course, there were occasional flashes of fortune such as the establishment of the Lawrence Scientific Institute under President Edward Everett in 1847 and with it the arrival of Louis Agassiz as professor of zoology and geology. But under Jared Sparks and James Walker the school reached it lowest ebb.

At the time of Charles Cutter's entrance the school had just been rocked by two deeply disturbing events. The first was the sensational trial during 1850 of Dr. John White Webster of the Harvard Medical School. He was accused of the murder in November 1849 of Dr. George Parkman, a financier and benefactor of the school. Webster was found guilty and publicly hanged on August 30, 1850.³ The second


²Ibid., p. 275.

³Ibid., pp. 282-86. Cf. also Robert Sullivan, The Disappearance of Dr. Parkman (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), in which an examination of the legal
event was the rejection by the Board of Overseers in January 1851 of Francis Bowen as McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History. Bowen who had been tutor in philosophy after his graduation in 1833 and more recently the editor of the North American Review had been tentatively appointed to his professorial post on May 25, 1850 and had begun teaching that fall. His outspoken opinions in support of Daniel Webster on the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law as well as against the popular sentiment for Kossuth and the Hungarian cause in a strongly Democratic and Free-Soil climate brought about the rejection of the appointment. As a result formal instruction in history ceased until 1853 when Henry W. Torrey received the appointment. Bowen himself was at that latter date appointed to the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, but only after the heated emotions of the previous contest had died down.

In actuality, however, his rejection had been the result of a more complicated political situation involving the reorganization of the Board of Overseers. Morison comments that "it seems likely that the sacrifice of Bowen was the price that the University paid to oust the Council and State Senate from its senior Governing Board."¹ The more solitary lesson for the school was that in order to preserve proceedings and of recently discovered evidence raises serious doubts about the verdict.

academic freedom, Harvard found it necessary to separate her government from political elements, accepting at the same time the concomitant removal of government financial subsidy.

For these and other reasons the period was a depressing one in Harvard's history and had its effect on the students passing through. For example, Justin Winsor, having entered in 1849, dropped out by 1851 and opted for study in Europe. He received his A.B. *honoris causa* in 1868. Others stayed on, however, and though eyewitness accounts relate the low spirit, it is remarkable to note the many well-known names. Charles W. Eliot (A.B. 1853), Charles Francis Adams, Jr. (1854), Phillips Brooks (1855) and Henry Adams (1856), as well as Horatio Alger (1852), are just a few among them.¹

Charles Cutter had moved with his aunts to within easy walking distance of the College. Consequently he did not experience the spirited activities of dormitory life.²

By his own admission he was shy and studious.

Coming to college with the wish but hardly the hope of being in the first half of the class I naturally fell into habits of study which combined with shyness

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¹For the date of Winsor's degree, see Harvard University, *Historical Register of Harvard University, 1636–1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 469. Morrison relates a friendly dispute between Charles W. Eliot and Phillips Brooks years later concerning when the College reached its lowest ebb. "Eliot said, 'I think the college struck bottom in 1853.' 'No,' said Brooks, 'in 1855.' These were the dates when they respectively graduated." *Three Centuries of Harvard*, p. 294.

²They lived on Dunster Street according to W. P. Cutter, *Charles Ammi Cutter*, p. 5.
prevented my forming intimacies with my classmates. I regret this but I hope I may be able after graduation to activate those friendships which have not been formed before.¹

He most likely benefited, however, from the one redeeming factor in the recitation method of instruction—that of having considerable free time for independent study. That factor in addition to the tutors who were the actual instructors at the college provided a student's real education. The list of special professorships during the period is also impressive. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow held the Smith chair of modern languages and literature until 1854 and was followed by James Russell Lowell. George Martin Lane, who had received his Ph.D. at Göttingen, became the University Professor of Latin in 1851. In the same year Francis Child, also a product of Göttingen, succeeded Edward Tyrrel Channing as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric. And Cornelius C. Felton, afterward president (1860-62), was Eliot Professor of Greek. Other names include Evangelinus A. Sophocles, Asa Gray, Jeffries Wyman, Benjamin Peirce, Louis Agassiz and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The young Charles applied himself assiduously from the start. In the beginning of his sophomore year he was awarded a copy of Southey's poetical works for a detur. A detur was a book prize given each year to exemplary students.²

¹"Harvard College Class Book, Class of 1855," p. 173, MS, HUA.

²Harvard College, Faculty Records, XIV, 178, November 15, 1852, MS, HUA. The funds for the prize came from the Hopkins Trust. See Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard,
By the end of that year he was already showing what would prove to be a life-long interest in French culture by signing a petition with sixty-eight other students requesting that instruction in the French language be made an elective for juniors and seniors. Though it is unlikely that the petition was successful, in the fall of 1853 at the beginning of his next term, he was listed in a report by Emile Arnault, instructor in that language, as one of those who had shown marked improvement during the previous spring.¹

Cutter's earlier training in classical languages was also borne out, for in the student exhibition of the same term he presented a Latin version of a dialogue found in the orations of Demosthenes.² By the following fall the caliber of his work was such that he was recommended for one of the new Shattuck scholarships.³ He subsequently presented an English

¹ Harvard College, College Papers, 2d Series, XIX, 419, MS, HUA. The petition was dated May 30, 1853. See also Harvard College, Overseers Reports, IX, 446, MS, HUA, for Arnault's report of October 17, 1853.

² "A Latin Version. From an Oration of Demosthenes Against Aristogiton," No. 15 in the program entitled, "Order of Performances for Exhibition, Tuesday, October 18, 1853," HUA. The exhibitions were important events and carefully planned. The permission form, signed by President Walker, allowed eight minutes for Cutter and another student. Rehearsal was held two weeks before the event and a "fair copy" of the exercise was to be delivered to the President one week before. In addition, no entertainment was to be given by participants on Exhibition day except with the express consent of the President. See MS in the possession of the author.

³ Harvard College, Corporation Record, IX, 322, August 30, 1854, MS, HUA. See also Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, p. 296, on the Shattuck fund established in 1854.
composition at the October 17, 1854 Exhibition entitled "The Great Prince of Orange." At the end of his senior year in the summer of 1855 he won first place in the Bowdoin Latin competition with a translation of Bryant's "Thanatopsis." He was awarded his Bachelor of Arts degree on July 18, 1855. Ranked third in his class, he delivered a commencement oration on "The Character of the Satire of Thackeray."¹

When he graduated, Cutter was undecided as to what course to follow. Only eighteen years old, he had at least a partial commitment to the Unitarian ministry, having entered Harvard on a Hopkins scholarship.² In the fall of 1855, however, he remained at the University and entered the Lawrence Scientific School as a special student in mathematics.³ In the Scientific School mathematics was used as a tool of engineering rather than as a theoretical subject taught in the

¹Harvard College, Faculty Records, XIV, 424, June 11, 1855; p. 427, June 21, 1855, MS, HUA; "Bryant's Thanatopsis," MS no. 277 in Bowdoin Prize Dissertations, Vol. XIII, HUA; "Character of the Satire of Thackeray," Performance No. 38 in "Order of Exercises for Commencement, xviii July, MDCCCLV," HUA. The rank in the graduating class along with a notice of Cutter's election to Phi Beta Kappa are noted in W. P. Cutter, Charles Ammi Cutter, p. 6.

²While it was not unusual for young men to enter Harvard at age fourteen, it was still considered young. During the nineteenth century the median age of entering freshmen had reached a low of fifteen and a half around 1810 but had risen to seventeen by 1845. Later, under President Eliot, the average age rose to nineteen. Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, pp. 183-84, 370.

³"Harvard College Class Book, Class of 1855," p. 173, MS, HUA. A short paragraph noting that he had been a special student in mathematics was added after 1860 by the class secretary, Edwin H. Abbot. See also Alumni Record Card, HUA.
obscure manner of Benjamin R. Peirce in the College. It is most likely that his teacher was Professor Henry L. Eustis and the predominantly tutorial method that was used would have covered such engineering related studies as descriptive geometry and surveying.¹ While no other records reveal an interest on Cutter's part in applied science, it is possible that the presence of Charles W. Eliot (A.B. 1853) and James Mills Peirce (A.B. 1853) was of some influence. Both were appointed College tutors in mathematics in 1854 and Eliot was interested in teaching trigonometry with at least some field work and practical applications.²

Had Cutter continued work at the School and taken the examination, he might then have received the Bachelor of Science degree. But the examinations were usually taken after a residence of between eighteen to thirty months and apparently that procedure did not interest him.³ Instead he registered during the second term of the year as a resident graduate. Upon payment of a fee, he was to be allowed to attend any lectures of his choosing in a leisurely and scholarly manner. He apparently intended simply to remain listed in the College


²Charles W. Eliot, Harvard Memories (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), p. 86. Of course, it must be remembered that Peirce formally tutored the freshmen and Eliot the sophomores. Cutter was at that point a senior.

catalog for he made a special request to be exempted from the fee explaining that he did not intend "to use the library, or to have any communion with the College, in any way." His request was turned down by President Walker who felt "that in my opinion the payment of the fee is an essential condition of being a Resident Graduate."¹ Cutter subsequently busied himself with the preparation of two pupils for the College. In September 1856 he reverted to his ministerial leanings and entered the Harvard Divinity School.²

Harvard Divinity School

During the eighteenth century, the normal pattern for Harvard College graduates wishing to enter the ministry had been to study divinity with a prominent local minister or with the President or Hollis Professor at the College. However, during and after the Revolutionary War period, fewer and fewer college graduates were choosing the Congregational ministry because of its restrictive Calvinism. Harvard College was captured by the emerging Unitarian movement through the appointment of Henry Ware, Sr. to the Hollis Chair of Sacred Theology in 1804. By the time William Ellery Channing gave

¹Both Cutter's words and Walker's reply are found in and on a letter to President Walker from W. G. Stearns, March 28, 1856, Harvard College, College Papers, 2d Series, XXIII, 129, MS, HUA. Morison comments briefly on resident graduates in Three Centuries of Harvard, pp. 237-38. Cutter's academic enrollments can be found on his Alumni Record Card, HUA.

²"Harvard College Class Book, Class of 1855," p. 173, MS, HUA.
his noted Baltimore address in 1819, the Unitarian movement had gained a self-awareness that prompted the establishment of the Harvard Divinity School specifically for training ministers for the Unitarian parish ministry.¹

By the late 1830's the Unitarian movement's apologetical stance against orthodox Calvinism had given way to internecine quarrels. Many Unitarian leaders found themselves defending the original rationalistic Unitarian theology against the aggressive transcendental and anti-institutional views of George Ripley, Theodore Parker, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emerson responded in 1837 by characterizing the more rationalistic segment of the movement as "corpse-cold" Unitarianism.²

The School, controlled by the more traditional segment, went through its lowest period during the next two decades. An endemic conflict over the separation of church and state, and consequently over the governance of both the College and the Divinity School, hindered the development of

¹Three dates are variously given for the beginning of the school: 1811, 1816, and 1819. Morison prefers the latter in Three Centuries of Harvard, p. 243. The survey of the ante-bellum history of the school given here is taken primarily from Conrad Wright, "The Early Period (1811-40)," and Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Middle Period (1840-80)," in The Harvard Divinity School; Its Place in Harvard University and in American Culture, ed. by George Huntson Williams (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954). Additional material on student life can be found in chapter three of the same volume by Willard L. Sperry entitled, "A Beautiful Enmity: The Student History in the Nineteenth Century."

²Ahlstrom discusses Emerson's 1837 address in, "The Middle Years (1840-80)," pp. 70-77.
both. The number and quality of the faculty diminished. Only two of the established chairs were filled from the late 1840's to 1857 and these with men who were not given to grappling with newer theological currents. They taught all the subjects in the curriculum and were assisted in their work only occasionally by others, including local ministers, the president of the College, and by the Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in the College (James Walker, 1839-53 and Francis Bowen, 1853-89).

The situation began to change only in 1857 with the appointment of two permanent but non-resident professors. Frederic Henry Hedge, pastor of the First Church in Brookline and son of Levi Hedge who was from 1822 to 1839 the Alford Professor in the College, occupied the Alford Chair in the Divinity School and brought with him the first more systematic introduction of idealistic philosophy. George E. Ellis, pastor of the Harvard Church in Charlestown, instructed in systematic theology.

The general tone of the course of study during this period served as a reinforcement for more traditional and rationalistic Unitarian views. Belief in the Scriptures and


in the Christ based on rationalistic explanations of the miracles, and belief in the inherent sinfulness of man were the unquestioned basics of the educational program. The curriculum was correspondingly practical. It stressed pastoral duties based on those beliefs rather than theoretical issues based on current theological debate.\(^1\) It apparently also lacked stimulation. Enrollments fell and again students sought to enter other professions. The yearly average number of students during Cutter's years there was only about twenty-three.\(^2\) Outside of occasional disturbances, such as the suspension of a student in the spring of 1857 for participation in a medium, the school schedule seems to have been uneventful. One historian of the School has described the routine for the whole period in the following words:

Student life went on much the same as before. Lectures were spaced throughout the day; student conferences and debates were held alternately on Wednesday evenings; students of the two upper classes preached in turn at Friday evening chapel services. The annual Christmas service--for which the chapel was decorated and at which a specially honored student preached--seems to have become the best remembered event except for visitation day at the end of the school year.\(^3\)

During the period that Charles Cutter attended the School, the first year's course of study covered systematic and natural theology and Christian ethics. The latter two were taught by assigning the main topics of each subject

\(^1\)Ahlstrom, "The Middle Years (1840-80)," pp. 116-20.
\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 91-92.  \(^3\)Ibid., pp. 89-90.
to students who in turn presented them for class discussion. During the next lecture Professor Francis would likewise discourse on the same subject. Other exercises included a close study of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* as an example of heathen thought contemporary with the rise of Christianity, and an introduction to Russell's *Pulpit Eloquence*. During the remaining two years preaching, pastoral care and the preparation of sermons were emphasized. During the 1857-58 year the courses in Ecclesiastical History, previously taught by Francis, were transferred to the new professor, Frederic Henry Hedge. Seniors spent most of their time on preaching both by analyzing historic sermons and by practice in the art. The latter task included the presentation of a course of sermons in a local Cambridge church. Extra-curricular activities included a weekly evening debate, a weekly evening religious conversation decidedly scriptural and practical and regularly attended by Professor Francis, and morning and evening prayers usually officiated by middle and senior students. The course had an obviously heavy pastoral emphasis and may have seemed stultifying, a conclusion perhaps supported by the low enrollment of seniors in 1857-58. They numbered only two of a total of seventeen students. The seniors had previously numbered nine but several had, in the noncommittal words of Professor Francis, "left the school at different times for various reasons."¹

¹This description of the curriculum and the attendant quotation is taken from a report by Convers Francis to the Overseers Committee on the Divinity School, in Harvard
Cutter applied himself from the start. He received in April 1857, with James K. Hosmer, Charles Noyes, and three others, a scholarship from the Hopkins Trust. In the succeeding two years he received lesser amounts from the Jackson fund. During his junior year he submitted a dissertation to the Bowdoin Prize committee, which consisted of Charles Francis Adams, Dr. Frothingham, and the Reverend Rufus Ellis, all of Boston. His winning effort, entitled, "Persecution for Religion's Sake During the Colonial Period of New England," consisted of fifty-six finely handwritten pages of a defense of the persecutors in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the 17th century. He was careful to note that he could not justify their actions and excesses. He took issue, however, with those who felt the Puritans to be ogres and who wrote without any apparent sense of the whole context of the persecutions.

In presenting his argument Cutter indicated a more telling conflict. He began with a strong Miltonic statement on censorship of opinion. "A persecutor, therefore, may or

College, Overseers Reports, Instruction Series, pp. 134-37, October 28, 1857, MS, HUA.

1Cutter received $215 from the Hopkins Trust. Considering that tuition and room-rent amounted to $75 for one year, the award was significant, for Cutter most certainly lived at home. Harvard College, College Papers, 2d Series, XIV, 132, April 10, 1857, MS, HUA. The recommendation was made by G. R. Noyes and C. Francis. The Corporation affirmed the award on April 18, 1857. In the succeeding two years, Cutter received a total of $115 from the Jackson Fund. Harvard College, Corporation Record, X, 62, April 24, 1858; p. 121, March 26, 1859, MS, HUA.
may not be blameworthy, but will always be in error since he takes upon himself an office which does not belong to him, the office of controlling men's opinions." His feeling that no one could rightly control men's opinions by civil coercion was a principle on which he based his later opinions on book censorship.

He also attempted, however, to portray sympathetically his own Puritan forbears who had violated that standard. His inability to be too severe on the Puritan leaders suggests that he was attempting to be true to his own theological heritage, especially as it reflected the filiopietistic spirit of Palfrey and others then writing about the same matters. By rationalizing the actions of the Puritan leaders, Cutter revealed a struggle between his more traditional Unitarian Harvard education and a view of society that was critical of that background.

Charles Cutter's most significant achievement during his student days occurred in the library of the school. It

1"Persecution for Religion's Sake During the Colonial Period of New England, by J. S. Dasley, Graduate," [sic], MS No. 290, in Bowdoin Prize Dissertations, Vol. XIV, HUA. The use of a pseudonym is unaccountable.

had been traditional to use the services of a student as librarian of the Divinity School's collections. In exchange for a small remuneration that in Cutter's time amounted to $50.00 per school year, the student librarian labored at such tasks as circulation, entering newly accessioned books in the old 1840 manuscript catalog, and keeping the books in order on the shelves.\(^1\) Even though there was little reading room area and the library was generally open only two hours a day for public use, keeping order was probably no light task. In particular, with the book call numbers based on permanent shelf locations, the 1840 catalog shows a considerable accretion of changed location symbols as the books were constantly shifted.

Cutter served as the student librarian from 1857 to 1859 and brought acumen and energy to the job. He worked at least part of the time under the advice and direction of Ezra Abbot, assistant librarian in the College, and he served during a time of significant expansion in the size of the collections. Although the Divinity School itself was in a period of general decline, the library was an exception to that trend. The most significant increase occurred in 1856 when the approximately 4,000 volume collection of Professor Friedrich Lücke of Göttingen was purchased through a gift of

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\(^1\)Cutter was paid $50.00 a year in addition to his Jackson fund scholarships. Harvard College, Corporation Records, X, 62, April 24, 1858, and p. 122, March 26, 1859, MS, HUA. For library regulations and conditions, see Ahlstrom, "The Middle Years (1840-80)," pp. 89-90.
$1,200.00 given by Colonel Benjamin Loring. The later acquisition of the 2,000 volume library of Conyers Francis and 800 volumes from the library of President Walker, in addition to regular accessions brought the size of the total collection to more than 16,000 volumes by 1870. In comparison to other theological libraries of the time, the Harvard Divinity School Library rated itself as one of the best.¹

The acquisition of the Lücke library added much needed depth to the library. Before the purchase the collection was made up primarily of English language books and older Latin commentaries. The Lücke collection was strong in European theological material especially representative of the rising German critical scholarship. It also brought to the School an extensive collection of German theological periodicals.²

The purchase of the Lücke library also presented a more technical problem having to do with the catalog of the

¹Ibid., p. 90. Ahlstrom quotes Edward Everett Hale in an 1869 article for the self-assessment, an opinion that was probably not without some prejudice. Although the library reported 16,000 volumes in 1870, it had increased by only 1,000 additional volumes by 1876. By comparative descriptions of the funds available and by the sizes of other theological collections in 1876, one would surmise that the Harvard Divinity School Library was not as well off as its supporters supposed. Of course, it also had the collections of the University at its disposal. See U. S. Bureau of Education, Public Libraries in the United States of America; Their History, Condition and Management. Special Report, Part I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 142-60. (Hereinafter cited as 1876 Special Report)

²Based upon a comparison of the 1840 catalog with the catalog of the Lücke collection, both preserved at the Harvard Divinity School Library.
collection. The existing catalog had been started in 1840. It consisted of two folio manuscript volumes of all the books held at that time and of two folio manuscript volumes listing pamphlets and tracts. In each the entries, consisting of author, title, size, city and date, had been alphabetically arranged and judiciously spaced in order to allow for the interlineation of later acquisitions. The layers of additions are obvious and by 1858 the catalog was suffering from what all such catalogs eventually face, a severe lack of order. New entries eventually had lost their strictly alphabetical locations. The disorder in the crowded pages was so great that a patron examining the catalog would have found it necessary to search almost all of any one letter of the alphabet to be sure that he had not missed the entry for which he was looking. To have added the Lucke collection to the existing catalog would have only aggravated the problem. In addition the regular accessions were also sizable. During Cutter's two years as librarian more than 1,000 volumes were purchased or received as gifts. The solution to the problem entailed both rearranging the collection physically and making a new catalog. With Charles Noyes, a classmate, as his assistant, Cutter proceeded with the re-arrangement of the books on

the shelves during the 1857-58 school year, placing the books in broad subject categories.¹

Afterwards during the same year they attempted to change the 1840 manuscript catalog to show the new locations of the older volumes and to add the Lücke collection to it. But the new additions were too much for pages already crowded. Accordingly, during the winter vacation of the 1858-59 school year the two students prepared a new catalog. Unlike the older four folio volumes, its two volumes contained a single alphabetical author list of both books and pamphlets. The information on the then approximately 12,000 books was taken down on slips, arranged in correct order and entered in the folio volumes. It is perhaps significant that although the two students worked together in taking down the information from the books, it was Cutter who arranged the slips.² By doing so he faced for the first time the need for cataloging principles. By graduation time in July 1859 the catalog was

¹Librarian's Report, in "Report on the Library of the Theological School," Report of the Overseers of Harvard College Appointed to Visit the Library [1857/58] (Boston: George C. Rand, 1859), p. 27; "Report of the Librarian [of the Divinity School] for the Year Ending July 15th, 1859," Harvard College, Librarians Series, MS, HUA. In the first of these two reports, William Jenks, a member of the Overseers' Committee wrote, "The visit was productive of much satisfaction from the order now introduced into the library--the books being arranged according to their subjects, respectively. Last year, this arrangement existed only as relates to the volumes belonging formerly to the late Professor Lücke. It now includes the whole collection and the catalogue is contained in four MS volumes, two of which exhibit the bound books, and two the pamphlets."

²Samuel Barrett Steward, "Necrology of the Divinity School for the Academic Year 1903-04," Folder on Charles Ammi Cutter, HUA. Stewart, a graduate of the Divinity School in
complete and Cutter could proudly relate in his end of the year report that the whole collection had become integrated, both on the shelves and in the catalog.$^{1}$

Cutter faced other matters besides making a catalog. He was exposed to the problem of shelving in its most troublesome form—the need to rearrange a whole collection because of a sizable increase in accessions, and the consequent need to change all the shelf marks in the catalog. He was also exposed to the administrative problems of inadequate facilities and the need to keep accurate records. His two annual reports of library statistics are significant for their order. They anticipate his later concern with accurate and concise library reports. Exposed to the basic problems facing a librarian, he attempted to bring order to the confusion that he found. Perhaps most important in his work, he was exposed to the expert example of Ezra Abbot, a man who would later play so decisive a role in the further development of Cutter's own library goals and ideals.

1862, relates a statement from Charles Noyes: "He and I catalogued the school library then containing some 15,000 [sic] volumes and pamphlets numberless. It was the old style catalogue. We took off together the titles of the books on slips. He attended to the arrangement of the slips, and I entered them on the two massive folios now to be found in the library. Cutter had the experience which opened the way for his future work." Unfortunately, the two-volume catalog made by the two men could not be located at the time of this study.

Future Work

After having compiled an excellent record of scholarship and library work, Cutter graduated in July 1859. At the commencement ceremonies he delivered an oration entitled, "Faith and Criticism." While little is known of Cutter's activities during the coming months, it may be surmised that it was a time of decision and perhaps some struggle for him, then twenty-two years old. He preached during the months after graduation in various churches in the Cambridge area. He also once again registered as a resident graduate at the College during the fall term of 1859. His home situation had remained relatively stable during his college years, but in 1858 Catharine Cutter died, and sometime during the decade the Cutters had combined their living with the Bradbury family at their Cambridge residence.

Cutter's natural proclivity was toward scholarship in some form. His training was for a religious vocation and

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1 Harvard University, "Order of Exercises at the Forty-Third Annual Visitation of the Divinity School, Tuesday, July 19, 1859," (Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow and Company, 1859). Fellow graduates included Charles Noyes, Charles Carroll Everett, afterwards Bussey Professor of Theology (1869-1900) and Dean of the Divinity School (1878-1900), James Kendall Hosmer, later to distinguish himself as a writer and librarian, and James Mills Peirce.

2 W. P. Cutter, Charles Ammi Cutter, p. 8; Harvard College, Alumni Record Card, HUA.

3 For Catharine Lombard Cutter's death, see Probate Records, County of Middlesex, Massachusetts, Case 30176, 1858. Harriet and John Bradbury are both listed as witnesses to the will. See also, U. S. National Archives, "Population Schedules of the 8th Census of the United States, 1860," Cambridge, Dwelling 589.
more particularly for the Unitarian parish ministry. In the end he chose to pursue librarianship, a choice that by itself was not unusual considering his experience in library work, his love for books and scholarship and his friendship with Ezra Abbot. His choice reflects, however, a development in the intellectual and cultural milieu in which he lived that helps to better understand the development of his own career in later years.

There was no lack of need for men to pursue the ministry or of a call to pursue it. In fact, at Cutter's graduation Henry Whitney Bellows gave just such an impassioned call to the new alumni of the School. His address, entitled, "The Suspense of Faith," is said to have rivaled Emerson's address of 1837 in its contemporary significance. Bellows described the apathy, coldness, and lack of missionary zeal among Unitarians. He attributed these symptoms to a suspension of faith in a crassly uncultured and unreligious age. The nation as a whole lacked any certain means for obtaining spiritual renewal and with it, renewed order. Although he agreed with Emerson's "corpse-cold" verdict, he did not agree with a transcendentalist solution to the problem. More anti-institutionalism, more individualism, and more naturalism seemed to him of little value in building a spiritual.

1Henry Whitney Bellows, The Suspense of Faith; An Address to the Alumni of the Divinity School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. given July 19, 1859 (New York: C. S. Francis & Company, 1859). Ahlstrom, "The Middle Years (1840-80)," p. 120, considers it "one of the most significant [addresses] in Unitarian history."
underpinning for the age. Instead he proposed a recapturing of the zeal of earlier days by a more rigorous attention to the institution of the historic church. He called for a new "Catholic Church" to make known the Gospel.

No lecture room can do this; no preaching-men can do this; no thin, ghostly individualism or meager congregationalism can do this. It calls for the organic, instituted, ritualized, impersonal, steady, patient work of the Church.¹

The new alumni certainly felt the truth of Bellows' analysis of the uncultured spirit of the age and they most likely agreed with his stress on traditional values and institutions. But the idea that the Unitarian pastorate was the place to accomplish the task of renewal certainly must have gained much less sympathy. As it was noted previously, an increasing number of the graduates of the Divinity School in those days were entering fields other than the ministry. Charles Cutter was no exception to the trend. Furthermore, Cutter's pursuit of librarianship strongly suggests that he fulfilled Bellows' imperative anyway, for Cutter was to later speak of his chosen profession with the same emphases that Bellows had stressed. Librarianship was to be the expression of a missionary zeal to bring culture and order to the nation. Libraries would be the "parish churches of literature and education."² Indeed, Cutter, in a striking parallel, eventually helped to organize and professionalize the library

¹Bellows, The Suspense of Faith, p. 45.
movement in Bellows' own terms: "organic, instituted, ritualized, impersonal, steady, patient"—for the spiritual good of the nation.¹

The parallel between Bellows' address (although not cited by Cutter) and his later statements and attitudes about librarianship suggests that Cutter transferred his motivations to the new field, even though at this point the transference would have been only incipient. The transference is even more understandable when the broader context of the parallel is considered.

Cutter's formal education came when American perplexity over the national identity was increasing. Industrialization, immigration and other population shifts, rampant individualism, and the anti-institutionalism of the Jacksonian era had created a nation of seemingly boundless proportions. The openness of the age had, however, brought the nation closer and closer to a point of crisis, especially over the problem of social ills. There was a disastrous loss of cohesion and an erosion of institutional authority. Furthermore, the solutions of many of the social reformers, radical by any comparison with earlier social ideals, seemed too perfectionist in their aim at a total eradication of evil, too sentimental in their philanthropic goals, and too individualistic and anti-institutional as a way out.

The reactions of intellectuals to the crisis of the times and to the radical solutions offered were varied. But

¹Bellows, The Suspense of Faith, p. 45.
by the 1850's they indicate that a gradual shift in what was thought to be required for the national identity and well-being was already occurring. Social commentators began to turn from the acceptance of the diffusion, but seeming chaos, of earlier social goals to expressions of the need for stability and control. In place of boundlessness, they groped for a sense of consolidation.¹

The Bellows speech, only one statement among many, was especially indicative of a more conservative approach that found much support in New England and especially within the Boston-Cambridge intellectual community. Patrician ² in its bearing, this community combined adherence to traditional

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² It should be understood that the term "patrician" is used here with the specific connotation of an identifiable and cohesive intellectual community that saw itself as possessing with the highest intentions a firm grasp for and motivation to pursue a national social ideal. It is chosen in preference over the term "Brahmin." The reason for making this distinction is that the two terms (and especially the latter) as applied to 19th century Boston are often used with
societal values with a genteel expression of individual
color character as an encompassing ideal for the national charac-
ter. The spokesmen began to express the hope that the ideal
was obtainable through the direct and rigorous efforts of a
generation of young cultured gentlemen who would lead the
nation to a new sense of order. This corps of leaders would
work through institutional structures, some traditional, some
only then being developed. In their discipline and dedication
they would bring the needed control and order. Their ulti-
mate goal was to raise the cultural level of the nation as a
whole in order to produce an enlightened democracy.¹

¹Of several treatments of the ideology of the Boston-
Cambridge intellectual community, the most adequate is Daniel
Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philos-
especially the summary introduction on pp. 1-23. Howe's
treatment is specifically concerned with the professors of
moral philosophy at Harvard College and Divinity School, ex-
tending from Henry Ware, Sr. (1764-1845) to Francis Bowen
(1811-1890). His topical treatment covers all major aspects
of their thought and relates it to the contemporary cultural
scene. Also helpful is David B. Tyack, *George Ticknor and
the Boston Brahmins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
1967), especially pp. 173-83, for his extended definition
of the intellectual concerns of the community. Among his
sources, one unusually provocative treatment can be found in
Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise, The Values of a Boston
Elite, 1800-1860," *American Quarterly*, XVIII (Fall, 1966),
437-51. One must be careful, however, to weigh the problems
in terminology alluded to in the previous footnote. Fred-
rickson in *The Inner Civil War* also provides a thorough dis-
cussion of the views of that community, but within the more
specific framework of the crisis of the Civil War.
Cutter received during his formative years a thorough exposure to the Boston-Cambridge intellectual and cultural milieu and to the thinking described above. From an early age he had come into contact with prominent Unitarian spokesmen who expressed those ideals in their moral and philosophical teaching. Furthermore, his residency in the Boston-Cambridge area for years afterward saw not only the number of those associations increase, but also his own role in the community itself take on the intimate position of respected librarian and intellectual co-worker. Although he in no one place made an extended exposition of the social ideals that were basic for him, that he accepted as his own the approach to social goals of the intellectual community of his youth is certain, for those goals appear as necessary antecedents to his later views on a great many issues. Furthermore, in his early college prize papers, concern over the same kinds of issues that occupied the spokesmen of that community was already evident. For example, he showed a great admiration for Federalist personal ideals in his use of the heroic figure of George Washington as a measure for the life of the Prince of Orange. In other papers he demonstrated a high appreciation for the finer points of Unitarian moral philosophy, especially its faculty psychology. In his Bowdoin prize essay he grappled with the community's concern to justify the colonial beginnings of its own religious heritage.¹

¹For a fuller discussion of the Bowdoin prize essay, see above, pp. 26-27. See also Cutter's papers, "The Great
In short, by the time of his graduation from the Divinity School, Cutter had not only developed a mature intellectual capacity, but also a basic intellectual framework for the future. Whether he also envisioned himself as one of a corps of young cultured men who could shape an emerging profession for the good of the fledgling nation is not directly known. But in succeeding years he would apply both his abilities and that intellectual orientation to defining the purpose of the library profession itself. That this was the case will be seen in the developing picture of his life.

For nine months following his graduation, Cutter studied, preached, and perhaps tutored students. On May 11, 1860 he began work as an assistant to Ezra Abbot who himself was the assistant librarian of the Harvard College Library. Three developments made the way clear for his appointment. The first was his earlier association with Abbot at the Divinity School Library. The second was the condition of Abbot's health in conjunction with a rapidly increasing college library program. Never of great physical strength, Abbot had to face increased work that taxed his frail health to the limit.¹ And third, increased gifts to the library called for an increase in the staff as well as

Prince of Orange," and "The Character of the Satire of Thackeray," MSS, HUA.

¹John L. Sibley, "Private Journal," May 7 and 11, 1860, MS, HUA.
for a lightening of Abbot's own load. On May 16, 1860 the Board of Overseers affirmed Cutter's appointment. The report from the library committee that accompanied Cutter's appointment so well describes the conditions it is worth publishing in full.

To the president and Fellows of Harvard College. The Library Committee beg leave to represent to the Corporation

1. That the work in Mr. Ezra Abbot's department in the college library is more than one man can possibly perform.

2. That Mr. Abbot alone is charged with all the classifying and cataloguing of books received, and with the preparation of the lists of books to be ordered; that moreover almost all the labor (whether mainly mechanical or not) to be done upon books in French, German, Italian, Spanish and Greek falls upon him, as the only person in the library sufficiently familiar with those languages.

3. That the Library Committee can neither order six-thousand ($6000.00) worth of books, which should be done in order to fulfil the intentions of Mr. William Gray and other donors of money for the purchase of books, nor can they receive, catalogue and place upon the shelves that number of books yearly with the present force employed in the Library.

4. That no progress whatever has been or can be made in the preparation of the much needed classed index or catalogue of books in the Library.

To meet these difficulties the Library needs the services, not of a mere clerk, but of an educated man, who can read Latin, Greek, German and French, and can be instructed in the whole work of Mr. Abbot's department.

The Committee respectfully suggest to the Corporation the immediate appointment of an assistant who shall work in the Library during Library hours whose whole attention shall be devoted to Mr. Abbot's department and they
recommend Charles A. Cutter, a graduate of the Class of 1855, as a person in every respect suitable for the place.

Committee--C. C. Felton
F. J. Child
Henry W. Torrey
Charles W. Eliot

16 May 1860

1Harvard College, College Records, 2d Series, XXVIII, 115-16, May 16, 1860, MS, HUA.