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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the changing role of tutors at Harvard University in the 17th and 18th centuries, and how this changing role led to the professionalization of college instruction and a separation of the teaching profession from that of the ministry. Over the course of this period tutors taught the entire basic curriculum (with the handful of professors responsible for discipline-specific advanced courses), began to take more responsibility for the governance of the institution, received higher pay, and remained in their positions for longer intervals of time, many for 15 years or more. By the 18th century the position of tutor was no longer considered a short-term appointment for those awaiting calls to the pulpit, but a permanent, career-oriented position in itself, or as preparation for a professorship or school headship. The careers of a number of 17th and 18th century tutors are reviewed or cited as examples of these changes. The paper concludes that given the changes in the professoriate during the last 25 years, the increased professionalization of the tutors during the colonial period can provide important insights for colleges today. Just as the interests of teaching and research-oriented faculty can clash today, the professional standards and models of the tutors and professors clashed in the 18th century. (Contains 27 references.) (MDM)

THE HARVARD TUTORS: THE BEGINNING OF AN ACADEMIC PROFESSION, 1690-1770

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Richard Hofstadter identified Harvard's transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century as a paradox. According to Hofstadter, "the seeds of Harvard liberalism were actually planted within Puritanism itself, and they sprouted not long after the first generation of American Puritans had passed to their rewards." Unfortunately, the study of the intellectual changes at Harvard has overshadowed the beginning of an important social transformation in the American professoriate occurring at the same time. At Harvard, the tutors formed the primary teaching staff during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most historians, however, have dismissed the colonial tutors as a group of transient instructors with little commitment to teaching and date the rise of professional faculty to the 1750s. In fact, a pattern of increasing stability among the tutors began to appear at Harvard in the 1690s. The changes in the composition of the Harvard tutors was part of a larger series of changes in Anglo-American education that saw the separation of the teaching profession from that of the ministry.[1]

Colonial Harvard had two types of teachers. Professors, first appearing in the 1720s, taught in specific disciplines and lived off-campus. Tutors, active in the college since the 1640s, were responsible for teaching the entire basic curriculum, lived in the college, and supervised the students' curricular and extracurricular activities. The difference in instructional responsibilities was important; the distinction in living arrangements should not be over stressed, however. The 1734 college laws specified that "the professors shall constantly reside in Cambridge near the college." Before the American Revolution, Harvard professors lived in homes adjoining the college grounds at the east-end of the current Harvard Yard. Many of the professors took as boarders the

[1]Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 80-81.

overflow of Harvard students. Life in the professors' homes replicated life in the colleges in many respects. Both the professors and the tutors were expected to dine in commons. The chief distinction in the professors' living arrangements was their ability to marry (tutors were expected to remain single). Moreover, the Harvard tutors should not all be lumped into a single category. The seventeenth-century tutorship was very different from the eighteenth and reflects the increased professionalization of college teaching.[2]

Wilson Smith first noted the important transition the Harvard tutorship underwent from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Where most seventeenth-century tutors only remained at the college for less than three years, in the eighteenth century many of the tutors remained at Harvard for fifteen or more years. He cited the careers of a number of Harvard tutors, highlighting their activities at the college, their long-term dedication to teaching, and their long tenure at the college. He noted that most eighteenth-century tutors were not necessarily waiting for calls to the pulpit. Unlike the seventeenth-century tutors who virtually all went into the ministry, the eighteenth-century tutors sought a wider-range of careers. By the middle of the eighteenth century, more than a third of the tutors remained in education. Moreover, by the eighteenth century, the pay for tutors (all single men) was relatively good. Tutors were paid between £90 and £100 pounds in the mid-eighteenth century, less than many ministers, but unlike ministers in many rural parishes, the tutors knew they would receive their pay without resort to lengthy court action. In spite of these trends, however, Wilson nevertheless concludes that "college teaching was clearly not a profession" in the mid-eighteenth century.[3]

Other historians of the eighteenth-century have dismissed the tutorship altogether. William Carrell, in his study of eighteenth-century professors, places the rise of the professional academic in the later half of the eighteenth century. Carrell's study focuses

[2]Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1925), 15:152-153; Corporation Records (Harvard University Archives) 2:227-229.

[3] William Smith, "The Teacher in Puritan Culture," Harvard Educational Review 36(1966): 399-405.

exclusively on professors and college presidents. He dismisses the tutorship as a transient office, in spite of the increased longevity of the eighteenth-century Harvard tutors. Similarly, in comparing the tutors and professors, Martin Finkelstein points at "permanence" as the chief distinction between the two groups of academics. Professors remained in office longer, usually until death, and Finkelstein also placed the rise of the professionalization of the faculty with the beginning of the professoriate.[4]

Historians of higher education studying the rise of the academic profession have used a more narrow view of the professional idea. Using a more traditional view of professionalization as the rise of a middle-class or high-class occupation, Samuel Herber, for example, looked to the late nineteenth century as the formative period for the American professoriate. In looking for the colonial roots of professionalization, historians have focused on the establishment of faculty chairs in the mid-eighteenth century and ignored the existence of other types of faculty, specifically the tutors who carried out much of the teaching burden in colonial colleges. Much of the discussion of the academic profession in colonial America has been colored by the rise of research universities and disciplinary-based education in the late nineteenth century. This anachronistic view of colonial America has missed the multiplicity of models for the academic professional in the eighteenth century.[5]

New models for understanding professionalization shed new light on the status of the eighteen-century tutors, however. Bruce Kimball, in The 'True Profession Ideal' in America, has provided one interpretation of the development of American professions. Kimball overcomes the narrow interpretations of earlier historians who defined

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[4] William Carrell, "Social, Political, and Religious Involvement of American College Professors, 1750-1800," (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1967); William Carrell, "American College Professors, 1750-1800," History of Education Quarterly, 8 (1968): 289-305; Martin Finkelstein, "From Tutor to Specialized Scholar: Academic Professionalization in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America," History of Higher Education Annual, 1983, 99-122.

[5] Samuel Herber, The Quest for Authority and Honor in American Professions (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988.

professionalization in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century terms, thereby making the rise of professions a "modern" occurrence. Instead Kimball used a fluid definition of "profession" and "professionalization." One important insight of Kimball's is that the "rhetoric or cultural ideal" of the profession has undergone important changes from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. For example, in the eighteenth century, professions took on a more pronounced vocational character, replacing the older religious conceptualizations. Although professions continued to be identified by communities of like-minded individuals, the concept of professions as occupations requiring a functional expertise, or having a strong connection with the development of the American middle-class were more modern interpretations of the ideal of the professions, inappropriate to interpreting their development in the eighteenth century. Professions should not be equated with middle-class consciousness in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the development of professions needs to be understood as a continuing, development process, rather than a single event in time. Unfortunately, Kimball included little discussion of the eighteenth century tutors in this discussion of the professionalization of the faculty in the eighteenth century. This paper hopes to fill in his analysis.[6]

Ignored as a post for transient instructors who taught for several years and then left teaching for other careers, usually as ministers, the tutorship at Harvard in fact was undergoing a transformation in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century from a temporary job to a semi-permanent, or permanent career. The tutorship often served as the first stage of a teaching career followed by service as a professor or a schoolmaster. Instead of placing the rise of professionalism in academia to the 1750s, many of these trends can be dated to the 1690s, when tutors first displayed an increased interest and commitment to the teaching profession. The eighteenth century actually saw the development of two models of the academic profession, one more individualistic with

[6]Bruce Kimball, The 'True Professional Ideal' in America: A History (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), 1-17, 304.

discipline-based instruction carried out by professors living independently outside the college and the other more communitarian, with tutors living in the college and providing a broad-range of instruction. Both models increasingly allowed for life-time careers, a strong sense of identity and vocation, had specific training, and the potential for a significant role in collegial governance. Only one survived to the nineteenth century, however.

The changes in the composition of the Harvard tutors were part of a larger trend in Anglo-American education that saw the separation of the teaching profession from that of the ministry. Important to this professionalization was the pattern of increasing stability and involvement in college life which started to appear among the Harvard tutors. The college records chronicle the role of the tutors in Harvard's educational life and greater control over the governance of the college. This study suggests that the professionalization of the teaching staff at Harvard coincided with and often preceded the creation of the other professions including law and medicine in colonial New England. In particular, the profesionalization of the tutors needs to be viewed as part of the creation of a teaching profession that included school teachers and grammar school masters.[7]

* * *

Until 1722, Harvard did not have any endowed chairs or professorships; tutors were entrusted with the bulk of the teaching load. For most of the seventeenth century, Harvard appointed two tutors. In 1699, the number was increased to three and in 1720 to four. Until 1716, the tutors were given permanent appointments subject to good behavior. Each tutor was assigned one or two classes of students and saw the class through the entire undergraduate curriculum. This integrated instruction should not be viewed as a limitation in the professional development of the tutors. In fact, these expectations show the broad competence that college-educated men were expected to

[7] For a larger discussion of the separation of school teaching from the ministry in the early modern period, see Rosemary O'Day, Education and Society, 1500-1800 (London: Longman, 1982), 79.

have in a variety of subjects. At the same time, the emphasis of institutional historians on the role and power of the college's various governing authorities has obscured the almost absolute power the tutors had over the everyday life of Harvard's students. The Lawes Libertyes and Orders of Harvard College for the years 1642-1646 assigned to the tutors the responsibility for the religious supervision of students, the students' conduct in commons, and in their chambers. Students required the permission of the tutors to "live or board in the family or private house of any Inhabitant in Cambridge" or to "be present at or in any of the publick civill meetings or concourse of People as Courts of Justice, Elections, ffayers, [or] military Excercise in the time or hours of the colledge exercise." Furthermore, the tutors had authority over the scholars as long as the students were within the town of Cambridge. If a student lived off-campus illegally, the college authorized the tutors to take action against the him "by Admonition & private correction." Tutors were also authorized to use mild forms of corporal punishment. These responsibilities extend beyond those of the professors and other instructors. For example, the Hebrew instructor was required to refer students to the tutors for corrections in "matters of greater importance." Similarly the professors were eventually granted the powers of correction described as the same as the tutors. Thus the tutors supervised the totality of the students' activities at Harvard. For their efforts, tutors received free room and a salary set by the college Corporation. In the seventeenth century, the college did not pay the tutors directly, each instructor was responsible for collecting fees from each of the students in his classes. If these fees did not cover the agreed-upon salary, the college made up the difference.[8]

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the two Harvard tutors also occupied two of the seven positions on the Corporation, the college's chief governing body. Neighboring ministers usually held three positions, and the treasurer and president

[8]Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 15: 190, 192, 203, 16:456, 490, 603, 16:528.

of the college the other two. Although the tutors were assigned a powerful role in the governance and operation of Harvard, their real power was limited by their short tenure (see table 1). Samuel Eliot Morison described the typical seventeenth-century tutor as "a very young man, appointed to the fellowship after taking his Bachelor's degree. He was a candidate for the ministry, and he resigned his tutorship as soon as a ministerial opening appeared." There was little separation between the ministry and teaching occupations. College teaching was simply a step to the more important religious instruction of preaching and the ministry. Just as the Harvard presidents in the seventeenth century were all ministers, the Harvard tutors were almost all ministers-in-waiting. Seventy-three percent of the tutors became ministers after leaving college (see table 3). [9]

Furthermore, the seventeenth-century tutors were a relatively transient group. Where some Harvard presidents held office for lengthy tenures (Henry Dunster for fourteen years and Charles Chauncy for over seventeen), few tutors remained in their post for more than three years. Age provided another contrast between the two groups. Unlike the presidents, who were mature, established ministers, most tutors were fairly young at the time of their appointment, usually under the age of twenty-five (see table 2). At the end of the seventeenth-century, however, the role and position of the Harvard tutors began to change.

With the appointment of John Leverett and William Brattle as Harvard tutors in the 1680s, the tutorship began to fill a more professional position within the college. Although both men were only twenty-three when appointed to the tutorship in 1685, each remained at Harvard for about twelve years. After leaving their positions at Harvard, Brattle's career followed the traditional path for seventeenth-century tutors; he entered the ministry and served the Cambridge church. Leverett, on the other hand, chose to study law, settled in Cambridge and eventually returned to Harvard as president in 1708. With

[9] Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), 1:51-53.

the tenure of Brattle and Leverett, the rapid turnover in incumbents came to an end, and the tutors increased their role in the operation of the college.[10]

The instability in Harvard's governance in the late seventeenth century allowed the tutors to play a larger role in the governance of the college. Leverett and Brattle's influence can be seen in the changing intellectual environment at Harvard. Beginning in the 1690s, Harvard moved away from strict Puritan theology and became increasingly liberal in its orientation. This was accomplished through the increased power and authority of the tutors during a period of political instability in the colony. In 1685, the crown annulled the Massachusetts charter and created the Dominion of New England. Because the colony of Massachusetts had issued Harvard's 1650 charter, the crown's action also annulled the college's charter. What followed was perhaps the most complex chartering episode for any college in America. The General Court proposed five charters between 1692 and 1700; the crown or the royal governor rejected four of the charters; the fifth was lost in the administrative bureaucracy in London. Meanwhile, Harvard operated under various temporary legislative acts and several different governing boards. Increase Mather, Harvard's president at the time, was out of the country during much of the dispute as the colony's representative to crown. When Mather returned to Massachusetts in 1692, he did not take up residence in Cambridge, but instead remained in Boston. Mather was forced to resign the presidency in 1701 because of his unwillingness to settle in Cambridge. Mather's successor, Samuel Williard, also did not live in Cambridge, and Harvard's tutors were left with much of the oversight for the college. What stability

[10]John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge Massachusetts 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 18?? to), 3:183, 200. Leverett's career also extended to governance in the town of Cambridge. Before leaving his position as tutor at the college, Leverett was chosen one of the agents for the town's common land. He also served as Cambridge's representative to the General Court. Leverett's political activities set the foundation for the professor's political involvement during the American Revolution. See, Cambridge Proprietor's Records () 208.

Harvard enjoyed during the 1690s was achieved by the continuity in office of its two tutors, Leverett and Brattle.[11]

The instability in the college's governance and the occupation of Harvard's president in provincial matters allowed the tutors to assume a larger role in governing the college. This is particularly evident in the increasing liberal ecclesiastical leanings at the college. After the crown annulled the college's charter, the President and Council of New England met on July 23, 1686. They confirmed Increase Mather as rector of the college and instructed him to "make his usual visitations." The President and Council of New England also declared "that Mr Jno Leverett & Mr Wm Brattle be the Tutors, & enter upon the Governmt of the Colledge, & manage the public reading in the hall." The council also confirmed the salaries of the tutors.[12] According to Richard Hofstadter,

> Both [Leverett and Brattle] were members of mercantile and magisterial families that were in short order aligned against Mather. They were relatively liberal in their attitudes, and for twelve years the future intellectual elite of the Bay Colony passed under their tutelage and theirs alone.[13]

Beginning in the 1690s, the tutors assumed primary oversight for the college and because of their liberal leanings, were able to change the intellectual environment of the college.

Although Increase Mather might have supported some reform at the college, Perry Miller noted that Leverett and Brattle "entertained notions still more 'enlarged'" than the college president would have supported.[14] Norman Fiering has suggested that the eighteenth century ushered in an "American Enlightenment." At Harvard, replacing Puritan scholastic thought was a

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[11]Jurgen Herbst, From Crisis to Crisis (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 15-16; Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, 479-536.

[12]Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 16:827.

[13]Hofstadter and Metzger, Academic Freedom, 101.

[14]Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 238.

> "new moral philosophy," a discipline that was neither an exposition of Aristotle, as the old academic moral philosophy had been for four hundred years, no an overt presentation of practical theology, such as many Protestants in the seventeenth century had hoped would succeed the old Aristotelian ethic. The new moral philosophy was a Christian ethic of sorts . . . but it was not Christ centered or dogmatic. One might call it a post-theological, but not a post-Christian, morals [sic].[15]

The Harvard tutors were the leaders of the intellectual revolution at Harvard that moved the Harvard curriculum away from an exclusively classical education designed for theological education to a more humanistically-oriented education that could encompass training for a wide-variety of professions. These curricular changes in turn helped to separate college attendance and college teaching from the ministerial profession. By the mid-eighteenth-century, tenure as a college tutor would be valued as preparation for careers in law, business, and school teaching.

The clearest articulation of this sense of new professionalism among the Harvard tutors occurred between 1716 and 1722 in the tutors' dispute with the Harvard Corporation. The tutors had two complaints. Until 1712, the tutors had kept separate accounts for each of their students, collecting tuition and then settling with the college on a regular basis for any shortfall from their stated salaries. In effect, the tutors were responsible for an important part of the financial operations of the college. In 1712, however, the college took over the collection of tuition and the tutors were instead paid a set salary. Similarly, until 1716, the tutors had a permanent appointment subject only to good behavior. In April 1716, the Corporation voted: "no tut[o]r or Fellow of the House [a title to distinguish tutors from fellows of the Corporation] now or henceforth to be chosen shall hold a fellowship with Salary for more than Three years, Except continued by a New Election." These actions were the first steps in the attempt to reduce the

[15]Norman Fiering, Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth Century Harvard (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1981) 295. This view disagrees with Morison who argued that the 1723 Harvard curriculum was substantially the same as that of President Dunster in the seventeenth century. See Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, 1:147.

authority and status of the tutors. The tutors' response displayed their professional resentment to the downgrading of their status within the college. In March 1717/8, the tutors attempted to take direct control of the revenues of the college.[16]

The controversy expanded to the tutor's right to sit on the Corporation. in 1707, when the Corporation was reestablished under the 1650 charter, Governor Dudley had chosen from among the members of the temporary Corporation, seven to sit on the reconstituted board. He choose only two of the three tutors. The third tutor, John Whiting, was elected to the Corporation at the next vacancy. Because occassionaly tutors did not give up their fellowship immediately after leaving the tutorship, there could be some lag between appointment to the tutorship and election to the felllowship. Nevertheless, usually at least two and sometimes all three tutors sat on the Corporation after 1707. In 1716 and 1717, three vacancies occurred within the Corporation and two of the tutors not yet sitting on the Corporation expected that these positions would fall to them. After the experiences of Leverett and Brattle, the tutors increasingly expected to play a central role in the governance and operation of the college. But Harvard had become a pawn in a provincial struggle over which religious faction would control the college. Traditional Puritans from Mather's camp sat on the college's overseers while liberal Congregationalists dominated the Corporation. The Corporation choose to elect three prominent liberal Congregational ministers to solidify liberal control of the college, rather than the two tutors.[17]

Nicholas Sever, one of the two tutors not yet on the Corporation, felt especially slighted by the Corporation's actions. Sever was already an ordained minister when he became a tutor at the age of thirty-six (he had to leave the pulpit because of strained vocal

[16]Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 16:434; Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), 64-73; Margery Somers Foster, "Out of Smalle Beginings. . .": An Economic History of Harvard College in the Puritan Period (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 136.

[17]Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, 64-73; Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 5:92-93.

cords). When the college passed him over for a seat on the Corporation, Sever examined past practices of the college and found that in the seventeenth century, tutors had automatically served as fellows of the Corporation. He therefore argued that all tutors should automatically be considered fellows. His argument implied that the tutors should be viewed not only as the primary instructors of the college, but also as its governors.[18]

In March 1717/8, Sever wrote a lengthy protest to the Corporation on his treatment as a Harvard tutor. His sentiments display an increasingly professional attitude. Sever argued that "Mr. President [Leverett] had encroached upon the rights of the Fellows." Sever explained that Leverett was usurping the authority of the tutors; Leverett had fined freshmen for not attending readings in the hall, even though Sever had excused the students in accordance with the regulations of the college. Furthermore, Sever contended that the triennial act requiring the reelection of the tutors every three years rather than making permanent appointments, "appears to me to be an additional weakening" of the tutors position. Because the workload of the tutors had increased with the size of the student body, it would make more sense "to set the follows [tutors] higher . . . and make them stronger, and the contrary to weaken, and lessen them must in my humble opinion have a bad tendency." Sever's protest of 1718 is the first outburst from Harvard's faculty to protect their rights in the governance process.[19]

Sever specifically complained about the lack of collegial behavior from the Harvard president (the former tutor, John Leverett). He noted that Leverett was taking the decision-making power of the college "intirely into his own hands." Sever also complained that he had been improperly treated when his tutorship was not proclaimed in the college hall. He also felt slighted by the size of his salary which was less than Leverett had received as tutor twenty years earlier (Brattle and Leverett had received a

[18]Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 5:91-93.

[19]Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 49:266-267.

supplement to their salary while the president was absent from the college). Ultimately Sever feared that the tutors were being left with only the responsibility for governing the houses (or dormitories) at Harvard: "if we are left with little more than a Name to govern the house, we must needs become despicable in the eyes of those we ought to govern." Sever concluded by calling for the tutors to be appointed to the vacant positions on the Corporation. Sever's fear of the loss of status is similar to that of the late nineteenth-century professionals who also saw the gradual decline of their power and authority within the community. The tutors had been able to achieve an increased sense of professionalism in the first decades of the eighteenth century. That new-found professionalism was put in jeopardy by the college president and external forces (the liberal Congregational ministers) who wanted to control Harvard's governance.[20]

The tutors did not let the matter drop; in 1720 all three tutors, Henry Flynt, Nicholas Sever, and Thomas Robie, presented a memorial to President Leverett and the Harvard Corporation. The tutors argued that although the Charter of 1650 did not explicitly state that the tutors were to be considered Fellows of the Corporation, such was the tradition of European universities. Although he already sat on the Corporation, Henry Flynt joined the other two tutors in their challenge to the Harvard authorities. The three tutors showed remarkable solidarity against the President and Corporation. Not getting satisfaction from the president, the tutors turned next to the Harvard Overseers.[21]

The tutors' dispute rapidly developed larger ramifications. The Harvard Overseers was composed of magistrates and ministers and met infrequently, the Corporation being

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[20]Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 49:267-270; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 148-162.

[21] Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 49:317-320. The tutors also argued that "in the first dayes of the College the Corporation consisted of persons in the College and in the Town Wholly." In the seventeenth century, only two of the Fellows, the two tutors, had actually been resident in the college. It had been Harvard's practice to fill the other three seats in the Corporation with clergymen from the Cambridge area. The president and treasurer filled the other two seats. The treasurer was also from Cambridge until the late seventeenth century.

the main governing body by the early eighteenth century. The Overseers were authorized, however, to intervene in college affairs on extraordinary occasions. In 1721, Sever asked the Overseers to review the tutors' protest. Although traditional Puritans dominated the Overseers and evidence suggests that Sever and his fellow tutors were theological liberals, the Overseers nevertheless took up the tutors' cause as a way of displacing at least two of the liberal Congregationalists on the Harvard Corporation. The controversy quickly turned into a battle for religious control of Harvard by factions outside the college, and the professional concerns of the tutors were lost in the rhetoric of the religious struggle. The event's importance in the religious history of the period has obscured the basis of the tutors' original protest.[22]

The inability of the tutors to regain their seats on the Corporation did not signal their defeat. One or two tutors continued to sit on the Corporation, and they played an important role in Harvard's decision-making. They were frequently entrusted with college business that directly affected the town community. For example, in 1722, the Corporation appointed tutors Flynt and Robie (now both fellows of the Corporation) to represent the college in the laying out of a road through the college farm. Similarly, in early 1723, the Corporation asked Henry Flynt "to take with him Mr Sever and Mr Welsteed to View the College Lott in Cambridge neck and observe what trespass has bin committed thereupon." Three tutors were to inquire who was responsible and report back to the Corporation. Unlike most of the ministers on the board, the tutors were resident in Cambridge so were better situated to transact and oversee college business.[23]

The average length of service for the various tutors in the eighteenth century obscures the fact that a number of them served the college for substantial parts of their career. Although some tutors only served to three or four years, others remained for the

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[22]Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard. 64-73.

[23]Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 16:470, 480.

college for more than a decade. Henry Flynt was the longest-serving tutor (fifty-five years). Flynt is normally viewed as the exception (Finkelstein refers to him as a "permanent tutor" as if his status and appointment was different from the others at Harvard; it was not), but others served lengthy careers as well. Nathan Prince served for nineteen years (from 1723 to 1742) and would have served longer if not removed by the Harvard authorities. Thomas Marsh served twenty-five years and only resigned when the Corporation demanded it after his marriage. Marsh was so attached to the tutorship that he tried to keep his marriage a secret for a time. He turned to schoolteaching after his resignation from Harvard. Belcher Hancock also served twenty-five years, and retired in his post. A core of the mid-eighteenth century tutors are better characterized by their longevity and dedication to teaching than by their brief and transcient service.

Eighteenth-century tutors were also older at the time of their appointment (see table 2). Where the seventeenth-century tutors had been recent college graduates in their early twenties, by the mid-eighteenth century, the tutors were in their late twenties and early thirties when appointed to office. Almost all had already received their masters degrees; many had served as librarians or butlers at the college before their service as tutors and were, therefore, more experienced in the operations of the college. Given the greater age differences, the students' relationship with the tutors changed in the eighteenth century. According to Morison, students "chummed" less with the tutors and started to view them as enemies, rather than allies. In addition, teaching was less likely to preceed an entry into the ministry. Where before 1680, 73 percent of the tutors became ministers, by the mid-eighteenth century, only 33 percent did and as many as 40 percent remained in educational careers, serving as tutors, school teachers, or college professors until their death or retirement (see table 3). The eighteenth-century tutorship was

becoming a permanent career for some and the first stage of an emerging educational career track for others.[24]

The establishment of faculty chairs at Harvard in the 1720s continued the trends the tutors had started. Like the tutors, the average age of appointment for the professors was in their late twenties. Initially the professors were also given term appointments of five years, but by the late 1720s, the term was changed to life tenure. The careers of the professors closely replicated those of the longest-serving tutors. All of the professors appointed prior to 1770 except one served until illness or death forced their retirement. Unlike the senior tutors, however, the professors were for the most part excluded from the Harvard Corporation. In fact, during the 1730s, two of the tutors sat on the Corporation while Isaac Greenwood, the Hollis professor of mathematics and natural history, did not. In many cases between 1720 and 1760, the tutors on the Corporation were actually responsible for selecting and electing the professors to their chairs. But no more than one professor served on the Corporation at any given time in the eighteenth century.[25]

Ultimately, the increased professionalization of the tutors led to conflict with the newer professors. Like school masters, the tutors remained generalists, teaching all parts of the curriculum to a single set of students. Nevertheless, some of the tutors continued to hold positions as members of the Corporation and could, theoretically, control the governance of the college. Therefore, the tutors serving on the Corporation in the 1730s and 1740s actually directed the activities of the professors who did not. The tutors also held administrative responsibility for supervising the students both in college and in the town of Cambridge. The professors, on the other hand, were bound more tightly to their

[24]Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 8:137-140, 9:67-70; Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, 179. Living in the colleges led to the requirement that the tutors maintain a single state. The Corporation once made an exception to this rule in 1701, allowing Samuel Angier to live "from the Colleg" and appointing a "schollar of the House" to take Angier's place in the college. This is the model that would reappear in the late eighteenth century with the creation of the permanent tutorship. See Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 15:368.

[25] Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 16:682.

specific disciplines and did not provide general instruction, differentiating them from schoolteachers and grammar schoolmasters, nor did they directly supervise the life of students outside the classroom. After the creation of faculty chairs and the establishment of an externally-controlled Corporation in the mid-eighteenth century, the Harvard authorities began a concerted effort to reduce the tutorship to secondary importance in institutional governance and reducing its professional status.

As the size of the faculty increased in the eighteenth century, and most were excluded from the Corporation, separate faculty governance appeared at Harvard. The tutors and professors jointly formed the faculty. No distinction was made between the two types of positions. They began to meet regularly as a distinct group from the Corporation in 1725. Both had an equal voice in the meetings of the faculty. The new organization usurped some responsibilities formerly assigned to the tutors, however, including student discipline and oversight of the college's physical plant. The 1750s, saw further, purposeful reduction in the authority of the tutors. In the hierarchy of the college records, the professors were listed after the tutors until 1758, but were moved below the professors in that year. In 1755, the Corporation ordered "that (excepting those who are already Tutrs in Harvard College) no person whatsoever, that shall be hence forward chosen into sd office, shall abide therein more than eight years from his sd choice." Although the professors were appointed for life, the tutors were now appointed to fixed-term, terminal positions. In 1766, the tutorship was reconstructed. The tutors no longer followed a single class and instead each taught a single subject, mirroring the disciplinary organization of the professors. Although the tutors now had the same disciplinary allegiance as the faculty, they were restricted in their length of service. After mid-century the tutorship became a temporary career distinct from the professors. Tutors had to find another post at the conclusion of eight years at Harvard. With Hancock and Marsh's

retirement in the 1760s, the length of service started to decline to less than four years on average, a return to the seventeenth-century pattern. [26]

Although influenced by the religious divisions of the period, the tutors' dispute with the college was primarily an outgrowth of the increased professional self-image of the tutors. In the 1690s, the Harvard tutors had assumed primary control for Harvard, and had successfully changed the intellectual climate, opening the door for more liberal theology and more progressive thought. The tutors who began teaching in the following years remained longer, a number for the bulk of their professional careers. The theological disputes opened in the 1690s came back to haunt the tutors. In spite of their professional expansions, the tutors were excluded from governance and their authority lessened, in order to secure liberal control of the college.[27]

The development of a professional professoriate at Harvard extended over the entire eighteenth century. It began with the increased professionalism of the tutors in the first half of the eighteenth century and can be seen in their struggle with college authorities. In the second half of the century, the professors extended and continued these professionalizing trends. Ironically, the tutorship was reduced in authority after mid-century and returned to being a short-term, termporary teaching assignment. Without examining both the tutorship and the professorship, however, the process of professionalization become truncated.

* * *

It is true that Harvard maybe exceptional. Because of its early founding, it had an institutional maturity by the first half of the eighteenth century that its sister institutions lacked. Nevertheless, the trends at Harvard often have been a precursor for other institutions. It was by no means preordained that the tutors would become second-class

[26]Harvard Corporation Records (Harvard University Archives) 2:70, 113.

[27] Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass., 15:clvii-clix.

faculty. In fact, during the first half of the eighteenth century, their career paths suggested that two different, but not necessarily unequal, types of professional faculty might develop at Harvard. But the case of eighteenth century Harvard demonstrates the difficulty higher education has with sustaining multiple forms of the professoriate.

Given the changes in the professoriate during the last twenty-five years, the increased professionalization of the tutors during the colonial period can provide important insights for colleges today. Many universities are experimenting with new faculty models--non-tenured terminal positions, clinical-teaching faculty, interdisciplinary instructors--while preserving traditional disciplinary-based faculty. Harvard's eighteenth-century experience provides some important insights into these experiments of today. In spite of the tutors position of strength in the early eighteenth century, including positions on the Corporation, life-appointments, and operating responsibility for the college, dual faculty models led to the creation of faculty hierarchies. The professors were able to obtain first-class status, either through their more favorable teaching conditions, the prestige of the named chairs, or the greater freedom to marry, raise families, and settle outside the college. The tutorship was purposefully made a second tier teaching assignment, its tenure restricted and its authority reduced. The same tendencies continue today. Teaching faculty are less likely to hold tenure, the positions are often less desirable, renumeration lower, and the longevity often limited. In spite of good intentions, the power of disciplinary-based faculty, with the attendent focus on scholarly research productivity, becoming the prestige positions in higher education may be difficult to combat. The Harvard faculty in the eighteenth century was faced with multiple models for the faculty with competing interests. The Harvard faculty included both specialists and generalists. Just as the interests of teaching and research-oriented faculty can clash today, the professional standards and models of the tutors and professors clashed in the eighteenth century. The Professors won.

Table 1
LENGTH OF SERVICE OF THE HARVARD TUTORS
By Year of Appointment
1630-1750

YEARS OF SERVICE	1640-1659	1660-1679	1680-1699	1700-1719	1720-1739	1740-1759	1760-1775
1-3	16	16	2	3		2	7
4-6	4	3	1	3	1		6
7-9				1	2		1
10-12			2	1	1	1	
13-15							
16-19					2		
20-25						2	
over 25			1				
Total number of Tutors	20	19	7	8	6	4	14
Average Years of Service	2.7	2.6	13.3	5.6	11.2	12.6	3.8
Without Flynt			6.3				

Sources: Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1925), 15:clvii-clix
John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 17 vols. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-).

Table 2
AGE OF HAVARD TUTORS
At Year of Appointment
1630-1750

AGE	1640-1659	1660-1679	1680-1699	1700-1719	1720-1739	1740-1759	1760-1775
Less than 20	7	1					
20-24	9	13	5	3	1	2	3
25-29	1	4	2	3	5	1	7
30-34				1		2	4
35-30				1			
Unknown	3	1					
Total Number of Tutors	20	19	7	8	6	5	14
Average age at appointment	20	22	24	27	26	28	27

Sources: Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1925), 15:clvii-clix

John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 17 vols. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-).

Table 3
OCCUPATION AFTER SERVICE AT HARVARD
By Year of Departure

OCCUPATION	1640-1679	1680-1719	1720-1759	1760-1779
Minister	22	10	4	7
Law/Government	4	2	1	3
Physician	3		1	
Merchant	1	2	1	
Education*			3	3
Total Number of Tutors	30	14	9	13

*Education includes tutors who remained in office until retirement, became professors, or schoolmasters.

Eight tutors died during their appointments.

Sources: Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1925), 15:clvii-clix
John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 17 vols. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-).