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HENRY BARNARD - PROGRESSIVE EDUCATOR OF TEACHERS

RALPH C. ^{Carlton}JENKINS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the School of Education of
New York University

1937

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Many persons have contributed to this study so that it is difficult to express my indebtedness to all.

To Doctor Ambrose L. Suhrie my principal debt of gratitude is due. It was he who suggested the research problem to me. Appreciation is due to him, to Professor Herman H. Horne and to Professor Alonzo F. Myers for their kindness in reading critically the entire manuscript.

Through the good offices of Doctor Suhrie, I was invited to spend two weeks during the summer of 1936 as the guest of Doctor Will S. Monroe, who made available to me under the happiest circumstances his collection of about two thousand Barnard letters and papers and who permitted me to bring away in a stenographer's notebook some of his delightful reminiscences of Henry Barnard and his colleagues. I am very grateful to Doctor Monroe.

To Doctor Ernest W. Butterfield, my Commissioner of Education, himself a profound admirer of Doctor Barnard, I have an obligation both for the inspiration to pursue this study and for making available to me all the resources of his office and of the Charles D. Hine Library. I am grateful to the authorities of the Sterling Library at Yale for providing study space in its educational stacks and for permitting me to read the admirable thesis written by Doctor Anna Lou Blair on "Henry Barnard, School Administrator".

I am grateful to Miss Emily Barnard, sole surviving daughter of Henry Barnard, who gladly gave me of her time and loaned me several papers which were of material assistance.

I am also indebted to Miss Lillian Broch, a student in the Danbury Teachers College for assistance in collecting and classifying materials.

PREVIEW

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

What does Henry Barnard matter to the worker in the field of teacher education to-day? To the builders of institutions, curricula, programs? What are his distinctive contributions to the professional education of American teachers? An attempt to answer these questions is the aim of this thesis. Dr. Barnard said nearly a hundred years ago, "For one I mean to enjoy the satisfaction of labor, let who will enter into the harvest."¹ And now a century afterwards, the burden of this research is the publication of new material and some new interpretations of already published material, to the end that Henry Barnard may speak out more clearly in the years to come as a guide for the educators of teachers.

The author as the third Principal of the Danbury Normal School, the youngest Unit of the Teachers College of Connecticut, claims official descent from Henry Barnard, first Principal of the New Britain Normal School, the oldest Unit of the same college. The author's interest in the possibility of drawing inspiration for his daily work from the life and labors of Henry Barnard was aroused by the admiration shown by his superior officer, Doctor Ernest W. Butterfield, Commissioner of Education of Connecticut, for that great Connecticut Educator.

1. Bernard C. Steiner, Life of Henry Barnard, p. 28.

With the hope that he might find in the writings of Doctor Barnard on normal schools, some ideas for immediate use, the writer secured for the library of the Danbury Teachers College a copy of Barnard's "Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies and Means, Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers". With this treasure in hand, he wrote under the direction of Doctor Alonzo F. Myers, a study entitled, "Henry Barnard's Wanderjahre and the Teachers College of Connecticut". That study forms the basis of one of the chapters of this document.

The real stimulus to an original study of the distinctive contributions of Henry Barnard to the Education of Teachers came, however, from the author's major advisor at New York University, Doctor Ambrose L. Suhrie. As the result of a three-hour session with Doctor Suhrie lasting from midnight until three o'clock in the morning in the writer's home, the determination to add, if possible, some small contribution to our present knowledge as to whether or not Henry Barnard matters in the lives of present-day teachers was born. On two previous occasions and while Principal of the Johnson, Vermont, Normal School, the author had visited, with Doctor Suhrie, the Couching Lion Farm at Waterbury, Vermont, the home of Doctor Will S. Monroe, the foremost living authority on the life and work of Henry Barnard.

The Originality of the Questions Raised

There is no real biography of Henry Barnard. He himself planned to write an autobiography as testified by notes left among his papers. That Doctor Will S. Monroe intended to be Barnard's "Boswell" is evidenced by the fact that while the former was a Professor in Westfield, Massachusetts, State Normal School, he rode from that city to Hartford weekly on his bicycle

starting before daylight Sunday mornings in order to be at work copying Barnard's letters and working with his friend during those early morning hours when Barnard was accustomed to carry on his literary activity.

Doctor Monroe's "The Educational Labors of Henry Barnard" (1893) is little more than a brochure. The most complete life is a bulletin of one hundred thirty pages entitled "Life of Henry Barnard, The First United States Commissioner of Education 1867-1870". This was written by Bernard C. Steiner and published (1919) by the United States Bureau of Education. Even briefer biographical sketches of various aspects of Barnard's life are published in reports of the United States Commissioner of Education and of the Proceedings of the National Education Association. Selected readings from Barnard's writings have been carefully edited by Doctor John S. Brubacher, Assistant Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education, Yale University, classified and published in a volume, "Henry Barnard on Education", (1931). Merle Curti, Professor of History, Smith College, in the tenth volume of the Report of the American Historical Association Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, "The Social Ideas of American Educators" has an excellent chapter entitled "Henry Barnard". There are numerous magazine articles on various aspects of his work.

Reverend Anson P. Stokes in his "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men" states that "a life of Henry Barnard is a desideratum". Doctor Clyde Hill, Chairman of the Yale Graduate Department of Education, has expressed to the author the hope that in 1938, the one hundredth anniversary of Barnard's appointment as Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Commissioners of Common Schools, Yale University will be able to bring about the publication of an adequate biography of her most illustrious educator.

The nearest approach to this study is the doctorate dissertation, "Henry Barnard, School Administrator" by Doctor Anna Lou Blair (Ph.D., Litt. D.) Chairman of the Department of Modern Languages, Southwestern Missouri State Teachers College, Springfield, Missouri, and submitted to Yale University in 1931. In this study, Doctor Blair has one chapter named "The Heart of the Whole Matter, the Training of Teachers". One of the first steps taken by the author after deciding to study the problem of Barnard's distinctive contributions to the education of teachers was to communicate with Miss Blair to determine whether in her opinion there might be sufficient material still unpublished to make the study worth while. A telegram from Doctor Blair stated that in her opinion there was abundant material for such a study.

The Chief Sources of Data

The chief published sources of data used were Doctor Barnard's own voluminous writings including about seventy-five titles of Library of Congress Cards and additional book and pamphlet material included in the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University, the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut, the Charles D. Hine Library of the Connecticut State Board of Education, the New York University (Washington Square) Library, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

The chief sources of unpublished data, however, were the reports and references to Henry Barnard in the archives of the State Board of Education in Hartford (including a record of the minutes of the Board of Normal School Commissioners), the letters, manuscripts, pamphlets, newspaper clippings,

photographs, et cetera, filling a large trunk in the Hartford Athenaeum (the so-called Watkinson collection), and the Monroe Collection.

The Monroe Collection of approximately two thousand original letters written to Henry Barnard by correspondents in all parts of the United States and in foreign countries, carefully preserved throughout his life time and described by Doctor Blair as "a veritable mine of historical treasure for the future historian of early American education", was the chief source of original material used in this study. These letters were made available to the author through the good offices of his sponsor, Doctor Ambrose L. Suhrie, and through the great kindness of Doctor Will S. Monroe.

Assisted by a secretary the author worked for two weeks during the summer of 1936 at Couching Lion Farm, the home of Doctor Monroe near Waterbury, Vermont, examining every one of these letters. Those which seemed to bear on the problem of Dr. Barnard's distinctive contributions to the education of teachers were either copied in their entirety or in part. Some time on each of several afternoons was devoted to taking down stenographic notes of interviews between the author and Doctor Monroe concerning his life work and his reminiscences of Dr. Barnard. One set of the copies of Barnard's letters was sent to the Department of Teachers-College and Normal-School Education of the School of Education, New York University. At the conclusion of the study, the original letters (at the request of Doctor Monroe) were carefully indexed, boxed and labeled. They have since been presented by Doctor Monroe to the New York University Library, thus giving it the most complete collection of Barnard material in existence today.

The writer has visited Miss Emily Barnard, sole survivor of the five children of Henry and Josephine DesNoyers Barnard, at her home in Salisbury, Connecticut, and obtained from her a photograph, magazine material and reminiscences of her father. Some years ago the author took Albert E. Winship of Boston (quoted in several chapters of this thesis on the historical interpretation of the Franklin- Noah Webster - Barnard - Harris succession in Chapter II) to the grave of William T. Harris. At that time Doctor Winship spoke at length of Barnard, Monroe, Harris, Lucy Wheelock, and other pioneers in the education of American teachers, and with particular reference to the preeminence of Barnard as a pioneer in this field.

Considerable secondary material in the Library of Congress and the Library of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C. was examined.

The Significance of the Questions

The twenty years' experience that the author has had in school administration, nine of which have been in the field of teacher education, has given him a background by which to approach this study as a practical problem. This question has been kept in mind constantly. What distinctive contributions has Doctor Barnard made to the education of teachers which are useful for a person working in the field of teacher education to know about in order either to broaden his philosophy or improve his practice? For seven years the author taught the History of Education in the State Normal School at Johnson, Vermont, and he has kept in mind the inclusion of certain data which might be useful to teachers of the History of American Education in normal schools or teachers colleges. Chapter XII, the summarizing chapter at the close of the thesis, shows the chief points on which the writer makes

claim either to the discovery of hitherto unpublished knowledge or to new interpretations of existing knowledge.

The following pages are the Record, and he who labors to-day in the field of teacher education may read the story of one who lived and labored long ago and discovered and utilized many of the things that the unthinking modern believes are his own inventions.

PREVIEW

CHAPTER II

HENRY BARNARD, A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Three men--Noah Webster, Henry Barnard, and William T. Harris, all graduates of Yale University--took up the torch lighted by Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth century and carried it down to the twentieth. Early in his life Noah Webster "called on Benjamin Franklin, then recently returned from Europe, full of an old man's wisdom and anecdotes. . . . With a gleam in his eye Franklin drew out the young schoolmaster, led him on to avow an interest in simplified spelling, and then proposed that they should converse further on the subject after Webster's own ideas matured."¹

The last word that Franklin ever wrote on education was in a letter to Webster. Franklin pronounced the spelling book "'an excellent work,' one that would be greatly useful 'in turning the thoughts of our countrymen to correct writing.'"² This was written on December 26, 1789.

On March 10, 1835, Noah Webster took pen in hand to write the following letter in behalf of Henry Barnard who was just out of the Yale Law School and making plans for his European "Wanderjahre".

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1. H. R. Warfel, Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America, p. 136.
 2. Report, United States Commissioner of Education, 1902, Volume 1, p. 161.

New Haven, Connecticut
March 10, 1835

Thomas Musgrave
Professor of Arabic
Trinity College
Cambridge, England

I take this liberty to introduce to you the bearer, Henry Barnard Esq. of this State, a young gentleman of the bar, and of good character and talents. He is on a visit of curiosity and observation to Europe, and if you shall receive this letter and shall facilitate his inquiries, you will bestow a favor on me

Noah Webster¹

William T. Harris was in touch with Doctor Barnard for over half a century. "While it was Barnard and Mann who laid the foundations of the American public school system, it was William T. Harris who presided over the rearing of the structure."²

Dr. Harris wrote in his introduction to the "Analytical Index to Barnard's American Journal of Education" the following: "This work of Doctor Henry Barnard, the first United States Commissioner of Education, is, in fact, a library of education in itself."³ The first volume of this monumental work appeared the summer after Harris entered Yale. In order that the twenty-eighth volume might be published in 1878, Doctor Harris "cooperated in organizing a corporation in New York having a capital stock of \$25,000 of which \$2,000 were paid in, to carry on the Journal."⁴

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1. Barnard Letters (unpublished) Monroe Collection, New York University, New York.
 2. Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators, Scribners, (1935), p. 310.
 3. Analytical Index to Barnard's American Journal of Education, United States Bureau of Education Report, (1892), p. 3.
 4. Bernard C. Steiner, Life of Henry Barnard, p. 117.

The last volume of the Journal published by Barnard himself came out in 1881, the year after Dr. Harris closed his quarter of a century of service for the schools of St. Louis, went to Europe, and then settled in Concord, Massachusetts, becoming one of the founders of the Concord School of Philosophy and Literature.

That fate should have tied together all of these men, Franklin, Webster, Barnard and Harris, in part at least through their European experiences, is only natural when one reflects that a great movement for popular education had arisen in Europe during the eighteenth century. "A vast literature had sprung up around the works of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and the group of voluminous educational writers waked into life by their radical theories."¹ Institutions like the Philanthropinum founded by Basedow in 1774, Pestalozzi's school at Yverdon, where twenty years of his life from 1804 to 1824 were spent, and the school at Hofwyl conducted from 1806 to 1844 by Fellenberg profoundly influenced American opinion. Barnard later described the school at Hofwyl as "the most influential school that ever existed".²

Born of Puritan ancestry in a well-to-do family in the town of Hartford, Connecticut, whose population in the year 1810 numbered three more than six thousand, Henry Barnard was destined to live on into the twentieth century. When he passed away in the year 1900 in the house where he was born, Hartford had become a city with a population of slightly under eighty thousand souls. During the intervening years he had come to be an outstanding man in American Education. The third of a century which has elapsed since his death has but added to his fame.

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1. A. D. Mayo, Henry Barnard, United States Bureau of Education Report, 1896-7, Volume 1, p. 770.
 2. Paul Monroe, Textbook on the History of Education, p. 723.

He attended the common schools of his native town and described himself later as a "victim of a miserable district school".¹ Yet later he said, "It is a common school, a school of equal rights where merit and not social position is the acknowledged basis of distinction and therefore the fittest seminary to give the schooling essential to the American Citizen."² It was a school which was in the process of becoming better by the simple process of "applying a portion of the School fund to the encouragement of the higher branches of education".³ For "nothing which could be done would more than this directly benefit the common schools themselves. Let a superior school, intermediate between the common schools and the University, be maintained in each county of the State, where all of those who aspire to teach in common schools may be themselves thoroughly instructed."⁴ Here was a suggestion for the establishment of a teacher training institution in Connecticut and only one in each county. This suggestion was in print and available for Henry Barnard to read in the year 1823, the year that he left the common school and drove away with his father to the academy. This was the same year that Samuel Read Hall opened his Columbian School at Concord Corner, Vermont, the first normal school in America.

Monson Academy where Barnard received "one year of . . . kind, encouraging advice as to how to study and use books,"⁵ was established in 1806 under Reverend Simeon Colton with 95 scholars."⁶ After a year at Monson,

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1. Henry Barnard, American Journal of Education, Volume 28, p. 227.
 2. New England Magazine, May 1896, p. 445.
 3. Bernard C. Steiner, Life of Henry Barnard, p. 8.
 4. Loc.cit.
 5. Loc.cit.
 6. Connecticut Journal and Post Boy, New Haven, November 23, 1824.

Barnard returned to Hartford and studied privately for several months with Reverend Abel Flint and then entered, in 1825, the famous Hopkins Grammar School which had been in continuous existence in his native city since 1638, three years after the settlement of the Hartford Colony. The principal, William M. Halland, had been in office since 1824 and in 1826 "followed the usual route to a tutorship in Yale College."¹ In the Hopkins Grammar School he saw "an instructor always accompanying pupils on the playground."² Years later Barnard characterized Mr. Halland as "one of the best teachers I ever knew He was prepared to solve completely all questions of my starting. . . . He encouraged me to read and acquire a vocabulary for reading. . . . He had good common sense, a knowledge of methods, and a faculty of interesting young persons in their studies."³

Mr. Halland advised the young student what to read and Daniel Wadsworth gave him entree to the Hartford Library, where he became a regular borrower of books.

The Hopkins Grammar School year was most notable in the history of teacher education in America. In the winter of that year appeared in the Connecticut Observer Gallaudet's plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth, and in the Boston Patriot appeared Carter's Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers. Johnson's Observations on the Improvement of Seminaries of Learning appeared in Pennsylvania and Governor Clinton made recommendation to the Legislature of New York for 'the education of competent teachers.'⁴

The Yale years were from 1826 to 1830. Young Barnard's vacations were usually spent at home but the Spring vacation of 1828 was spent in travel.

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1. Catalog, Hartford Public High School, 1925, p. 60.
 2. Vera M. Butler, Education as Revealed by New England Newspapers Prior to 1850, p. 168.
 3. Henry Barnard, American Journal of Education, Volume 28, p. 227.
 4. Henry Barnard, Normal Schools, and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers, Introduction, p. 7.

This was the year when "On his seventieth birthday Noah Webster lifted his eyes from the last proof sheet of the Scholarly Introduction to his Dictionary. Slowly he wiped the ink from the quill, laid it down, and methodically capped the inkwell. His moist eyes blinked. He turned to his wife and colleague, caught her hand, together they knelt by the desk and prayed tremblingly in giving thanks to God for His providence in sustaining them through their long labor."¹

In every city where Barnard traveled he took notice of the schools and in 1828 and 1829 he wrote articles for the New England Review on Schools in Boston, Worcester, New Haven and Northampton.

"In College he was a high scholar and a member of Phi Beta Kappa."² He was President of Linonia, the debating society, to which Noah Webster had belonged before him. "During his Junior and Senior years he acted as an assistant to the librarian of the society, gaining an experience in bibliography that was of special value to his later literary work."³ Both Noah Webster and Henry Barnard gave books to the society.

It was "while he was on an enforced visit home during his Yale days due to his participation in the Bread and Butter Rebellion that Dr. Eli Todd, the family physician, (Founder and first Superintendent of the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane at Hartford) awakened in him an interest in Pestalozzi's work."⁴ The torch was not passed on directly but through William McClure, "the first real Pestalozzian in America."

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1. H. R. Warfel, Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America, p. 1.
 2. Memorials of Eminent Yale Men, Yale University Press, 1914, p. 254.
 3. Will S. Monroe, The Educational Labors of Henry Barnard, p. 9.
 4. Dictionary of American Biography, Volume I, p. 623.

It was while Barnard was still in college that Samuel Read Hall published his "Lectures on Schoolkeeping" in 1829. This book, "the first professional book published in America designed particularly for the guidance of teachers,"¹ "was widely read in Connecticut".²

It was the year Barnard graduated from Yale that "the first State Convention of instructors and the friends of education was held in Hartford in the room of the House of Representatives with about one hundred and fifty men from different parts of the state present and with the Honorable Noah Webster, LL.D., serving as President."³

The year after graduating from Yale was spent in the only regular school teaching in any institution that Barnard ever did. He accepted a position in a school in Wellsboro, Tioga County, Pennsylvania. Of his practical experience in that school he later said "we are not sure of our knowledge of any subject until we have succeeded in making ourselves vividly and thoroughly understood by others on that subject."⁴ "He always advised a young man to teach for a year as the best way to settle in his mind what he had learned."⁵

The years from 1831 to 1837 were spent in study and travel. He habitually alternated the study of Kent and Blackstone with the reading of Bacon or Homer or Vergil. During the year 1833-34 he was a student in the Yale Law School and in the winter of 1834-35 was admitted to the bar. It was during the year 1835 that he suggested to his benefactor, Daniel Wadsworth, who was

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1. E.P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States, Revised, p. 325.
 2. Butler, op. cit., p. 377.
 3. Ibid., p. 382.
 4. Henry Barnard, American Journal of Education, Volume I, p. 665.
 5. Will S. Monroe, Note on cover of account book. Accounts from Hartford to Wellsboro, Watkinson Collection, Hartford Athenaeum.

considering the establishment of an art gallery in Hartford that "the Athenaeum include not merely a gallery of art but accommodate the Hartford Library Association."¹ Thus the Hartford Public Library was born.

It was a century ago (1837) when, without any effort on his part, Barnard's friends and neighbors catapulted him into the Connecticut General Assembly. He was twenty-six years old, a gifted speaker, a lawyer, and a traveler who had visited most of the then civilized America, and who had put in a "wanderjahre" on the European Continent.

Barnard himself said at the beginning of his career: "So far back as I have any recollection, the cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being without regard to the incidents of birth or fortune, seemed most worthy of the consecration of all my powers, and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money and labor which I might be called to make in its behalf."²

It has been customary, however, for some biographers of Barnard to ascribe his subsequent life interest in education largely to the chance that Judge George Sharpe of Abington asked him to introduce into the legislature of 1837 two bills, one "for the more thorough local visitation and inspection of the schools by paying the school visitors", and the other "a resolution to secure from the comptroller official information as to the common schools of the state."³

1. Bernard C. Steiner, Life of Henry Barnard, p. 22.

2. William T. Harris, Remarks at the Celebration of Henry Barnard's Birthday in Hartford, Monday, January 25, 1897, United States Bureau of Education Report, 1902, Volume I, p. 890.

3. Steiner, op. cit., p. 26.

Hughes says, "He had no intention to devote his life to educational work when he left college. . . . He did not enjoy the work of teaching (at Wellsboro, Pennsylvania) and after a few months returned to the study of law."¹ Brubacker writes, "In 1837 he was caught up in a chain of circumstances which rapidly and pointedly shaped his whole future life."²

The writer of this thesis is led to the conclusion that it was rather a succession of events in which the environment made the man as well as a situation in which the man changed his environment. Among these factors were (1) the school conditions of the state,

Our district school had sunk into a deplorable condition of inefficiency and no longer deserved the name of common in its best sense, that there was not one educated family in a hundred that relied on the district school for the instruction of their children, and if they did go, the instruction was of the most elementary character. All the higher education of the State was given in denominational academies and irresponsible private schools of every degree of demerit.³

(2) the counsels of friends,

Dr. Bushnell said in his address at the opening of the Normal School in New Britain in 1851, 'I remember with fresh interest today (June 6, 1850) how my talented friend (Barnard) consulted with me thirteen years ago in regard to his plans of life, raising in particular the question whether he should give himself wholly and finally to the cause of public schools.'⁴

(3) visitations and contacts. The visiting of schools in various cities in America, the visitation of Yverdun and Hofwyl, the personal enthusiasm of Woodbridge, Todd and Noah Webster, the reports of Griscom, Cousin and Stowe.

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1. James L. Hughes, Henry Barnard, the Nestor of American Education, New England Magazine, July 1896, p. 565.
 2. Barnard, op. cit., Volume 28, p. 227.
 3. Steiner, op.cit., p. 27, Note 10.
 4. Board of Trustees of the State Normal School, Unpaged minutes. Connecticut State Board of Education Vault.

All these circumstances and experiences contributed to direct Barnard's emotions, intellect, and will to education as a public career. The Legislature of Connecticut was only an instrument through which all of the patterns of behavior which had been forming Henry Barnard's personality for the previous ten years, were to find expression.

They were much the same patterns which led Horace Mann this same year to write to a friend, "I no longer write myself attorney, counsellor, or lawyer. My law books are for sale. My office is 'to let'. The bar is no longer my forum. My jurisdiction is changed. I have abandoned jurisprudence and betaken myself to the larger sphere of mind and morals."¹

Judge Sharpe did not return to the legislature of 1838 but Barnard presented again the bills which had failed of passage the previous year, this time amplified "to provide for the better supervision of the common schools." In this bill the guidance of educational affairs was placed in the hands of a Board of Commissioners of eight members. "His speech in introducing the bill was a brilliant effort which gave to educational questions a dignity never before accorded to them in any legislature or parliament of the world."² The bill became a law May 31, 1838. The governor appointed the first board to include Henry Barnard 2nd, Esq., "The Board had appointed Barnard to be its secretary and handle school reports and suggest remedies in the light of their findings. He was to visit schools throughout the State and each county was urged to hold a convention with him. A magazine known as the Common School Journal would be published semi-monthly as a public organ of communication between the board and the people."³

1. E. P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States, p. 223.

2. Hughes, op. cit., p. 566.

3. Vera M. Butler, Education as Revealed by New England Newspapers Prior to 1850, p. 386.