

The Evolution of *The History Teacher* and the Reform of History Education¹

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THE HISTORY TEACHER originated in a movement to reform history education that grew up among historians in both schools and universities in the 1960s. The call went out to raise the intellectual level of history teaching by having students analyze primary sources in open-ended discussions and thereby, it was often said, “become their own historians.”² Teaching with open-ended discussion, “inquiry” methods, became a social cause for a highly motivated group of teachers and professors. As major new sources of funding arose in a time of prosperity, leaders of the movement worked with sympathetic officials of the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) to develop conferences and in-service projects, from which the school-university partnerships widespread today first emerged. Leadership sprang from contrasting levels of educational institutions, and certain officers of the American Historical Association (AHA) lent support to the cause. This essay will discuss a major goal that developed in the movement: to establish a journal on history education designed to answer the needs of instructors in both schools and colleges. The opinion arose that a periodical was necessary where efforts to improve teaching methods could be discussed critically. Through this means, history teaching would emerge as a mission central to the history profession and the AHA.

Tracing the evolution of such a journal will take us through the three incarnations that *The History Teacher* went through since 1940. In

that year, the History Department at Notre Dame University began the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Teachers' History Club* as a mimeographed newsletter, produced by nuns teaching in Catholic schools who worked toward the B.A. in the summer session. Then, in 1967, the bulletin was transformed into a professional journal aimed at a national readership with the title *The History Teacher*. The format and intellectual focus established at that point persisted to a considerable extent in the long term. Finally, in 1972, the editor Leon Bernard, finding himself in bad health, passed the journal on to the history department at California State College, Long Beach. The central figure in the transfer was Eugene L. Asher, who built a consortium of school-university partnerships called the History Education Project (HEP) from 1969 to 1975 under a grant from the USOE.

For a decade after 1972, *The History Teacher* served as the mouthpiece for the leadership group guiding reform of history education. During the 1980s, the journal experienced an internal crisis and the death of Eugene Asher, and therefore participated less with the new movement for history education that emerged in that decade. But the journal regained momentum in the early 1990s, being closely involved with the growing programs for teaching led by the American Historical Association. In tracing this history, we will keep three aspects in mind—the movement, the journal, and the professional association. I bring personal experience to this narrative, since, after taking a post at Long Beach State College in 1968, I joined the Editorial Board of *The History Teacher* in 1975 and served as Editor between 1995 and 2000.

Early Ideas for a Journal on Teaching History

A tradition dated from the late nineteenth century, by which history professors from teachers colleges and major universities might attend meetings of state teachers associations, giving lectures and mingling with teachers and professors of education.³ Ian Tyrrell characterized the tradition as an informal alliance whereby elite colleges or universities might place high value on teaching and connecting with teachers, bolstered by a tendency of historians to begin teaching in schools.⁴ But the tradition had weakened greatly by the 1950s as universities expanded, research agendas became more central, and teachers colleges were changed into universities—making the preparation of teachers and instruction in history have less and less to do with one another. The movement for reform of history education arose in large part to build new kinds of partnership between schools and universities. The leaders came from virtually all levels of post-secondary education—community colleges, private colleges, research-oriented universities, and second-tier public universities. A

leadership group emerged among historians who wanted to engage with teachers in thinking about how the subject might best be taught. These historians articulated the principal that professors should be involved with the many students in their classes who were going on to teach in the schools. A career pattern developed—indeed, continues to the present day—by which some historians devoted much of their careers to working in teacher preparation or programs in the schools, possibly with links to departments of education.

The reform movement among historians was closely involved with a larger development called the New Social Studies. Political response to the Russian challenge seen in *Sputnik* in 1957 led to funding of the National Defense Education Act for projects linking schools and universities in the attempt to improve American education. A new kind pedagogical idealism grew up, influenced by earlier tendencies in progressive education, which led to wide-ranging experiments in the teaching of history and the social studies. Stimulated by the thinking of Harvard psychologist Jerome Bruner, projects developed to foster inquiry methods, lessons involving controversial public issues, and interdisciplinary multi-culturalism.⁵ But the movement was disrupted in both history and the social studies by the political crisis of the early 1970s, as federal and local funding for such programs became greatly diminished and the idealism of the new methods was widely challenged. A disillusionment set in with the new methods as charges arose that they went beyond what most students could easily handle. Recent writing on the New Social Studies has nevertheless disclosed that aspects of the early movement survived or were revisited at the end of the twentieth century.⁶ In retrospect, one is impressed that the pedagogical movement accomplished as much as it did in a short time period.

The effort to reform teaching in the schools interacted closely with a parallel movement in the colleges. A major rethinking of undergraduate history courses went on in the 1960s; publishers issued numerous collections of primary sources, and open-ended discussion became fairly common in the classroom. For example, William R. Taylor, author of a path-breaking book on the American South, reshaped undergraduate courses at the University of Wisconsin along these lines, stimulating other historians to follow suit elsewhere.⁷ Still, the movement for reform in the schools captured historians' minds first and foremost. Reform of undergraduate teaching remained a matter of local or individual activity, but was enriched by the better-organized movement for collaboration with schools.

Contrasting goals for a journal on history education emerged from the start: should it resemble scholarly journals based in history departments,

or should it be established in the grass roots of history teachers in the schools? Two figures who disagreed along these lines—Richard H. Brown and Eugene L. Asher—took the principal leadership in bringing about a periodical, though they nonetheless worked together successfully. It is important that neither figure held a position in a major college or university, different from almost all the officers of the AHA. Brown and Asher succeeded in stimulating new kinds of partnerships among teachers and professors for the very reason that they came from outside the world of elite education.

Programs about history education had been distinctly secondary among activities of the American Historical Association since the 1920s. Prior to World War I, practicing teachers formed a substantial component of the membership, and the association began publishing the *History Teacher's Magazine* in 1909. But as Robert Townsend and Ian Tyrrell have shown, from the 1920s, the AHA had less and less to do with either teaching, museums, public history, or the larger reading public, and control of the *History Teacher's Magazine* shifted primarily to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) under the title *Social Education*.⁸ The assistant directors of the organization—George Barr Carson (1956-1961), Walter Rundell (1961-1965), and Robert L. Zangrando (1965-1969)—quietly helped schools or colleges set up conferences, and a series of historiographical pamphlets were published ostensibly for school teachers, but in reality were read mostly by graduate students.⁹ The AHA's Committee on Teaching included a few teachers and such eminent scholars as Frank Friedel and Joseph Strayer, but few faculty from public colleges without doctoral programs, where most teachers were being trained.

Richard Brown directed the Amherst Project, an effort by which seventy pamphlets containing primary sources on U.S. history were published between 1964 and 1972. Begun under the leadership of Van R. Halsey, assistant admissions director at Amherst College, the project ended up with relatively little to do with that institution, and the great majority of the booklets were written by school teachers. Richard Brown was originally assistant professor at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, but moved the project (called the Committee on the Study of History) to Chicago in 1962 to be under the auspices of the Newberry Library. In 1964, the USOE made the first of three major grants to the project that funded training programs for teachers to use the booklets through inquiry methods. Called "Workshops for Education Development Teams," the week-long programs were held, for example, in Vancouver (WA), Sonoma (CA), Dallas (TX), Tulsa (OK), Columbus (OH), Newark (DE), and Port Washington (NY).¹⁰ As word of the pamphlets spread across the country, Brown emerged as the most prominent figure in the movement

for reforming history education. After the grants ended in 1972, he was appointed Vice-President for Academic Affairs at the Newberry Library, developing projects of community outreach in collaboration with its vigorous director, Lawrence Towner.

Eugene Asher developed a new kind of career as a leader of historians in collaboration with teachers in the schools. A UCLA graduate, Asher published an influential book on the navy of Louis XIV and in 1959 established himself at Long Beach State College, one of twenty-two State Colleges offering the B.A. and the M.A. (they were renamed as universities in 1972).¹¹ From 1965, he was chair of a State Commission that published a document outlining principles for teaching history and social studies, influenced by the thinking of Jerome Bruner. He and Charles Sellers of the University of California, Berkeley, set up a regional committee on history education linking the AHA and the Organization of American Historians (OAH).¹² For two years, Asher administered the first USOE grant as a visiting professor in the history department at Indiana University, Bloomington, working with Leo Solt, chair of the history department, and Howard Mehlinger, a historian who became one of the most important social educators of his generation. By the time Asher brought the HEP to Long Beach in 1971, it had gathered together partnerships involving some over twenty universities, most prominently in New Haven (CT), Stony Brook (NY), Durham (NC), Wilmington (DE), St. Louis (MO), Denver (CO), Long Beach (CA), Seattle (WA), and Houston (TX).¹³ Brown and Asher were in contact from at least 1967, and their projects co-sponsored workshops for teaching with inquiry methods in Bloomington and Wilmington.¹⁴

Brown worked with the field of social studies more closely than Asher, for he attended meetings of the influential Consortium for Social Science Education and kept his distance from the AHA.¹⁵ Since the authors of the pamphlets were mostly teachers, many of the topics were pertinent to civics courses. Asher expressed skepticism about the social studies and focused his attention on drawing leading historians into history education—most prominently, Robert Palmer of Yale University, a major officer of the AHA. The HEP became the focal-point of the AHA's Committee on Teaching through the work of William Taylor, Thomas Pressly (University of Washington), and Glenn Linden and Charles Ritcheson (Southern Methodist University). Through Asher's encouragement, Richard Brown became increasingly involved in the AHA, emerging as the main candidate for the editor of the proposed journal on history education.

The idea of such a periodical arose in 1965, stimulated in large part by passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and expansion of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) program into humanities

and social sciences. Even before that time, Arthur Bestor, the prominent critic of American education, had suggested such a project within his campaign to free the preparation of teachers from professional educators.¹⁶ Younger historians found Bestor's language pretentious and disassociated from the world of modern schools. The idea of starting a journal came up in a panel on teaching held at the 1965 meeting of the AHA, voiced by Charles Sellers and by Charles Moody, the State Commissioner of Higher Education.¹⁷ In a document called "History in the Schools," Sellers pointed toward the thinking of Richard Brown in urging the AHA and OAH to build a clearinghouse where ideas and programs on teaching could be made known.¹⁸ The effort marked a notable resurgence of interest in the schools after two decades, when links between schools and universities had all but disappeared. Yet collaboration between the two sectors was to survive due more to efforts of particularly dedicated individuals than programs in the AHA or the OAH.¹⁹

Since the association's financial basis seemed secure, it was assumed that the AHA would sponsor the teaching journal. Paul Ward, who became Executive Secretary in 1965, supported teaching projects more than any of his predecessors, the idea of a journal particularly.²⁰ The next year, the project was undertaken along with a broadly focused joint effort by the AHA, the NCSS, and the OAH, called the School History Projects Board. Led by Sellers, Richard Brown, and Henry Winkler, editor of the *American Historical Review*, the board argued for "a publication of a journal that will critically assess the flood of new visual and written materials being rained upon the secondary-school teacher." Another goal addressed by the effort was "encouragement of more universities to give special attention to the training and re-training of high school history teachers."²¹ The AHA's Committee on Teaching began looking for support from foundations with the help of Harold Howe, U.S. Commissioner of Education. The idea of starting such a journal also was broached on two campuses. The history department at Western Washington University in Bellingham discussed it, and the *Quarterly Bulletin* at Notre Dame University was redesigned for a national readership.²²

It is remarkable that founding a journal went as far as it did, given the novelty and cost of such a project. In August 1968, Brown thanked Wilson Smith, the young, aggressive chair of the AHA's Committee on Teaching from the University of California, Davis, for "trying to exhume the idea of a journal . . . formerly with the ill-fated School History Projects Board."²³ Brown did not think that the AHA's Service Center for teachers would be a productive basis for it. He had reason for concern, since controversy arose over the AHA's teaching projects as a whole from Robert K. Webb, Winkler's successor as editor of the *American Historical Review*. Webb

wrote a memorandum to Ward stating his “disquiet” with what the Executive Secretary and his colleagues were doing with teaching projects. While Webb agreed that it was good to talk about improving how history was taught in the schools, he was suspicious of claims that the new ways of teaching propounded by Richard Brown would succeed in “revolutionizing the profession” and he indeed frowned on any idea that history departments should be involved in training teachers. Most important of all, Webb saw no value in inquiry methods: “I do not believe that children are or should be capable of understanding how a historian works; in fact, I would argue that too much self-consciousness about method is very bad at any stage.”²⁴ Webb clearly spoke for others in the association’s leadership.

Progress toward a teaching journal was complicated by the intense dispute within the AHA over resolutions critical of the Vietnam War. The issue brought the organization into one of its most serious internal struggles in its history at the Annual Meeting in December 1969. Claims were made that the leadership was out of touch with the membership, as larger conflicts opened up between young and old historians, social versus political analysis, and universities with or without doctoral programs. The various disputes did not have the same followers for the most part; few leaders from the anti-war movement or the AHA’s teaching programs were involved in each other’s causes.²⁵ Yet the most highly motivated proponents of history education became increasingly hostile to the AHA leadership, an attitude which was to endure for some time. In 1970, the AHA Council formed a Review Board to reshape the structure of the AHA fundamentally, a procedure which had a good long-term product, but made for great uncertainty for several years. Looking back at how deep a crisis existed in the AHA, it is remarkable how much was accomplished in teaching programs while all this was happening.

Indeed, in early 1970, the history department at the State University of New York in Stony Brook offered to undertake the teaching journal. David Trask, chair of the department, was on the AHA Committee on Teaching; William Taylor, having relocated there, was leading the Stony Brook HEP, whereby graduate students helped teachers with curriculum and the teachers took seminars at the university.²⁶ Trask obtained a position for the editor of the journal and was willing to provide financial support for two years, though he did want the journal to be “owned” by the AHA and supported by a foundation.²⁷ A short list of candidates for the position was drawn up, including Richard Brown. But the bottom fell out of the effort in December 1970, when Trask reported that the position had been killed amidst “a stunning set of emergency economic measures” announced in Albany.

Trask admitted, too, that he worried that leaders in the effort had failed to define what the journal would do, warning that “the multiplicity of

perception may create some difficulties.”²⁸ While Brown was seen as future editor, he argued that basing the journal in a history department would lose touch with teachers in the schools. In “notes about the journal” he sent to Taylor in early December, Brown asked whether the “articles plus review model” was valid for the goals of such a journal, which he thought should provide “a clearinghouse of information about what is happening in history education throughout the country.” That, he argued, would best be done through a less formal process, the transmission of information comparable to what the *Whole Earth Catalogue* aimed to do. He envisioned teachers putting materials sent by the information center into a ring-binder, as the Amherst Project had made possible for booklets of primary sources.²⁹ He went even further in a letter to Ward a month later: “Quite frankly,” he wrote, “I think a base in a traditional university history department would make the journal less than it should be. . . . [S]uch a base would risk denying the journal access to half its potential constituency—the people outside the colleges and universities.” He accused David Trask of resisting any discussion of this issue.³⁰

Looking back, one sees a vision of the digital age in Brown’s thinking. He proposed that a clearinghouse of information called *Access to History* be available for a fee to school districts, universities, or individuals, designed to provide “descriptions of (and possibly reviews of) history education programs of possible interest to others, catalogued both by type and area.”³¹ That amounted to a specialized version of the service for obtaining educational materials called the Educational Resources Information Clearinghouse (ERIC), which arose in 1966 under the auspices of the Consortium for Social Science Education. Paul Ward ended up favoring Brown’s goal of a teacher-oriented clearinghouse over Trask’s plan for a journal in a history department. In a paper titled “The AHA and the Journal on the Teaching of History,” Ward stated that neither *Social Education* nor *The History Teacher*, “the two most relevant journals. . . represents well the interest and abilities which the AHA exists to promote; the specific articles in each that have come closer to doing this have in most cases seemed out of place and ineffective.”³²

Despite the collapse of the Stony Brook offer, officers of the AHA came to realize that wide-ranging support was developing for a journal on teaching. Robert Palmer wrote to Ward that the USOE could not grant funds for purposes of publication, but nevertheless suggested that “a great deal of interest in [the journal] exists throughout the membership of the Association, and probably even beyond.” Discussion of the subject at the AHA Council had led him to urge that “Messrs. Brown and Asher should get together very soon and draw up a concrete statement of needs. . . to be brought [to that body] for decision.” Yet Brown was talking about a minimum of \$40,000,

which Palmer said was “a very huge chunk out of anybody’s money.” In its September meetings in 1970 and 1971, the Council continued to see itself as the “principal sponsor” of the projected journal.³³

It is indeed impressive how far the AHA President and Council were willing to commit themselves to the new journal. John Rumbarger, assistant executive secretary, suggested that the journal could be a supplement to the *American Historical Review*: two free issues would be distributed to members, who could then pay a modest amount to get both periodicals. Richard Brown was interested chiefly in how to get non-members to subscribe.³⁴ But Leo Solt wrote to Robert Webb that he feared that the AHA could not undertake that big a financial commitment. The only possible financial base he saw was from the HEP; once that project was renewed for the fiscal year 1971-1972, he suggested, it could provide the means to get the journal through its first two or three years.³⁵

Brown likewise hoped that the History Education Project and a friendly foundation would help the project become self-sustaining. Once the AHA Council authorized up to \$2,000 for the project a week after receiving his plans, the Newberry Library appointed him to a half-time position to work on *Access to History*, and Northwestern University invited him to teach courses as a visiting professor. Brown speculated that “the basic question we should begin with is whether there ought to be a periodical at all, and what such a periodical might look like and do what would make it genuinely useful.” The HEP’s advisory board included numerous members of the Amherst Project board—Van Halsey (by then at Hampshire College), Peter Schrag (on the *Saturday Review*), and Edmund Traverso (a teacher at Amherst High School who took a position in charge of student teaching at Boston State College). The HEP board also included the distinguished social educator Hazel Hertzberg from Teachers College.³⁶

Thus, by the fall of 1971, a serious division had emerged between those who favored vesting the journal in a history department or merging it with a more broadly focused effort to disseminate information to teachers. Disagreement came to a head at an AHA-sponsored planning meeting held in Chicago on October 1-3, which Ward summed up in a letter to Brown as “a strenuous and honest discussion.” But planning all but ended when Paul Ward fell seriously ill and had to take a leave until the following August. We will return to this narrative after discussing the establishment of *The History Teacher* at the University of Notre Dame.

From Bulletin to Journal at Notre Dame

The University of Notre Dame was in a period of rapid growth when the history department began the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Teachers’*

History Club in 1940. The graduate school was established, and notable European intellectuals fleeing World War II joined the community. A letter appeared in almost every issue of the bulletin from its adviser, the Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, author of *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834* (1940), who served as history chair and university archivist. The *Quarterly Bulletin* was between twenty and fifty pages in length; informal in tone, it offered practical tips on teaching, short reviews of textbooks, and pieces on historical topics by members of the history department. A list of subscribers published in 1955 included 110 persons, most from the Middle West and a few from Massachusetts, California, and Alabama. The *History Teacher's Magazine* and *Social Education* tended to serve teachers of an idealistic or forward-looking outlook. The *Quarterly Bulletin* shows tendencies in that direction. It published numerous articles on world affairs and linked with a program of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which itself was linked with the history department. Other articles confronted the problem of how historical perspectives were related with Catholic belief. In 1940, for example, a review of textbooks stated that "Catholic teachers are acutely conscious of that feeling of being thrown on the defensive by the treatment of crucial periods in history found in many text-books....[This can be] avoided if Catholic texts are used."³⁷

The growing secularization of Catholic universities led to a gradual shift to lay leadership in the bulletin. In 1959, McAvoy handed over his role as adviser to a young colleague, Philip Gleason, who wrote widely on Catholicism and ethnicity.³⁸ Gleason had the bulletin printed and offered more articles by historians outside the university than had been the case before. Wilson Smith contributed a piece he had published in the *AHA Newsletter*, "History Departments and History in the Schools," and articles on the New Social Studies began appearing as well.³⁹ In one issue, the president of the History Club posed the question, "Is this 'Revolution in Social Science Teaching' really a Revolution or an Evolution?"⁴⁰

A more drastic change in look and focus came with Leon Bernard's initiation of *The History Teacher* in 1967. Interestingly enough, Bernard shared scholarly interests with Eugene Asher, having published *The Emerging City: Paris in the Age of Louis XIV* in 1970. Though Bernard did not always have the support of his colleagues, a few helpful graduate students took charge of business records. The first issue opened with a piece called "Why *The History Teacher*?" that set forth goals current in the movement for reform of history education:

The History Teacher's aim is to help create closer intellectual ties among school, college, and university teachers of history. It is self-evident that they all—from fledgling school-teachers to veteran Ph.D.'s—share a basic interest and concern. To these too-often isolated groups, *The History Teacher*

offers itself as a forum...[I]f it is to achieve its purpose, *The History Teacher* must be the joint endeavor of all educational levels. School-teachers are, therefore, extended a special invitation to speak out in this journal.⁴¹

Bernard enlisted historians from major universities for a Board of Consultants, obtaining articles from four of them.⁴² The most prominent members were Frank Friedel (Harvard University), Louis Gottschalk (University of Chicago), and Jerome Blum (Princeton University). The board members most active in history education were Edwin Fenton (Carnegie-Mellon University), John Snell (University of North Carolina), and Robert Zangrando of the AHA. Few faculty from schools of education participated in the journal in any way; Mark Krug (University of Chicago) was the only board member with such affiliation. Bernard shifted gears in the third year: Friedel and Gottschalk dropped out, and teachers from California, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio joined the board, only one from a Catholic school. Though contributions by teachers from the schools were less numerous than those by college professors, it was impressive that an issue usually had at least one.⁴³ Bernard struck a balance between articles on teaching methodology and on historical topics. The methodological pieces came in large part from the growing number of historians who were involved directly in teacher preparation. Almost all such historians came from institutions without doctoral programs whose students were going on to teach in the schools. Claire W. Keller, who supervised student teachers as history professor at Iowa State University, contributed "Adding Inquiry to the 'Inquiry' Method."⁴⁴

Leon Bernard aspired to make the journal a national publication, for after the initial issues, relatively few pieces were published by faculty at Notre Dame University. The first issue included welcome messages from Roy F. Nichols, President of the AHA, and Richard E. Gross, President of the NCSS.⁴⁵ Several major figures in history education published in the journal, most prominently Edwin Fenton and Robin W. Winks, the latter the Yale historian who led numerous programs for teachers in that period.⁴⁶ Moreover, *The History Teacher* ran up impressive circulation figures, with a print run supposedly as high as 3,000 at one point.⁴⁷ The boom in textbooks enabled periodicals to sell an increasing number of advertisements, which brought the funds by which to solicit subscribers. Yet the journal did not become well-known among the AHA leadership or historians active in teaching programs. Working almost alone on the journal, Bernard did not involve himself in the teaching programs of the AHA or the OAH. No reference to *The History Teacher* can be found in the minutes of the Committee on Teaching, or correspondence relating to it, save the brief, critical reference made by Paul Ward cited above. As we have seen, Paul Ward's preference for the ideas of Richard Brown kept him from viewing

The History Teacher as a welcome alternative to starting a journal from scratch. In February 1970, Bernard contacted Asher in Bloomington, indicating that he was thinking of passing *The History Teacher* to another university. Even though Asher told Ward about the offer, he seems to have been reluctant to entertain it because David Trask was proposing so strong of an institutional base for a new journal. Asher was also bothered that Bernard wanted to remain active on the journal, writing to Ward, "Leon wants to remain on as editor, a condition we are not likely to buy."⁴⁸

The History Teacher was still too little-known, and Richard Brown too dynamic a leader, for AHA leaders to change gears in their plans. But Asher clearly kept the Notre Dame offer up his sleeve, refraining from discussing it with many people. He must have suspected that Brown's ideas would not fare well in the long run and that adopting *The History Teacher* was the most practical path to take. In the meantime, the AHA's budgetary problems deteriorated so rapidly that an appeal was made to the membership for donations, and all serious discussion of AHA support for the journal ended.⁴⁹ On April 18, 1972, Bernard wrote Asher that he would entertain offers by other parties to assume *The History Teacher* with no strings attached. Asher—now back in Long Beach, chair of his department—moved fast, for on May 15, he asked the history department at Long Beach State to give him authority to make a bid for *The History Teacher*.⁵⁰

Asher and Brown ended up facing one another uneasily as opponents in the summer of 1972. Brown complained bitterly that Asher had not discussed with him the decision to take on *The History Teacher*. Asher recommended that the AHA support *Access to History*, but by that time, the association had no money for it.⁵¹ Paul Ward returned to work in this context in August. On September 30, the AHA Council refused to fund Brown's project. Lawrence Towner, the head of the Newberry Library, accused the AHA of backing out of an agreement "without consulting the Association's partner."⁵² Robert Webb had harshly criticized Brown's proposals in memos to the AHA's President, Thomas Cochrane, with copies sent to Brown. The idea of a clearinghouse, Webb said, was "idiotic from a publishing point of view...the competence of Brown is very definitely in question."⁵³ The letters between Ward and Webb, and indeed also between Ward and the Treasurer Elmer Louis Kayser, show that the AHA office was in turmoil, pointing ahead to Ward's departure from his post on July 1, 1974.

The Shift to Long Beach

Both California and Long Beach State College provided a sympathetic base for *The History Teacher*. We have seen that strong programs linking

schools and universities emerged in California during the 1960s, led variously by faculty from the University of California, the State Colleges, and the State Department of Education. Young historians in the State Colleges in Long Beach, San Francisco, Sonoma, Hayward, San Jose, and Northridge were involved in various programs with the schools.⁵⁴ State law required an “academic” major for a teaching credential, thereby bringing faculty in touch with reform-minded officials such as Charles Moody. From the school’s founding in 1949, Victor Peterson, a teacher educator, President of Long Beach State College, put programs in secondary education under the control of academic departments. A senior member of the history department served as coordinator of the program, and a half-dozen others supervised student teachers. Alan Brownsword, an assistant professor, led a statewide group for collaboration with the schools and in 1967 took a position in the USOE facilitating grants such as the History Education Project.⁵⁵ Indeed, Asher tried to coax Richard Brown to take a position at either Long Beach State College or in the central office of the State Colleges, but Brown was uninterested in moving west.⁵⁶

Eugene Asher demonstrated extraordinary agility in marshalling resources for *The History Teacher*, avoiding the uncertainty which had plagued previous planning. When he returned to Long Beach in April 1971, he was soon elected chair of a department torn by factional conflict, and the challenge of reshaping *The History Teacher* helped reinvigorate the department with a compelling new purpose. But the journal came with a debt and responsibility for 1,547 subscriptions, and building a new production team cost significantly. Historians from the university and from outside it (Alan Brownsword, for example) provided loans totaling \$4,300, and Asher must have contributed a lot himself.⁵⁷ He also somehow managed to get around a long-standing federal policy against use of funds for publication purposes. Richard Wilde, Dean of the School of Letters and Science and historian of the British Commonwealth, served as a key figure in making the journal last at the university, also funding release time for the editors out of their normal twelve-unit teaching loads.⁵⁸ To protect the journal institutionally and financially, Asher incorporated the Society for History Education (SHE) with the State of California so that it could remain legally independent of both the College and the office of the State University and Colleges.

Gene Asher was inimitable in the idiosyncratic ways by which he was able to guide and motivate the people around him. I recall seeing him stepping into his green Mustang, wearing a Harris Tweed suit with immaculately polished white tennis shoes. He was able to capture resources for the journal in large part because he acted as an intermediary between the University’s President, Stephen Horn, and the Academic Senate, which

opposed Horn bitterly. The President in fact was a member of the SHE board for a number of years. In 1976, Asher became the Special Assistant to the President and issued release time to editors of *The History Teacher* from that office. Along the way, he established KLON-FM (now KJZZ-FM) as a national jazz station affiliated with the university.

A large staff emerged by the first issue produced in Long Beach. The editor enjoyed having one or two associate editors, a business manager, a media editor, and a book review editor, as well as several assistants. The editors were all in their thirties, keen to take on a challenging project. More were specialists in American history than was the case with Leon Bernard and his board, and most of them had published a scholarly book.⁵⁹ Whereas Frederic Youngs (Editor the first year) wrote *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (1976), his successor Keith Polakoff (Editor, 1973-1977) published *The Politics of Inertia: The Election of 1876 and the End of Reconstruction* (1973), and Augustus Cerillo (Editor, 1977-1981) put out *Reform in New York City A Study of Urban Progressivism* (1991). Albie Burke (Editor, 1981-1984) brought in articles by a host of distinguished historians such as William McNeill, Michael Howard, Jacques Barzun, and Richard Neustadt.⁶⁰ The issues were sometimes twice as long as they had been formerly (6,000 words compared with the previous average of 3,000), and twice as many advertising pages now appeared. Even though there are conflicting records as to how many subscriptions came in, Business manager Robert Evans seems to have increased subscriptions to somewhere over 4,000 in 1976.⁶¹ But all in all, the framework of coverage and format established by Leon Bernard remained intact; the new editors owed a great deal to his initiative.

Once the journal was functioning, Asher began moving in a populist direction in propagating history education similar to what Richard Brown had espoused. In 1976, Asher applied Brown's idea of a clearinghouse of information on history education in developing a newsletter called the *Network News Exchange (NNE)* for a readership wider than *The History Teacher*. Edited by Robert Schnucker at Northeastern Missouri State College (now Truman State University), the *NNE* was sent two or three times a year to about 10,000 people in related organizations, offering reports on meetings, programs, and teaching tools developed in schools or colleges. In 1987, the newsletter was merged with the teaching column in the *AHA Perspectives*.⁶²

The staff of *The History Teacher* experienced divisions similar to those formerly between Asher and Brown. Only one officer of the journal was involved significantly with programs in the schools, and early memos indicate a resistance to publishing many articles on teaching methods. Some of the editors did not share Asher's populist vision of the journal

and accordingly resisted the whole idea of the *NNE*. Yet the staff grew into his vision quickly, as historians involved in teaching programs sent in pieces on pedagogical topics, developing a literature on the latest work on using inquiry and other new methods in history education. No such division arose over the endeavor to promote exchange between Britain and America in history education. In 1973 to 1974, the SHE sponsored conferences on teaching programs at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and then at the University of York. Aided by government funds, the meetings brought a hundred educators from elementary schools and officers of national organizations together to discuss common interests.

Eugene Asher envisioned the SHE as a force to make teaching a central mission of the AHA and the profession as a whole. He applied a strong—some thought partisan—political instinct to further the cause. In his preliminary and final reports on the HEP, he mapped out a strategy to deconstruct the “monolithic-structured AHA” by making the SHE a means to exert pressure on policy making within the Association.⁶³ The AHA Review Board provided an opening for his strategy by proposing that the organization be governed by three Divisions—for Research, Professional Matters, and Teaching—each led by a vice-president holding office for three years. Asher began negotiating for *The History Teacher* to become an official publication of the AHA, whereby a member of either organization could subscribe to that journal and the *American Historical Review* for a modest additional fee.⁶⁴ But he lost the election for vice-presidency to Warren Hollister of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the economic problems of the organization and resistance from other leaders ended Asher’s efforts to link the SHE with the AHA closely. The SHE instead joined the numerous “affiliated societies” of the Association.

Deep disillusionment with the AHA grew up among leading figures in history education, given the momentum they had seen building up in the significance of their movement with the organization. Even though Hollister and Asher developed a sound working relationship, accusations were made against Mack Thompson, the new Executive Director, for giving limited attention to teaching initiatives. Conflict broke out over how much space should be devoted to “Teaching History Today,” the column in the *AHA Newsletter* edited by Myron Marty (Florissant Community College, in St. Louis) and Henry S. Bausum (Virginia Military Institute). When Bausum ended his editorship in 1982, he wrote in the newsletter that Warren Susman, the subsequent Vice-President for the Division, “totally abstained from communication with Marty and me during his years as vice-president.”⁶⁵ A few major leaders shifted their work from the AHA to the National Council for the Social Studies, whose programs included

many historical topics. In 1981, Hazel Hertzberg summed up the situation of history education:

A generation of historians has emerged that is deeply interested in teaching. These scholars have produced a literature that matches the social studies reform literature of the 1970s in its exuberance as well as its fragmentation. These teacher/historians, however, have little power in the profession.⁶⁶

Still, teaching became more firmly established in the AHA by the end of the 1970s. In 1980, David Van Tassell was elected as the vice-president for the Teaching Division; he had founded National History Day in Cleveland in 1974 and would spread its events nationally during the 1980s.⁶⁷ AHA-based teaching programs—chiefly regional conferences and projects in local history—developed through the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History, led by Page Putnum Miller and Arnita Jones. And a less politically charged organization supporting teaching had begun in 1972, the Committee on History in the Classroom. Led by Sister Adele Francis Gorman and Donald S. Detwiler, the group met at the annual meeting for almost three decades, bringing together the leadership group for history education on a regular basis.⁶⁸

As was the case prior to 1972, the journal's articles were focused on college teaching for the most part—one or two of the six or seven articles would usually concern the schools. But the movement for collaboration with the schools had a strong influence on discussion of college teaching, since teachers possessed a clearer and more concrete sense of their craft than college instructors. Moreover, the leadership group which undergirded *The History Teacher* and the Society for History Education drew its passion, and ultimately its main models, from pursuing programs with the schools. The organization of the journal's table of contents cut across the divide between schools and colleges. Whereas the issues produced at Notre Dame and for a while at Long Beach simply distinguished between Articles and Reviews, in 1976, articles were divided into three sections: Classroom Techniques, State of the Profession, and Historiography. Pieces on the state of the profession tended to get greater prominence than pieces involving the schools, and in 1986, "Craft of Teaching" replaced the rather mundane term "Classroom Techniques." The section of historiographical articles was designed to acquaint non-specialists with developing interpretations on major subjects.

A National Advisory Board was announced for the SHE in 1976, which suggests the groups toward which Eugene Asher was focusing his attention. Of the twenty members, five were from schools, three from community colleges, and twelve from universities. Only one woman was among them, Maxine Seller of State University of New York, Buffalo.⁶⁹

It is also interesting to find that among the twelve from universities, only two were from institutions without doctoral programs. In Asher's eyes, teaching would rise in its standing within the historical profession only when a sufficient number of leaders had joined the cause from major universities. William McNeill, Warren Hollister, and Thomas Pressly fulfilled that expectation. The teachers included Peter Gibbon (Bronxville Public Schools, NY), Philip H. Woodruff (Westport Public Schools, CT), and Wade Boggs III (Westminster Schools, Atlanta, GA, a private institution). Professors at community colleges contributed often to the journal, including the board member Myron A. Marty from Florissant Community College in St. Louis.⁷⁰ Several other leaders joined the board in subsequent years. John Anthony Scott taught history at the progressive Fieldston School in the Bronx and gave courses in legal history at the Rutgers Law School in Newark, New Jersey; his 1972 book, *Teaching for a Change*, represents the ideals of teaching movement particularly well.⁷¹ Matthew T. Downey, trained at Princeton in Russian history, became a major leader in history and social studies education at the University of Colorado, Boulder.⁷² Charles Ritcheson and Glenn Linden, historians at Southern Methodist University, led the HEP site called the Southwestern Consortium for History Education.⁷³

A younger generation of leaders also began appearing in the journal, continuing the commitment of the previous group, but without much connection with what had gone on before them. In 1977, Peter N. Stearns published the first of a dozen articles he contributed to *The History Teacher*; central to the European examination of Advanced Placement, Stearns became one of the most significant figures in history education in the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁴ Barry K. Beyer, who also taught at Carnegie Mellon University, developed a forward-looking career in developing inquiry methods for historians.⁷⁵ Arnita Jones, after working with the National Coordinating Committee and the National Endowment for the Humanities, contributed "Humanities Labor Force: Women Historians as a Special Case" in 1982.⁷⁶

Teachers did not play as significant roles in history organizations in the 1970s as has become common in the last twenty years. Yet Judith P. Zinsler (United Nations International School, New York City) figured prominently in the leadership group and contributed a piece on world history in 1977.⁷⁷ John W. Larner (Klein Independent School District, Spring, TX) served on the Advisory Board and reviewed numerous books for the journal. During the 1980s, Marjorie Bingham (St. Louis Park High School, Minneapolis, MN) served on the teaching committees of the AHA and the OAH in the 1980s and wrote on her experience with the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools.⁷⁸ Robert Bain (Beachwood High

School, Cleveland, OH), published early in his career, collaborating with Jeffrey Mirel of the University of Michigan in "Re-Enacting the Past: Using R. G. Collingwood at the Secondary Level."⁷⁹ Ron Briley (Scandia Preparatory School, Albuquerque, NM) published his first of many pieces on film and sports in 1990.⁸⁰

The titles mentioned here suggest how widely articles ranged between practical and theoretical subjects. Whereas Ray W. Karras (Lexington High School, MA) discussed the problem of devising substantive multiple-choice questions, two instructors from Assumption College (Worcester, MA) confronted the challenge of the essay assignment.⁸¹ Use of audio or visual materials also figured centrally in the journal, led by Richard C. Raack of San Jose State University, who, with Patrick Griffin, produced the extraordinary film *Goodbye Billy: America Goes to War, 1917-18* (1972) for study of World War I.⁸² Moreover, professors of history education continued to publish in the journal, more than were found in the Notre Dame issues. Two instructors from Miami University in Ohio wrote on "A Man of His Times: An Inquiry Lesson," using writings by Thomas Jefferson.⁸³ Pieces on role playing and moral reasoning also linked the journal to the social studies during the late 1970s.⁸⁴ Interestingly enough, a piece on the New Social Studies appeared in the *Network News Exchange* by two teachers at Essex Catholic High School in Newark, New Jersey. They aimed their 10th grade course in Comparative Political and Economic Systems at laying a traditional foundation of knowledge within which to apply inquiry techniques with "structured spontaneity."⁸⁵

One of the most important areas of articles was the growth of work on public or local history, often in conjunction with museums, an area which the AHA had not given much attention. In 1977, Richard Jensen and D'Ann Campbell, colleagues of Richard Brown, discussed "Community and Family History at the Newberry Library: Some Solutions to a National Need," and Robert Kelley published a note on the influential new program for public history at the University of California, Santa Barbara.⁸⁶ Projects of local history were sometimes based in poor neighborhoods; for example, Howard Shorr, from Theodore Roosevelt High School, Los Angeles, CA, discussed "The Boyle Heights Project: Linking Students with their Community."⁸⁷ Reinvigorating the survey course preoccupied college instructors more than anything else. In 1977, there appeared a panel, "Beyond Western Civilization: Rebuilding the Survey," with comments led by William McNeill (who had played a key role in the formation of the Teaching Division and served on the journal's Advisory Board).⁸⁸ In 1985, he also led off in an issue devoted to world history with comments by Kevin Reilly, L. C. Stavrianos, Philip Curtin, and Immanuel Wallerstein.⁸⁹

Crisis and Continuity

The officers of *The History Teacher* and the Society for History Education faced a succession of crises in the 1980s. The movement for reforming history education lost most of its funding and much of its momentum, but academic journals as a whole also saw a serious decline in subscriptions. On a number of occasions, I have been asked directly, how did *The History Teacher* manage to stay afloat while based at the same university? The answer grows out of the social and institutional framework this essay has sketched out: the close linkage with the schools at Long Beach State University and the readiness of individuals to deal with crisis when it arose. If California's colleges and universities provided a particularly sympathetic context for a journal such as this one, the responsibility of the history department in Long Beach for the secondary education program encouraged an unusual number of individuals to develop careers bridging teaching instruction, teacher training, and workshops with practicing teachers. Not only did some faculty supervise student teachers, but also in 1986, Donald Schwartz, a New York teacher with a doctorate in history, was hired to coordinate the teacher training program. He brought other faculty to work with teachers through the grant programs which developed shortly after that time. Historians who became deans—Richard Wilde and then Dorothy deF. Abrahamse most notably—played key roles in the journal's evolution.

The crisis in enrollments and funding encountered by higher education in the 1970s cut back drastically the number of subscribers to almost all academic periodicals. Any journal not linked to a major scholarly association was particularly threatened, since its subscribers had less professional expectation to join. Subscriptions at *The History Teacher* dropped from a peak of somewhat over 4,000 in 1976 to 2,270 in 1982.⁹⁰ An accounting of subscriptions in 1978 showed a remarkably large number from secondary school teachers or libraries (23% and 12%, respectively) compared with those at colleges or universities (13% and 19%), but much less at community colleges (4% and 1.5%).⁹¹ The drop in subscriptions seems to have come chiefly from those in secondary schools, though perhaps in part because only a modest number of articles were directed specifically at that public. The decision for self-publication—followed to the present day—brought serious problems despite the savings compared with working with a university press. Keith Polakoff's resignation to take an administrative post in 1980 was followed by a turbulent series of shifts in responsibilities for production and finance. In 1982, Asher threatened to send the journal elsewhere given the decline in subscriptions, conflicts among editors, and a sense of drift. An active new set of editors came on

board, including Edward Gosselin (Associate Editor, 1984; Editor, 1985-1995), and Linda Alkana (Editorial Board Member, 1987-present).⁹²

A deeper crisis followed with Gene Asher's unexpected death in January 1988. His sudden departure made it necessary for a new framework of leadership to emerge if the journal were to survive. Owing to problems in the shift to computerized records, late production of issues caused subscriptions to drop to some 800 subscribers by 1990. Simeon Crowther, professor of economic history, a member of the SHE board since 1978, stepped in as President in 1988. Moreover, Richard Wilde, now retired, exerted extensive leadership in financial and editorial matters. By 1993, the production manager Connie George had brought subscriptions back to a healthy level, working closely with the AHA and other history periodicals. The Society for History Education ended up as the publishing wing of the journal rather than as a focal-point for promotion of history education, since the movement of activists waned and the journal's editors were wrapped up with problems of self-publication. Little memory remained about the dynamic efforts of the 1960s, though Glenn Linden contributed a broad discussion of what went on in that period.⁹³

From Gene's death, Simeon Crowther, Connie George, and I became involved with the considerable revival of teaching programs which had begun in the middle of the 1980s.⁹⁴ Programs and essays concerning the Advanced Placement examinations took particular prominence, led by a column in the *AHA Newsletter* edited by Robert Blackey of San Bernardino State University in California. Women become more prominent among leaders of history education; Mildred Alpern (Spring Valley High School, NY) edited "Teaching History Today" in *Perspectives*. Aid for new initiatives came from the deputy directors, Jamil Zainaldin (1983-1986) and James Gardner (1986-1999), supported by Presidents John Garraty, Arthur S. Link, and Louis Harlan.⁹⁵ New funding sources appeared, which stimulated the History Teaching Alliance between the AHA, OAH, and NCSS.

The History Teacher gradually developed new roles within AHA teaching programs. In 1985, the Teaching Division made a representative of SHE an ad hoc member of the body, helping the editors find news and articles on developments nationally. The idea of a prize for teaching arose in the Teaching Division in 1986 under the leadership of Marjorie Bingham; when it was first awarded in 1989, it was called the Eugene L. Asher Prize for Teaching as a joint project of the Teaching Division and the SHE. In 1992, the membership charge for K-12 teachers (\$45) began the option of receiving *The History Teacher* and the newsletter from the Organization of History Teachers in lieu of the *American Historical Review*.⁹⁶ At the Annual Meeting in January 1994, the reconstituted

National Advisory Board of SHE met to hear a talk by SHE-Board Member Gary Nash on the National History Standards. A year later, I joined other technologically naïve editors in learning about online publication at a meeting at the *American Historical Review* headquarters in Bloomington, a project led by its chief Michael Grossberg. From 1992, the vice-presidents of the Teaching Division were all historians who had worked in local teaching projects: Robert Blackey, Peter Stearns, Leon Fink, and myself, aided by Assistant Director Noralee Frankel.

My main role on the journal was to produce special issues concerning new currents in history education. In 1989, an issue focused on the teaching of history in British schools and colleges, drawing in authors who had participated in the SHE conferences held in the U.S. and U.K. in 1973-1974. The same year, an issue concerned the report of the Bradley Commission, the first major initiative for history education since the early 1970s. In 1995, an issue concerned the National History Standards for American History and World History, and in 1997, one discussed the revised National History Standards. I found myself on a cable television show to defend the work of Gary Nash and Ross Dunn against the attacks of Lynne Cheney. Issues were also devoted to history teaching in community colleges (November 1999) and to the evolution of the Advanced Placement program (August 2000).

By the early 2000s, most manuscripts submitted to *The History Teacher* manifested a common practice, a set of assumptions and ideals based on an evolving literature on history education. Though rooted in principles asserted in the 1960s—inquiry methods and primary sources most of all—the new approach grew out of recent cognitive analysis of thinking and teaching explored in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (1999), edited by Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg.⁹⁷ Calling attention to “the inevitable gaps between teachers and learners,” the introduction to the book proposed that it is necessary to consider “the cognitive architecture behind a given response—the thought patterns, beliefs, misconceptions, and frameworks students bring to instruction and that influence (and often determine) what they take from it” (p. 4). The excited response to the book brought professors of history and education into collaboration with practicing teachers. The Canadian Stéphane Lévesque recently explored how historical thinking can relate with history education, in *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century*.⁹⁸

The evolution of *The History Teacher* over the last forty years illustrates the continuity that has existed in history education during that period. The intense commitment to working with the schools made by historians in the 1960s managed to survive despite the drop in funding and morale: a

deeply committed leadership group maintained the ideals of the original movement on both local and national levels. The effort to make history teaching intellectually challenging remained a central theme in the journal and among leaders of history education generally. Thinking that originated in the early period was reshaped from the mid-1980s sequentially by the National Council for History Education, the National Center for History in the Schools, the California History-Social Science Project, the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, and partnerships funded by the Teaching American History program.⁹⁹ Partnerships between schools and colleges became conventional, aided by local, state, national, or private funds and led by different kinds of institutions in higher education.¹⁰⁰ What matters most in such collaboration has been the strength of programs on the state level: activity has flourished most where history is central to state standards and where relations with the social studies is cordial. Programs developed by the State of California Department of Education played a major role in this history since the 1960s, bringing together faculty from the University of California and the California State University, linking them directly with leaders in school districts. The growing division between history and the social studies seems not to have fundamentally harmed the movement for teacher education, though we must continue to ask this question. Yet in the long run, commitment to the cause can go only so far when funding runs out. That is why the disappearance of the Teaching American History program could challenge this evolving set of parameters seriously.

The History Teacher survived in large part because it was based in one of the “second-level” universities where faculty from the academic disciplines have become deeply involved in teacher preparation and programs in schools. Since such institutions do most of the work in training teachers, they can connect practical work locally with programs on a state and national level. Commitment to teaching as a cause came home at those points when *The History Teacher* fell into crisis: enough faculty members and university officials could not imagine letting the journal depart or die. In the last decade, the journal has prospered under the leadership of Nancy Quam-Wickham (Editor, 2001- 2005), Jane Dabel (Editor, 2005-present), Troy Johnson (SHE President, 2001-present), and Elisa Herrera (Production Manager, 2006-present). The history of *The History Teacher* suggests that working with schools, and rewarding those who make that happen, can deepen respect for teaching among undergraduates or graduate students. Progress on that front remains the leading question-mark about the future of teaching in American higher education.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Ian Tyrrell, Linda Symcox, and Robert Townsend, as well as to those interviewed: James Banner, Marjorie Bingham, Richard Brown, Alan Brownsword, Simeon Crowther, Matthew Downey, James Gardner, Philip Gleason, Arnita Jones, Stanley Katz, William Marmion, Howard Mehlinger, Peter Stearns, William Taylor, and Richard Wilde.
2. Carl Becker coined the phrase in his Presidential address for the American Historical Association in 1931, "Everyman His Own Historian"; see *American Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (January 1932): 221-236, and Carl L. Becker, *Everyman His Own History: Essays on History and Politics*, reprint (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1966 [1935]), 233-255.
3. See the listing of meetings in the *History Teacher's Magazine, Historical Outlook* (which succeeded the former in 1921), and *Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers*.
4. Ian Tyrrell, *Historians in Public: The Practice of American History, 1890-1970* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 143-149, citing examples in the South and Midwest—in France, some professors still begin teaching in schools.
5. Ronald W. Evans, "National Security Trumps Social Progress: The Era of the New Social Studies in Retrospect," in *The New Social Studies: People, Projects, and Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Slater Stern (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009), 1-36; John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
6. Barbara Slater Stern, "Introduction," in *The New Social Studies: People, Projects, and Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Slater Stern (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009), xiii-xxii and *passim*.
7. William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee; the Old South and American National Character* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961) and Joan Scott, "Finding Critical History," in *Becoming Historians*, ed. James M. Banner, Jr. and John R. Gillis (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 30-32.
8. Robert Townsend, *Making History: Scholarship and Professionalization in the Discipline, 1880-1940* (forthcoming, University of Chicago Press); Tyrrell, 112-129, 143-149. See also Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (June 2005), 721-751.
9. "Service Center for Teachers of History" file and "Correspondence: Carson, Rundell, and Zangrado" file, Papers of the American Historical Association, Manuscripts, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as AHA Papers); Tyrrell, 250-252.
10. Richard Brown, "Learning How to Learn: The Amherst Project and History Education in the Schools," *Social Studies* 87, no. 6 (November-December 1996): 267-273; Richard Brown, "Transcript of taped reflections on the Amherst Project" (1971), typescript, Papers of the Amherst Project, Teachers College Archive, Columbia University (hereafter cited as Amherst Project Papers); William Alan Kline, "The 'Amherst Project': A Case Study of a Federally Sponsored Curriculum Development Project" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1974); "Correspondence" file, Amherst Project Papers.
11. Eugene L. Asher, *Resistance to the Maritime Classes: The Survival of Feudalism in the France of Colbert* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1960). Ragnhild M. Hatton noted the book's influence in "Louis XIV: Recent Gains in Historical Knowledge," *Journal of Modern History* 45, no. 2 (June 1973): 278. See the obituary

notice for Eugene Asher in *Perspectives* 26, no. 4 (April 1988): 13.

12. "California Regional Committee" file, AHA Papers. See Ron Briley, "The Mississippi Valley Historical Association and Teaching," *Organization of American Historians and the Writing and Teaching of American History*, ed. Richard S. Kirkendall (New York: Oxford, 2011), 267-274.

13. Glenn Linden, "The Historical Profession in Transition: Its Response to the Challenges of the 1960s and 1970s," *The History Teacher* 23, no. 3 (May 1990): 293-303; Joseph C. Bentley, "An Evaluation of the History Education Project of the American Historical Association, 1970-71," typescript, Papers of the Society for History Education, Special Collections, University Library, California State University, Long Beach (hereafter cited as SHE Papers). Edwin Fenton discussed bringing his project for Advanced Placement in the Pittsburgh schools into the HEP, but nothing transpired; see "History Education Project" file, Papers of Edward Fenton, University Archive, Carnegie Mellon University (hereafter cited as Fenton Papers).

14. "Richard Brown to Eugene Asher, November 8, 1967" file, Amherst Project Papers.

15. See Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004) and Barbara Slater Stern, ed., *The New Social Studies: People, Projects, and Perspectives* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009).

16. Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in our Public Sector*, second ed. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1953[1985]), 101; for the AHA resolution he led in 1952, see pp. 197-206. See also Tyrrell, 146-149. I am indebted to William Marmion, formerly of the Long Beach Unified School District, for providing copies of Council for Basic Education (CBE) publications and other important materials on history education.

17. "Organization of American Historians" file, December 11, 1965, AHA Papers; "California Council on History in the Schools" file, December 30, 1965, AHA Papers.

18. Charles Sellers, "History in the Schools" file, AHA Papers; "OAH" file, AHA Papers; Paul Ward, "The AHA and the Journal on the Teaching of History" file and "Correspondence" file, 1970-1973, Papers of Paul Ward, deposited by his son John Ward at Special Collections, Amherst College (hereafter cited as Ward Papers).

19. See Tyrrell, 143-149.

20. See "Correspondence" file, Ward Papers.

21. "School History Projects Board," *AHA Newsletter*, April 1966, 3-4.

22. "History Education Project (HEP), memorandum, June 21, 1967, to the Committee on University and College Teaching" file, AHA Papers.

23. "Richard Brown to Wilson Smith, August 16, 1968" file, AHA Papers, "Committee on Teaching" file, AHA Papers.

24. "Robert K. Webb to Paul Ward, November 12, 1968" file and "HEP" file, AHA Papers. See also memos by Nancy Lane, Webb's assistant, in the *American Historical Review*.

25. The only pieces on this subject prior to 1990 were James Neuchterlein (Valparaiso University), "Radical Historians," *The History Teacher* 15, no. 1 (November 1981): 25-42, which had appeared in *Commentary* in October 1980; and Sandra C. Taylor (University of Utah), "Teaching the Vietnam War," *The History Teacher* 15, no. 1 (November 1981): 57-66. On politics and historians in the period, see Tyrrell, 237-255.

26. David F. Trask wrote "A Reflection on Historians and Policymakers," *The History Teacher* 11, no. 2 (February 1978): 219-226 as Director of the Office of the Historian in the U.S. Department of State.

27. "David Trask to Paul Ward, October 26 and December 12, 1970" file and "Committee on Teaching" file, Ward Papers.
28. "David Trask to Paul Ward and Robert Palmer" file and "Correspondence, 1970-73, December 15, 1970" file, Ward Papers.
29. "Richard Brown to William Taylor" file and "Random notes about the journal" file, c. December 1970, Ward Papers. See also "Richard Brown to Paul Ward, January 19, 1971" file, Ward Papers.
30. "Richard Brown to Paul Ward, January 19, 1971" file, Ward Papers.
31. "Draft Prospectus for a *Magazine of History and Learning* (or some such), and a related Information Service" file and "Richard Brown to Eugene Asher, William Taylor, Lawrence Towner and Paul Ward, July 14, 1971" file, Ward Papers.
32. Paul Ward, "The AHA and the Journal on the Teaching of History," Ward Papers. The paper was written in late 1971 or early 1972.
33. "Notes on AHA Minutes, Council Meetings, September 1970 and 1971" file, Ward Papers. At the same time, the Council showed its deepening involvement in history education by agreeing to allow the Teaching Teacher Trainers project to put cash flow through its bank account.
34. "Robert Palmer to Paul Ward and Joseph Strayer, June 21, 1971" file and "John Rumbarger to the *Journal of Economic History*" file, Ward Papers, May 20, 1970.
35. "Leo Solt to Robert K. Webb, July 7, 1971" file, Ward Papers.
36. "Richard Brown to Paul Ward, September 21, 1971" file, Ward Papers.
37. "Text Book Committee," *Quarterly Bulletin* (November 1940): 3.
38. Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969) and *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). I am indebted to Professor Gleason for information on this period.
39. Wilson Smith, "History Departments and History in the Schools," *Quarterly Bulletin* (April-May 1967): 6-7.
40. Sister Amata, HMM, "President's Letter," *ibid.*, 3-4.
41. Leon Bernard, "Why *The History Teacher*?" *The History Teacher* 1, no. 1 (November 1967): 24. See "A Tribute to Leon Bernard and the History Teachers Association," *The History Teacher* 6, no. 1 (November 1972): 8.
42. Louis Gottschalk, "Writing World History," *The History Teacher* 2, no. 1 (November 1968): 17-23; John L. Snell, "Hitler's Success as a Case Study in Interpreting History," *The History Teacher* 1, no. 2 (January 1968): 22-28; Edwin Fenton, "Using Audio-Visual Materials to Teach History," *The History Teacher* 2, no. 1 (November 1968): 43-48; Mark Krug, "Primary Sources in Teaching History," *The History Teacher* 3, no. 3 (March 1970), 41-49. Modern Europeanists were more represented than Americanists, including John C. Rule (Ohio State University) and Robert Holtman (Louisiana State University).
43. For example, two pieces by teachers appeared in *The History Teacher* 3, no. 2 (January 1970): D. C. Zuelke, "The Uses of Literature in History: The Case of Melville," 40-45, and Philip Rosen, "Points for Teachers of American Immigration," 46-51.
44. Claire W. Keller, "Adding Inquiry to the 'Inquiry' Method," *The History Teacher* 4, no. 1 (November 1970): 47-53; see also Donald C. Lord, "Slave Ads as Historical Evidence," *The History Teacher* 5, no. 4 (November 1971): 1-16. Several school teachers who contributed pieces were working on doctorates in history, as was the case with John C. Pennoyer at the University of Denver: "The Teacher's Discretionary Use of Reticence," *The History Teacher* 5, no. 4 (May 1972): 46-48.
45. Roy F. Nichols and Richard E. Gross, "Messages to *The History Teacher*, from

Dr. Roy F. Nichols, President of the American Historical Association and Dr. Richard E. Gross, President of the National Council for the Social Studies,” *The History Teacher* 1, no. 1 (November 1967): 16-17.

46. Robin W. Winks, “Comparative Studies and History,” *The History Teacher* 1, no. 4 (May 1968): 39-43; Richard D. Brown, “How Washington Dealt with the Crisis of 1780,” *The History Teacher* 5, no. 1 (November 1971): 44-54.

47. “Report to the Department of History from *The History Teacher*,” September 6, 1972, SHE Papers.

48. “Eugene Asher to Richard Brown, February 9, 1970” file, SHE Papers; interview, William Weber with Philip Gleason. See Bernard, “Why *The History Teacher*,” 8.

49. “Minutes of the Council Meeting, December 27,” *AHA Newsletter* (June 1972): 13-14; see also “An Appeal to the Membership,” *ibid.*, 1.

50. “Minutes of the Ad Hoc Committee on *The History Teacher*” file, May 15, 1972, SHE Papers.

51. “Eugene Asher to Paul Ward, August 7 and September 6, 1972” file, Ward Papers.

52. “Lawrence Towner to Thomas Cochrane, October 9, 1972” file, Ward Papers. See also “William Taylor to Council, December 20, 1972” file and “Committee on Teaching” file, AHA Papers.

53. “Robert Webb to Richard Brown, July 31, 1972” file, “Robert Webb to Paul Ward” file, and “Robert Webb to Thomas Cochrane, October 13, 1972” file, Ward Papers.

54. “Correspondence of Richard McKeown” file, Amherst Project Papers.

55. Alan Brownsword, “Doing History: A Skills Approach,” *The History Teacher* 6, no. 2 (February 1973): 251-266.

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60. Michael Howard, “The Lessons of History,” *The History Teacher* 15, no. 4 (August 1982): 489-502; Richard Neustadt, “Uses of History in Public Policy,” *The History Teacher* 15, no. 4 (August 1982): 503-508; and see note 80.

61. “Eugene Asher to William McNeill, April 23, 1974, HEP” file, AHA Papers.

62. Sets of the *Network News Exchange* are in the Special Collections at Truman State University and California State University, Long Beach.

63. “History Education Project: Interim Report, January 31, 1975” file and “Final Report, January 30, 1976” file, SHE Papers.

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66. Hazel Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform, 1880-1890* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1981), 11, also 96, 116-118.

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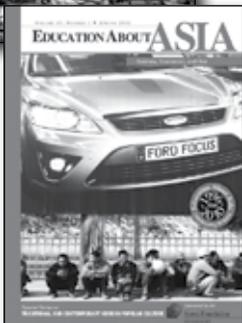
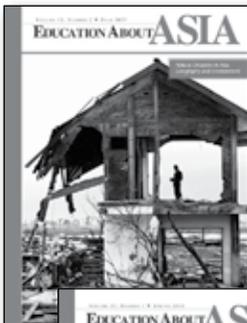
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