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Lucy Maynard Salmon
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Poughkeepsie, New York

Lucy Maynard Salmon (1853–1927) possessed a distinctive vision of education in America that was progressive, democratic, and pluralistic. Undoubtedly, this vision was shaped by her status as a woman in a time when few women were educated and most were disenfranchised. Aware of her own exceptional educational background and standing in academia, Salmon assiduously worked to improve education. A noted historian at Vassar College, Salmon not only developed innovative teaching methods for her classroom but also lectured and wrote about such practices, thereby earning national recognition as an educator. Although she experienced many successes in advancing knowledge about teaching and history in general, she also encountered sharp professional criticism. For example, her work on the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven, which examined the secondary history curriculum nationwide, helped expand and standardize secondary course offerings in history; yet Salmon's first major historical work on domestic service, if not derided, met with unenthusiastic reception by the community of historians.

Salmon's recommendations for the teaching of school history were progressive. Rejecting the transmission model of learning, Salmon favored instructional methods that encouraged independent thinking and judgment. She encouraged students to embrace history in a pluralistic sense, as a subject that encompassed all aspects of human endeavors rather than one limited only to military and political events. In her own scholarship, she wrote about the history of ordinary elements of life, such as domestic service and the newspaper. Such nontraditional subjects often were dismissed as insignificant by leading historians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Moreover, Lucy Salmon advocated and implemented innovative methods of teaching history. She believed that students should learn history, not only through texts, but also by experiencing and examining their own communities. Although she promoted a balanced approach to teaching secondary school history that included textbooks, source documents, lectures, and independent research, she especially encouraged students' use of source documents in the classroom because she believed that this approach was neglected routinely in history courses. Indeed, her legacy at Vassar is as the professor who urged her students "to go to the sources."[1] Furthermore, Salmon urged students to become involved in community endeavors; she practiced these beliefs herself. Active in the civic community at national and local levels, Salmon held leadership roles in suffrage organizations, historical associations, and community improvement groups.

Salmon's work and career, however, have been marginalized and largely forgotten. Perhaps her ideas were too innovative and democratic for a

society that had not fully realized participatory democracy and that in practice did not support equal education for all of its citizenry, specifically women. Indeed, many people with whom she worked and communicated opposed women's education, suffrage, and women's professional pursuits. A century later, Salmon's work suggests ways in which social studies education, citizenship education, and history education can be reconceptualized to encompass a pluralistic and democratic society for the education of all Americans.

A Glimpse at a Life

Salmon was born on 27 July 1853, in Fulton, New York. In this period before the American Civil War, rural living was typical.[2] She lived her formative years in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and her childhood memories include spending much time sewing clothes, a chore that Salmon grew to dislike.[3] Her preference to play outdoors conflicted with Victorian-era customs for girls. Although outwardly shy, she was bold enough to break with some social conventions, in a pattern that eventually became familiar. In her later years, for example, she created a stir at Vassar by riding her bicycle around the campus. At the time, such physical exertion was deemed inappropriate for ladies.

Salmon was born to a family of English and French descent.[4] Salmon's mother, Maria Maynard Salmon, had studied under Mary Lyon at Ipswich Seminary and later became the principal of Fulton Female Seminary. Because Salmon's mother was an extremely well educated woman for this period, Lucy Salmon's decision to pursue a university education, although unusual for a woman in the mid-1870s, was possible because of family support. Lucy Salmon attended Fulton for two years and continued her education at Ann Arbor High School in Michigan, close to relatives, to obtain the necessary preparation to enter the University of Michigan.

In 1876 the University of Michigan conferred on Salmon an A.B. in history. She studied under Charles Kendall Adams, the prominent professor of history who later became president of Cornell University and the University of Wisconsin.[5] Immediately after taking her degree, Salmon became principal of McGregor High School in Iowa.[6] After a successful five-year tenure as principal, Salmon returned to the University of Michigan and in 1883 earned a master's degree, concentrating her studies on European history and English and American constitutional history. Subsequently, she served for three years as an instructor at the Indiana State Normal School at Terre Haute.

In 1885 she was one of the first women to join the American Historical Association (AHA), having been recommended for membership by her mentor at Michigan, Charles Kendall Adams.[7] When the chance for her to become a fellow in American history at Bryn Mawr College arose in 1886, Salmon accepted the opportunity to study under a young professor named Woodrow Wilson.[8] Bryn Mawr was only in its second year of operation when Salmon matriculated.

After completing her year as a fellow in history in 1887, Salmon was appointed an associate professor of history at Vassar College, a school for women, which had been established in 1865. Initially, Salmon was the only history professor at the college, but the department quickly expanded. Lucy Salmon went on to a long and distinguished career as the chair of the history department at Vassar (1887–1927). She became an authority on domestic service and the role of the newspaper in historical studies. She published comprehensive books on these topics: *Domestic Service* (1897), *Progress in the Household* (1906), *The Newspaper and the Historian* (1923), and *The Newspaper and Authority* (1923). Her teaching and writings also focused on general history and history education.[9]

In addition to her research contributions, Salmon led a distinguished career as a teacher and member of national history and education associations. She served as a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association and several prominent AHA committees and founded the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, the oldest extant council devoted to history education. In addition, she held leadership positions in the national suffrage movement and was active in local community organizations. Salmon's involvement in these and other prominent organizations earned her national recognition.

Developing Awareness of Gender and Its Influences on Salmon's Career

Issues of gender shaped Salmon's career and work in many ways throughout her life. When she chose to attend college, few options were available for women in higher education. In 1870, two years before Salmon entered the University of Michigan, 60 percent of the colleges in the United States offered degrees exclusively to men, and 12 percent of all colleges were for women only. At the remaining coeducational institutions men overwhelmingly outnumbered women.[10] Among the general population, few Americans entered college, and fewer than 1 percent of women aged eighteen to twenty-one attended college.[11]

Once at college, women still faced many difficulties. For example, not all professors at institutions of higher learning favored women's education. Indeed, Woodrow Wilson, Salmon's mentor at Bryn Mawr, was distinctly unhappy teaching women, confiding to his wife during his third year at the college:

> When I think of you, my little wife, I love this "College for Women," because *you* are a woman: but when I think only of myself, I hate the place very cordially: for you are the *only* woman hereabouts of your genuine, perfect sort—the only woman anywhere of your perfect title to be worshipped by men.[12]

As for Salmon, Wilson wrote that she "needed only constant encouragement—but that amounted to carrying her on my shoulders. I'm *tired* of carrying female Fellows on my shoulders!"[13] Clearly, Wilson had little regard for women's academic potential. Because of such attitudes, professional opportunities for women were limited throughout higher education during the 1870s, and earning a degree was quite a challenge for women.

Early female graduates of colleges believed they must choose between marriage and a career. For many of these women, especially those from the upper classes, the choice of paid work brought social disapproval. However, higher education provided many women with a heightened sense of independence, and teaching became the most common field of employment for these women. Like other women of the time, Salmon chose teaching as her profession and never married. She believed, however, that women should not enter teaching unless they had a true sense of vocation.[14] Salmon, who taught at Vassar for forty years, believed that teaching was her calling. The field in which she chose to teach, however, was dominated by males. Indeed, most of her colleagues in the American Historical Association were men.

Significantly, Salmon was one of a small number of women in the AHA and certainly the most influential female member of the organization during its early years. In 1885, Salmon joined the AHA with 10 other women. Three others had joined the previous year, the first year of the AHA's existence. At the time Salmon became affiliated with the AHA, membership totaled 375.[15] Without a doubt, Salmon's participation in some of the association's activities was difficult. Although the AHA accepted women members, many of the early council dinners occurred in all-male clubs such as New York's Metropolitan and Century Clubs.[16]

Furthermore, the association only slowly recognized women for leadership roles. By 1920, for example, approximately 19 percent of the AHA

members were women; nevertheless, before 1933, only 5 women were among the 96 members who had served on the association's executive council.[17] Salmon was one of those 5 early female leaders.

Upon Salmon's nomination to the council, Louise Fargo Brown, a colleague and then dean at the University of Nevada, wrote that she was glad to see Salmon receive the recognition she had so long deserved.[18] In 1915, AHA members elected Salmon to the executive council along with Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Philips, and Samuel B. Harding.[19] She served on the council from 1915 to 1919.

In all her AHA leadership roles, Salmon endured gender discrimination. As early as 1897, Salmon accepted an invitation to join the AHA's Committee of Seven, to consider the teaching of history in secondary schools, and to make recommendations for college entrance examinations. When Salmon suggested the addition of another woman to the Committee of Seven, she was rebuffed. In a letter to George Burton Adams dismissing Salmon's request, Herbert Baxter Adams, a fellow committee member, wrote, "I am inclined to think that one woman is enough!"[20]

Undeterred, Salmon continued her quest to increase female leadership. Although some men on the executive council acted surprised that Salmon did not attend more dinners or say more at the meetings, in the face of discrimination and rejection, Salmon's ability to participate and to influence others was limited.[21] Yet she continued subtly to insist that women should be considered for AHA positions. For example, in a letter to Edvarts B. Greene, Salmon wrote, "I do not wish to seem to press the names of women for membership on any of these committees; and yet, as I think I have written more than once before, I can but feel that the Association has by self-denying ordinance been deprived of the services of a good many able women."[22]

She advanced women for higher positions in other groups as well. For example, when the presidency of Vassar College became vacant in 1913, Salmon endorsed two women candidates. She also wrote to the Vassar trustees to ask if the faculty could self-govern until the appointment of a new president.[23] Although the trustees did not choose either of Salmon's candidates, Henry Noble MacCracken, who became the fifth president of Vassar, was ideologically and educationally progressive. Throughout Salmon's career, she promoted many women and especially supported former female students in their professional careers. Salmon's skillful advancement of women was characteristic of a myriad of endeavors that she pursued.

Salmon paved the way for more females to participate in leadership roles not only in the AHA but also in the political arena. In the early 1900s,

Salmon accepted leadership positions in the burgeoning suffrage movement and assisted with the cause to enfranchise women throughout the country. She not only headed the suffrage movement at Vassar, but she also became an officer of the National College Equal Suffrage League, an auxiliary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), and she served on the Executive Advisory Council of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage led by Alice Paul. Undoubtedly, Salmon's work for suffrage was not only an extension of her efforts to promote women but also part of her broad vision of a truly democratic society in which all citizens contributed to the civic community and weaved its history.

Indeed, her commitment to the women's suffrage movement ultimately contributed to a controversy with Vassar president James Monroe Taylor. In the early 1900s, Taylor attempted to prohibit suffrage movement activities on the Vassar campus.[24] In fact, Salmon wrote to Frances Davenport in 1906 that suffrage "has always been a tabooed question here,—has never been debated in the college since I have been here as far as I know, but there seems to be some interest in the subject now."[25]

Salmon and other faculty members who participated in the suffrage movement were forced to go off campus for their activities. In 1906, she spoke at the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Baltimore that honored the eighty-sixth birthday of Susan B. Anthony. In Salmon's address, she recalled having attended in 1863, at the tender age of ten, her first suffrage meeting and one at which Anthony spoke.[26] Salmon grew up in the Finger Lakes region of New York, near Seneca Falls. Still, Salmon confessed that many years passed before she became interested in the fight for suffrage.

By 1911, Salmon was committed to suffrage activities not only in New York but also at the national level. Despite the continuing prohibition of suffrage activities on the Vassar campus, Salmon was elected vice president of the National College Equal Suffrage League. That same year, as "presiding officer" of the Vassar suffrage movement, she entertained the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA, at her Poughkeepsie home before Shaw gave a public lecture.[27]

Ideologically, Salmon tended to align herself with Shaw and the more conservative wing of the suffrage movement, despite Salmon's long acquaintance with Harriot Stanton Blatch, Vassar College class of 1878, the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who headed the more radical New York suffrage movement.[28] Both Blatch and Alice Paul, who led the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (later known as the National Women's Party), had been influenced by the confrontational activities of

the English Pankhursts. The Congressional Union attracted much public attention by staging suffrage parades, and many Americans generally considered their political tactics to be shocking. Although Salmon attended the first meeting of the Congressional Union's Advisory Council at Alice Paul's personal invitation, she must have been an apprehensive participant. After two and one-half years, Salmon requested that her name be removed from the files of the New York Congressional Union's Advisory Council.[29] Salmon agreed to the Reverend Shaw's request that she devote all of her efforts to NAWSA.

At the local level, in no small measure due to Salmon's efforts, the suffrage movement gained popularity among Vassar students. Salmon helped recruit members to the student suffrage organization. In addition, she invited prominent suffragists, such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Anna Howard Shaw, and Harriot Stanton Blatch, to come to Vassar to speak about the movement. In order to avoid the campus ban, one meeting was held in the cemetery across the street from Vassar. Several New York newspapers featured reports of the event.[30]

President Taylor clearly became upset about the publicity generated by this "graveyard rally," but suffrage activities at Vassar continued despite his disapproval. Indeed, a year later, a debate about suffrage was held on campus. When Taylor learned that faculty participated in the debate, he criticized them for violating his policy against discussion of controversial subjects on campus.[31] Salmon and other affected faculty members believed that his policy limited their academic freedom of speech. Consequently, they objected not only to the policy but also to Taylor's exclusion of the faculty in matters of governance. Salmon's stated beliefs and actions in the midst of this controversy reflected her continued commitment to democracy at the local and national levels. In the wake of such criticism, Taylor decided that, at age sixty-five, he should retire from the Vassar presidency.

During the subsequent interim period, while the board of trustees searched for a replacement, Salmon and other prominent faculty members began to implement changes in the system of governance at Vassar to give faculty members a greater role in making policy. Once again, Salmon pressed to implement her vision of a more democratic society. She offered several suggestions for the choice of president, stressing the need for reorganization of the administration.[32] In addition, Salmon described several candidates that she favored, two of whom were women graduates of Vassar College. Clearly, she never stopped her crusade to help women obtain leadership roles and viewed colleges for women as central to such possibilities. In fact, ten years earlier, she had written to a former student, "The

discouraging feature is the indifference of the public to needs of the woman's college, while pouring out with lavish hand for the man's college. But perhaps we shall come into our own in time."[33]

Issues of gender certainly affected Salmon's professional and personal life. That she taught at a college for women was not coincidental; faculty positions for women generally were scarce in the 1880s. Although colleagues in history throughout the country were predominantly male, the proportion of male and female faculty at Vassar was more balanced, and, of course, all of the students were female. When Salmon came to Vassar, female faculty members were expected to live with the students. These faculty members acted as house mothers to assist the women students, who were perceived as needing supervision. Salmon disliked living in the dormitories with students because she had no privacy. After a two-year leave of absence from 1898 to 1900, during which time she traveled in Europe, studied, and attempted to recover from exhaustion and depression, Salmon returned to Vassar. Shortly after her return, Salmon and Adelaide Underhill, a close friend and former student who later became the Vassar librarian, decided to share a house on Mill Street in Poughkeepsie. They lived together throughout the remainder of their lives, and neither woman married.[34] Each grew to rely on the other for professional and emotional support.[35]

Lucy Salmon's sexual orientation has been debated, although little evidence exists about this aspect of her life.[36] Clearly, she had close female friends. However, the customs of the Victorian era must serve as a context to shape understanding of Salmon's relationships. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg argues that nineteenth-century American society did not place taboos on female relationships; the societal structure, in which women routinely formed friendships separate from male relations, encouraged "homosocial ties."[37] Indeed, Smith-Rosenberg found in her study that the notoriously repressive Victorian sexual ethos may have been more flexible than societal conventions in the twentieth century. Furthermore, at colleges for women, such as Vassar, most relationships, both public and private, necessarily were between women. Former history department chair Evalyn Clark recalls that there was a closeness in the community because faculty lived, dined, and worked together. Most women, she explains, remained unmarried, because at that time a married woman would have been viewed as not being dedicated to her profession.[38] In other words, living with other women, choosing not to marry, and engaging in scholarly pursuits were the norm for women faculty at Vassar. Despite Salmon's success in the male-dominated historical profession, women were her primary focus throughout her professional and personal life at Vassar.

Although close relationships between women were quite common at Vassar, Salmon clearly was particularly committed to Underhill both professionally and emotionally. The two women lived together for nearly thirty years, and only death ended their relationship. In her will, Salmon provided Underhill a life estate, which upon Underhill's death was transferred to Vassar.[39] In writing to Salmon, friends frequently sent regards to Miss Underhill; likewise, Salmon mentioned her housemate in letters to others.[40] Whenever the two women were separated, they corresponded extensively with one another. In their letters, both expressed love for one another. For example, in one letter Salmon wrote to Underhill, "Meantime remember that blue or not blue, I always have a heart full of love for you."[41] On a professional level, the two collaborated on increasing the acquisitions of the Vassar library. In most respects, Salmon and Underhill's relationship grew to be mutually supportive.

Salmon's Conception of History

Salmon's distinctive vision of education was influenced by issues of gender and was reflected in her writing and teaching of history. As a student, Salmon wrote political history, but as a faculty member she decided to write about nontraditional historical topics. Early in her career, she investigated domestic service, primarily in the United States. Toward the end of her career, Salmon researched the history of the newspaper. Examination of domestic help enabled Salmon to explore the history of ordinary people, both employees and employers, whereas her newspaper inquiry allowed her to study a medium widely available to all people and which she believed reflected society as a whole.

Salmon chose innovative methods such as surveys and statistics to collect data for her research for *Domestic Service.* Although these methods were uncommon forms of historical inquiry at the turn of the twentieth century, they were typical of the work of the new professional social scientists like Florence Kelly, Jane Addams, Carroll Wright, and later Mary Beard, who increasingly discussed ideas and methods with one another.[42] In fact, Wright, the first commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Labor and later the president of Clark College, assisted Lucy Salmon in obtaining and calculating census and statistical data for *Domestic Service.* These scholars claimed modern scientific knowledge as the basis of their authority.[43]

Salmon's work on domestic service, however, received negative criticism in journals such as *New England Magazine,* which saw it as a work "beneath the dignity of a historian."[44] Indeed, Salmon was aware of the

poor reception her book received and complained in a letter to Underhill: "I spent $1500 on [*Domestic Service*] and nobody has cared specially about it—it passed unnoticed at the college except a word from Miss Wood and Dr. Taylor. *The Nation* said the work wasn't worth doing, the American publishers say it is not a financial success, the English publishers that no amount of advertising would ever sell the book, the history people say I have wasted my time on it, the economic people that I don't know about economics—and so it goes."[45]

Still, Salmon's research on domestic service was a seminal work in an emerging "new" field of study, the art and science of homemaking, alternatively called home economics, domestic science, and home arts.[46] By the turn of the century this field became an organized effort in the feminization of women's education. Home economics was both traditional and feminist. It included a number of topics related to the "women question," such as the situation in which females destined for employment as domestic servants were thought by many Americans to need proper training.[47] No previous scholarship had focused on this ancient and predominantly female field of employment. Unwilling to dismiss or ignore this area of study, Salmon presented her continued work on domestic service in a more readable and popular format in *Progress in the Household*.[48]

Salmon's selection of domestic service signified her commitment to broadening established conceptions of suitable topics for historical study. Certainly, she was not alone in this endeavor. Other prominent historians, including James Harvey Robinson, Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles Beard, and Woodrow Wilson, also advocated a "new social history." Rather than confining history to military and political figures and events, these historians sought to broaden the base upon which history was written. Salmon, in writing about domestic service, created a new social history and also revealed her burgeoning democratic sentiments. She believed that all people contributed to history and that their stories needed to be told. Salmon's pluralistic approach was unique, however, in that she wrote about a predominantly female occupation comprising primarily immigrants and minorities of low socioeconomic status. Significantly, not only did Salmon write about a neglected class of people, but she also implemented democratic principles by widening the audiences for whom she wrote.

Although Salmon's work on domestic service was not well received, she won more acclaim for her research and writing about the newspaper and the teaching of history. During a sabbatical in 1921, Salmon worked on her manuscript on the newspaper before returning to a more general book on historical material over which she had labored sporadically for

years.[49] Indeed, the newspaper material proved to be so vast that Salmon decided to divide the subject into two separate books, *The Newspaper and Authority* (1923) and *The Newspaper and the Historian* (1923). For nearly three decades at Vassar College, Salmon taught an advanced elective course on historical material in which students learned about numerous forms of historical evidence, such as the newspaper.[50] Indeed, Salmon's course had been so well liked by one former student, Anna Justice, that when Justice died, her life was honored through money donated specifically in memory of Salmon's course. Vassar president Henry Noble MacCracken acknowledged this distinction in a letter to Salmon.[51]

Clearly, the newspaper held tremendous interest for Salmon because of its increasing importance during her lifetime as a source of information. Indeed, newspapers were the preeminent form of mass communication in an era that predated radio, television, and film. During the Civil War, American newspapers first established the practice of printing special Sunday editions with war news,[52] and they remained an important source of war information during World War I. Even though Salmon witnessed the birth of new forms of communication in the early twentieth century, the newspaper remained a dominant source of information during her lifetime. Readership continued its impressive growth. For example, in 1842 one in twenty-six New Yorkers bought a Sunday paper, but by 1899 that figure had increased to one in two.[53] Salmon's investigation of the newspaper revealed another aspect of her belief in democratic principles, for the newspaper was widely available and widely read.

In *The Newspaper and Authority* and *The Newspaper and the Historian* Salmon explored a wealth of issues relating to the newspaper, such as freedom of the press, regulation and taxation of the press, the law of libel, sources and bias of the news, the writing of editorials, the influence of the newspaper on public opinion, and the value and danger of the newspaper as a source of historical information. Salmon's stated purpose in writing *The Newspaper and Authority* was to consider "how far the restrictions placed on the newspaper press by external authority have limited its serviceableness for the historian in his attempt to reconstruct the past."[54]

Whereas contemporary historians understand the value of newspapers to their research, their use was not part of accepted practice during Salmon's lifetime. In fact, she argued, "the belief that the press can not be used to reconstruct the past because of its manifold inaccuracies, is not well founded."[55] Despite the yellow journalism of the 1890s, Salmon contended that the press generally strove for accuracy. Nonetheless, she acknowledged that some mistakes were inevitable. Salmon believed, however, that the newspaper was useful for historians, not as a tool to

portray information accurately, but as a means through which the historian could interpret the time period under investigation:

> In spite of its name, the chief function of the newspaper is not to give the news, it is not even exclusively to reflect public opinion,—important as that is,—but it is to record all contemporaneous human interests, activities, and conditions and thus to serve the future. What the historian wishes from the newspaper is not news,—that always ultimately comes to him from other sources,—but a picture of contemporary life.[56]

Salmon further claimed that editorials, illustrations, and advertisements were of most immediate service to the historian in their reconstructions of the past. For example, she explained that illustrations revealed how women's lives had changed in the early twentieth century. Earlier papers did not portray women outside of fashion magazines or society scenes. However, in the 1910s and 1920s, newspaper illustrations depicted women in all sorts of activities, such as professions, businesses, industry, and even athletics.[57] In her claim that the newspaper was useful for its reflections of society, Salmon advanced the new social history. Rather than examining the newspaper for information on political or military history, Salmon argued for its use in the portraiture of contemporary times. Yet, Salmon did not entirely negate the newspaper's usefulness in depicting the topics of traditional history. Indeed, advertisements and illustrations revealed "the very real sufferings and privations entailed by war."[58] Salmon believed that the press ultimately was the most important source available to the historian for portrayals of life during the past three hundred years. Yet, the manner in which she advocated portraying life was very different from the conventional history of the day. Moreover, her vision was more democratic. The newspaper could be used to reflect society as a whole—to show ordinary people engaged in popular activities.

Salmon's two exhaustive works on the newspaper were generally well received by the academic community. The *American Historical Review* offered a highly favorable critique, stating that the two volumes were "the most thoroughgoing analysis of newspaper values that has ever been undertaken."[59] Preserved Smith, another reviewer, wrote that, "Outside her own college and beyond the memory of the present generation, Miss Salmon's fame will rest on her two volumes on the newspaper."[60] Former student Mary Ross most aptly wrote:

> The most important contribution of *The Newspaper and the Historian* still is the underlying thesis which Miss Salmon's class first illumined to me—that history must be written "in the round," that to be true it must picture the

things all sorts of men and women wanted to do, and tried to do, as well as those which the "great men" actually did.[61]

Salmon's Instructional Procedures

As previously noted, Salmon became one of the early advocates of the new social history. She recognized the tendency of early American historians to emphasize military and political affairs and to ignore other phenomena of society. Salmon believed that appropriate application of scientific methods to the study of history could be useful but should not be overemphasized.[62] The use of scientific processes could advance knowledge and aid in quests for truth, although she did not think historical truth could be ascertained with complete certainty. Salmon also reasoned that scientific principles could be applied to the study and teaching of history and therefore could assist in improving education. The methods of teaching history that she advanced were both innovative and progressive.

In *The First Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education*, Salmon further developed her ideas about the teaching of history.[63] She noted that the object of the study of history differed for readers, students, and historians.[64] When selecting materials for the study of history, therefore, teachers must consider not only the variety of history offered but also the stages of mental development of students at different ages. Furthermore, Salmon claimed that the study of history had the dual purpose of enhancing reasoning skills and providing direct information.

Salmon explained that in its infancy, history instruction was conducted simply by the memorization method, where the textbook was viewed as "infallible and the chief educational purpose served by the teaching of history was that of training the verbal memory."[65] Salmon thought that memorization was a poor method of teaching history, but she also disliked the "source method" in which textbooks were sometimes discarded completely and students taught to reconstruct history from original documents. She argued that such a method placed too great a demand on immature students. Rather, at the secondary level, Salmon favored a balanced approach, similar to the method of teaching history advanced by the Committee of Seven. In this process, teachers supplemented the textbook with illustrative material and original source documents. Salmon did not favor any one method exclusively. Indeed, she rarely advanced extreme measures in educational endeavors. Instead, she believed that reading textbooks, listening to lectures, and going to the sources were all

integral components of the process of learning history. However, she ardently emphasized the use of sources because she understood that their use in learning history was most often neglected. At the university level, in fact, Salmon achieved deserved prominence for her advocacy of the use of sources in teaching history.

Salmon's prominence in the teaching of history earned her an invitation to join the AHA's Committee of Seven in 1896.[66] In order to foster more uniformity in secondary school history, the AHA appointed the Committee of Seven to consider this burgeoning subject and to make recommendations for college entrance requirements in history.[67] After conducting a comprehensive, nationwide survey of the teaching of history in the nation's schools and examining the data, the committee recommended a four-year sequence of courses that consisted of four blocks or periods.[68] The Committee of Seven's recommendations significantly affected the development of the history curriculum in the nation's schools.[69] The success of the committee's work in bringing approximate uniformity to the history curriculum was widely acknowledged.[70] Indeed, the resultant standardization met the appeals of many college entrance officials.

Salmon's influence on the Committee of Seven's work was seen in its recommendation that courses employ original sources to enhance students' historical study. In fact, the committee stated, "The use of sources in secondary work is now a matter of so much importance, that it seems to demand special and distinct treatment."[71] The committee noted that if memorization as an instructional method continued to strengthen, retention of history in the curriculum would be jeopardized. The committee averred, instead, that students should be taught how to read history books, how to think about historical facts, and how to analyze the relationships between evidence and historical statement.

Indeed, many of the Committee of Seven's recommendations related to central tenets of Salmon's beliefs about how history should be taught. She also contributed to the committee's work by spending the summer of 1897 studying methods of historical instruction in German and Swiss-German schools. Salmon presented the findings of this inquiry in an AHA paper, "History in the German Gymnasia," which became one of the appendices of the Committee of Seven report. This report revealed pedagogical methods of historical instruction foreign to the United States. The committee believed that German practices offered particularly valuable lessons for American schools because, of those studied, German history teachers were the most thoroughly prepared in both historical content and instructional pedagogy.

Salmon's research in Europe was not always easy to conduct. She

wrote, for example, that one of the directors of a German school "grunted and said in effect that he didn't want any women in his school, but since he apparently had to give permission he would do it," and although other schoolmasters were polite, "they usually say that a woman in a gymnasium is an unheard of thing."[72] Despite difficulties, Salmon persevered. Indeed, the Committee of Seven recommendations were followed in American secondary schools for more than thirty years.[73] Vestiges of her recommendations remain evident in the secondary social studies curriculum today. They include her emphasis on the use of primary source documents and her expansive notion of social history.

At the university level, the ultimate goal of history instruction, according to Salmon, was to encourage students to undertake independent work by providing them with original source material.[74] Her advocacy of the use of historical sources by students became the cornerstone of her life's work and was a remarkably progressive method of teaching history in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Indeed, she planned for her "magnum opus" a book on the subject of historical material.[75] Although it was never completed during her lifetime, her Vassar colleagues and friends published her unfinished manuscript in 1933 as *Historical Material.*

Salmon was attracted to progressive methods of history instruction for several reasons. Primarily, she concluded that students' independent research and use of source materials enhanced their critical thinking skills and was a more stimulating method of learning history than rote memorization. Furthermore, she determined that sources of historical information were available everywhere, even in one's backyard. In fact, she published a pamphlet entitled "History in a Back Yard."[76] Such a perspective reflected her democratic philosophy that individuals could undertake historical study about a wide range of topics and that history could appeal to an audience larger than a select group of academicians. In fact, she attempted to garner support for a new AHA magazine devoted to literary history that would appeal to general readers, but her effort was rebuffed by several colleagues, including William Roscoe Thayer and Frederick Jackson Turner.[77] Turner dismissed Salmon's interest in such a new journal by responding that he did not think that the association could fund such an endeavor but that a solution might be "a department of the present *Review* [*American Historical Review*] . . . devoted to papers more interesting to general readers of the *Review.*"[78] Salmon believed that "literary history," with its attention to prose, was more interestingly written than "traditional or academic history" and would appeal to a wider audience. Once again, her democratic principles were apparent, and her interest presaged by some forty years the commercial success of *American Heritage* magazine.[79]

Salmon's innovative methods of teaching history were also reflected in the work of her college students. For example, in a study of unwritten historical material, Salmon encouraged students to research the question, "What may be learned of the history of Poughkeepsie from a study of Main Street?" Salmon's pupil G. L. Chase (Fletcher) noted that history was revealed on a trolley ride along the main street where the architecture of the buildings reflected Dutch and colonial influence, the signs and symbols were traditions handed down from times when the public was generally illiterate, and the names of the shops and residents revealed the influence of immigrants of German, Dutch, Chinese, Italian, French, Irish, and Jewish descent.[80] Not only did the history Salmon conveyed to her class reflect an interest in material culture and the built environment, but also it demonstrated her conviction that historical material and study were accessible everywhere. Main streets existed all across America; therefore, most Americans could study history in their own backyard.

Salmon's teaching also reflected concern for diversity and pluralism. In one of Salmon's courses, History R, "Ethnic Elements in American History," one student examined the contributions of immigrants to American music. In this course, students considered "the part taken by different national elements in the development of America . . . and of [their] contribution to the discovery, exploration and settlement of the country and to its political, social, literary and industrial development."[81] Other student research topics included traditional military and political events as well as more unusual topics such as the indentured servant in the Middle Colonies; the farming frontier in Massachusetts; and a comparison of the politics, fashion, transportation, and fads in 1897 and 1907 through an examination of *Life* magazine in both years.[82] Clearly, Salmon encouraged her students not only to study and research both traditional and unusual topics but also to use innovative methods for gathering historical information.

Salmon's Legacy

Salmon remained throughout her career an advocate of a history curriculum that was educationally progressive. She dismissed the notion that memorization by itself was of primary value, and she objected to the notion of studying history solely for patriotic purposes. She believed that historical studies should include a broad range of topics and that critical thinking skills and independent research should be encouraged for mature students. Her interest in the newspaper reflected not only its usefulness to the historian but also its appeal as a source of information about all people.

She understood that a newspaper reflected the society in which it was produced. Furthermore, Salmon's historical investigation of domestic service demonstrated her concern for women's issues and contributed to the legitimation of an entirely new field of study, home economics.

Salmon firmly believed that the principal value to be derived from studying history was to "practice the understanding in pronouncing judgments."[83] Her position attracted ample support from advocates of the new social history. Still, Salmon's methodology and ideology highlighted the division that existed among historians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries about the nature of their discipline.[84] The first professional historians turned to science in order to search for laws of historical development. They believed that the past could be reconstructed in a strictly factual manner. Lucy Salmon and other advocates of the new social history challenged a strictly scientific approach to history and instead encouraged an interpretive history that emphasized all aspects of human development (such as domestic service or the newspaper), embraced methods employed by the social sciences (e.g., surveys), and accentuated the relationship between the past and the present.

Salmon's viewpoint was distinctive, however, in the depth of her commitment to democratic ideals. She included attention to people typically overlooked, particularly women and immigrant groups; still, her tone was never strident. She included women in the pages of her written history, worked for suffrage, and promoted women for leadership positions. Notably, she herself advanced to leadership roles within the male-dominated historical profession and received acclaim for her work on the newspaper and the teaching of history. She founded the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (which later became the Middle States Council for the Social Studies), an organization that brought together historians and history teachers and worked to improve education for all. Salmon's ideas continue to be debated today, although without attribution. Discussion over methods and purpose in studying history persists.

Salmon's legacy is complex but relevant in many ways. In her leadership in the historical profession and in the suffrage movement, she paved the way for women who followed. These women benefited from increased opportunities and fewer closed doors. No longer would female history professors, for example, teach about "The Appointing Power of the President" without having the right to vote. In other ways, her advocacy of the new social history opened entirely new fields of research. Prior to Salmon's inquiry, no scholar had examined the history of domestic service, because historians viewed it as ordinary and lacking scholarly merit.

Salmon, on the other hand, thought the ordinary, everyday aspects of life merited examination. To Salmon, the newspaper, main streets, and backyards typified the pageantry of contemporary life. Thus, she advanced them as useful and valid sources for historical study. Finally, many of her recommendations for history instruction remain timeless, yet basic, such as her familiar advice to students, "Go to the sources." Despite the dominance of the textbook, particularly at the secondary school level, Salmon's methodology has been advocated for more than a hundred years.

Salmon's work in the suffrage movement, her fields of research and innovative methods of teaching history reflected her commitment to democratic principles that included civic education for Americans regardless of gender or social status. Throughout her career, however, Salmon made teaching her first priority. The extensive correspondence she maintained with former pupils and their accolades to her teaching testify to her remarkable abilities.[85] The Vassar community lauded her accomplishments. In 1923, becoming seventy years of age in the summer, she faced the prospect of mandatory retirement. Vassar president Henry MacCracken wrote that he hoped to find a way that she could stay, for he thought she was a remarkable teacher.[86] Happily, he later reported to her that the board of trustees had voted to suspend the college's retirement requirement, "as a cordial recognition of the completion of your recent works of research and your continued success as a teacher, and of the position which you hold in the Faculty of Vassar College and in the world of American scholarship."[87]

In 1926, friends and former students established the Lucy M. Salmon Fund in the hope that the money from the endowment would enable her to pursue research on historical material while she continued to teach a course on the topic.[88] Salmon taught and wrote until her death, of a stroke, on 14 February 1927. Perhaps the most significant tribute was the 1943 publication of a biography of Salmon by her former colleague Louise Fargo Brown, entitled *Apostle of Democracy.*[89] Salmon pursued democratic principles with conviction in all her teaching and civic actions.

Writings of Lucy Maynard Salmon

Lucy Maynard Salmon, "What is Patriotism?" *Teachers College Bulletin,* December 1896, 9–16.

What is patriotism? The question comes with half a sneer from the cynic who sees how many crimes are committed in its name. . . . It comes from the politician

whose every act makes it synonymous with selfishness and greed. It comes from earnest men and women who sometimes doubt whether its possession be a virtue or a vice.

Not only is there doubt as to the adequacy of former conceptions of patriotism to meet the views held to-day in regard to its nature, there is a somewhat widespread conviction that patriotism itself is dying out. The press and legislative bodies are teeming with regrets over the decline of patriotism and with plans for resuscitating it. . . . There is everywhere the feeling that ideas of a country, like its products, need to be protected from foreign competition. In all of these regrets and suggestions it is clearly evident that the kind of patriotism whose decay is lamented, is that which consists in a glorification of the past, a magnifying of the history of heroic achievement of the worthiness of a country. It is this tendency to magnify the past of one's country, that leads to the belief that knowledge, as it increases, tends by widening the horizon, to decrease patriotism. . . .

One cannot indeed lament the decline of patriotism of this variety, nor is it to be believed that its revival would be materially facilitated by learning patriotic songs, saluting the flag and studying the Constitution, all of which have been proposed as means of curing the evil. . . .

Undoubtedly a part of that fear that patriotism is declining, comes from anxiety lest cosmopolitanism supplant it. The fear is not an unreasonable one, for a certain so-called cosmopolitanism has its dangers. It sometimes implies a total lack of interest in the affairs of one's own country, a carping, destructive criticism that finds nothing admirable in our political, social, industrial or educational systems. . . .

True patriotism and true cosmopolitanism carry with them breadth of view, noble ambitions and high ideals. Both are ever on the quest for all that is best in every land in order that that native land, through the assimilation of new ideas, may attain its highest, broadest and fullest development. . . .

No teacher can do efficient work who does not strike his roots deep down into the soil where his lot is cast. The teacher is indeed a teacher, but he is first of all an individual, then a citizen, a member of the community in which he lives, with all the dignities, honors, emoluments and responsibilities belonging to the position. He is a citizen with a certain occupation, but that occupation should not absorb him to the exclusion of all other interests. He is a citizen with the same duties and with as many duties as have his fellow citizens. If he does not take root in the state and in the community, he is like the grain that falls on stony places and withers away because it has no deepness of earth. Action is equal to reaction, and the teacher who does best his own individual work, is he who has the largest and broadest interests that take him outside of that work.

But for far higher and deeper reasons than for the influence it has on himself and his work, should the teacher feel this responsibility to the state. . . . [E]very

citizen owes a debt of gratitude to his country. It is a debt that has come from long and arduous service on the part of those who have built up the nation, a service that hundreds of thousands gladly have rendered. . . . It is a debt that can be paid only as each citizen does what lies within his power to give the state higher and nobler ideals and helping it attain them. It is a debt that the teacher is peculiarly well able to discharge, since opportunities of education have come to him in richer measure than to many others. . . .

The teacher, too, is waking from his political lethargy. He goes abroad and returns with his eyes open to the possibility of improvement in American civic life, he joins a Good Government Club, he becomes a member of a board of charity, an inspector of streets, an almshouse commissioner, sometimes an alderman. He is becoming more of a man and less of a machine as he enriches his life with these interests outside of his routine work. . . .

But does patriotism end with the acknowledgment that it has its civic as well as its martial side? Does it end with the recognition by the state of the service that can be rendered it by able educators, as by other citizens, in helping it reach its highest development? Does it end in a realization by the teacher as by other citizens, of the responsibility of citizenship?

This would seem to be all, if the meaning of patriotism in its narrow and restricted sense is accepted. Yet to an American it ought to mean far more. The Americans are the only people in the history of the world who have given their lives for so subtle and intangible an object as the maintenance of the supremacy of a written instrument—they ought to be capable of the truest, loftiest, most unselfish patriotism. The American nation . . . ought . . . to realize that patriotism and cosmopolitanism are but different terms for the same idea, that patriotism is not limited by national boundaries, and that cosmopolitanism is not like the sluggish stream that empties itself into the ocean, leaving no trace of its point of union with the sea. Americans, more than any other nation, ought to have a clear vision of the fact that on the one hand they cannot maintain as a nation a separate, isolated existence, and that on the other hand every other nation has a sacred right to its own industrial and political existence. America should be foremost in realizing that to attain its own highest development and to assist other nations to attain theirs, it must recognize the brotherhood of nations as well as of man.

Notes

1. Nancy MacKechnie, Vassar College archivist, interview by author, 23 October 1997, Poughkeepsie, New York.

2. Standard Certificate of Death for Lucy Maynard Salmon, Register of Deaths in the City of Poughkeepsie, County of Dutchess, State of New York.

3. Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy* (New York, 1943), 19–20.
4. Brown, *Apostle of Democracy,* 3.
5. Transcripts of Lucy Maynard Salmon, University of Michigan, A.M. 1883, A.B. 1876, Office of the Registrar, Ann Arbor, Michigan; "Charles Kendall Adams,"in *Webster's New Biographical Dictionary,* ed. Robert McHenry and Frank Calvillo (Springfield, Mass., 1983), 11.
6. Lucy Maynard Salmon Papers, *Finding Aid,* Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries, Poughkeepsie, New York, p. 3. Hereafter cited as Salmon Papers.
7. Murry Nelson, "Lucy Maynard Salmon (1853–1927): Pioneering Views in Teaching History," *Social Studies* 87 (January/February 1996): 8.
8. "Lucy Maynard Salmon," in *Dictionary of American Biography,* ed. Dumas Malone (New York, 1963), 8: 312.
9. See, e.g., *What Is Modern History?* 1917; *Why Is History Rewritten?* (New York, 1929), published posthumously; *Historical Material* (New York, 1933), published posthumously; "Some Principles in the Teaching of History," in *National Society for the Scientific Study of Education,* ed. Charles A. McMurry (Chicago, 1908), 11–61; "History in Elementary Schools," *Education Review* 1 (January–May, 1891): 439–52; and "Does the College Curriculum Promote Scholarship?" *Addresses and Proceedings of the Sixtieth Annual Meeting of the National Education Association* (3–8 July 1922): 737–45.
10. Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven, 1985), 44.
11. Solomon, *Company of Educated Women,* 62.
12. Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson Wilson, 4 October 1887, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson,* ed. Arthur Link (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 5: 605.
13. Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson Wilson, 5: 605.
14. Solomon, *Company of Educated Women,* 128; Lucy Salmon to Emily Balch, in *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Peace Laureate,* by Mercedes Randall (New York, 1964).
15. Nelson, "Lucy Maynard Salmon," 8.
16. David Van Tassel, "From Learned Society to Professional Organization: The American Historical Association, 1884–1900," *American Historical Review* 89 (October 1984): 952.
17. Arthur Link, "The American Historical Association, 1884–1984: Retrospect and Prospect," *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985): 5.
18. Louise Fargo Brown to Salmon, 20 December 1915, Salmon Papers, box 6, folder 1.
19. Ray Allen Billington, "Tempest in Clio's Teapot: The American Historical Rebellion of 1915," *American Historical Review* 78 (April 1973): 368–69. The printed ballots for this election are in the Frederick Jackson Turner Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, TU box 59.
20. Herbert B. Adams to George B. Adams, 7 January 1897, George Burton Adams Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
21. Brown to Salmon, 19 November 1917, Salmon Papers, box 6, folder 2. Louise Fargo Brown was working with J. Franklin Jameson in Washington, D.C.,

in 1917 and conveyed sentiments about Salmon that Jameson had expressed to her.

22. Lucy Salmon to Edvarts B. Greene, 25 November 1919, American Historical Association Records, Library of Congress, series A, box 9.

23. Elizabeth Daniels, *Bridges to the World: Henry Noble MacCracken and Vassar College* (Clinton Corners, N.Y., 1994), 78.

24. Debbie Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* (College Station, Texas, 1993), 52; Daniels, *Bridges to the World,* 65.

25. Lucy Salmon to Frances Davenport, 18 November 1906, Salmon Papers, box 3, folder 2.

26. "Address by Professor Lucy M. Salmon" (speech given at the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Suffrage Association, 7–13 February 1906, Baltimore), Salmon Papers, box 56.

27. Anna Howard Shaw to Lucy Salmon, 14 September 1911, Salmon Papers, box 51, folder 9; "The Suffrage Meeting," *Eagle,* 8 September 1911, Salmon Papers, box 51, folder 9.

28. See Harriot Stanton Blatch to Lucy Salmon, 20 April n.d., 17 March 1897, 22 March 1897, 25 October n.d., 22 January 1925, Salmon Papers, box 47, folder 14; Margaret Smith Crocco, "The Road to the Vote: Women, Suffrage, and the Public Sphere," *Social Education* 59 (September 1995): 257–64.

29. Alice Paul to Lucy Salmon, 3 August 1914; Mary Blackford to Lucy Salmon, 15 December 1916, 10 January 1917; Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers to Lucy Salmon, 28 December 1916, 8 January 1917, Salmon Papers, box 51, folder 9.

30. "To Punish Girl Suffragists," *New York Herald,* 10 June 1908; "Vassar Meets in Graveyard," *New York Sun,* 9 June 1908. Clippings in the James M. Taylor Papers, Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries, Poughkeepsie, New York, box 1, folder 15.

31. Daniels, *Bridges to the World,* 67; and Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator,* 52.

32. Lucy Salmon to Alumnae Council, 28 September 1914, Salmon Papers, box 3, folder 1.

33. Lucy Salmon to Edith Rickert (Vassar class of 1891), 26 June 1906, Salmon Papers, box 4, folder 1.

34. Brown, *Apostle of Democracy,* 140–41, 181.

35. See, e.g., Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator;* Susan Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Nelson, "Lucy Maynard Salmon."

36. Nelson, "Lucy Maynard Salmon," 12.

37. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 27; and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, review of *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920,* by Martha Vicinus, *Signs* 13 (Spring 1988): 648.

38. Evalyn Clark, former history department chair, Vassar College, oral history interview by author, 23 October 1997. Tape deposited at the Oral History in Education Collection, College of Education, University of Texas at Austin.

39. Will of Lucy Maynard Salmon, Salmon Papers, Hollinger box 47, folder 9.

40. See Louise Fargo Brown to Lucy Salmon, 29 July 1915, Salmon Papers, box

6, folder 1; Louise Fargo Brown to Lucy Salmon, 19 November 1917, Salmon Papers, box 6, folder 2; Lucy Salmon to Edith Rickert, 29 July 1907 and 8 June 1909, Salmon Papers, box 4, folder 2; Lucy Salmon, "Remember the Library," *Vassar Quarterly* 8 (November 1922): 55.

41. Lucy Salmon to Adelaide Underhill, 17 May 1894, Salmon Papers, Hollinger box 45, folder 13.

42. Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, England, 1991), 158.

43. Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, 62.

44. *New England Magazine* 8 (1893): 175–84.

45. Lucy Salmon to Adelaide Underhill, 11 November 1898, Salmon Papers, Hollinger box 45, folder 13.

46. Jane Bernard-Powers, *The 'Girl Question' in Education: Vocational Education for Young Women in the Progressive Era* (London, 1992), 12.

47. See, for a current example, Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work* (New York, 1997); Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York, 1983).

48. Lucy Salmon, *Progress in the Household* (New York, 1906).

49. Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*, 244.

50. Vassar College catalogues, 1900–1927.

51. Henry Noble MacCracken to Lucy Salmon, 7 June 1918, Salmon Papers, box 7, folder 10.

52. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York, 1978), 99.

53. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 99.

54. Lucy Salmon, *The Newspaper and Authority* (New York, 1923), v; for contemporary discussion of the nature of the state and its legitimate functions and justifications, see Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (New York, 1974).

55. Lucy Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York, 1923), 469.

56. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian*, 470.

57. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian*, 475.

58. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian*, 482.

59. *American Historical Review* 30 (October 1925): 146–47.

60. Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*, 245.

61. Mary Ross, review of *The Newspaper and the Historian*, by Lucy Salmon, *Vassar Quarterly* 9 (November 1923): 244.

62. Lucy Salmon, "The Teaching of History in Academies and Colleges," *Academy* 5 (September 1890): 285.

63. Salmon, "Some Principles," 1–61.

64. Salmon, "Some Principles," 31.

65. Salmon, "Some Principles," 48.

66. Nelson, "Lucy Maynard Salmon," 8.

67. American Historical Association, *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the*

American Historical Association by The Committee of Seven (New York, 1899), v. Hereafter cited as Committee of Seven.

68. Committee of Seven, 34–35.

69. Howard Boozer, "The American Historical Association and the Schools, 1884–1956" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1960), 62–66.

70. James Sullivan, "Suggested Changes in Course of Study in History," *History Teacher's Magazine* 2 (January 1911): 103.

71. Committee of Seven, 101.

72. Lucy Salmon to Adelaide Underhill, 15 August 1897, Salmon Papers, Hollinger box 45, folder 13.

73. Van Tassel, "From Learned Society," 952; Boozer, "American Historical Association," 62–66; Michael Whelan, "History as the Core of Social Studies Curriculum," in *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes, Problems, and Possibilities*, ed. E. Wayne Ross (Albany, N.Y., 1997), 28; Glenn Kinzie, "Historians and the Social Studies: A History and Interpretation of the Activities of the American Historical Association in the Secondary School Social Studies, 1884–1964" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebrasaka, 1965), 40–47.

74. Salmon, "Teaching of History," 289.

75. Lucy Salmon to Frances Davenport, 9 September 1909, Salmon Papers, box 3, folder 2.

76. Lucy Salmon, "History in a Back Yard," reprinted in *Historical Material*, 143–57.

77. William R. Thayer to Lucy Salmon, 1 January 1918, Salmon Papers, Hollinger box 47, folder 13; and Frederick Jackson Turner to Lucy Salmon, 11 November 1910, Salmon Papers, Hollinger box 47, folder 13.

78. Turner to Salmon, 11 November 1910.

79. *American Heritage* began publication in 1954 and was begun by former editors at *Life* who were "fired with the conviction that history belongs to the people and not just to scholars." Information on *American Heritage* found on its home page on the Web at <www.americanheritage.com> [accessed 2 November 1998].

80. Vassar College Student Collection, Student Notecards, box 77, folder G. L. Chase (Fletcher) 1911, Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries, Poughkeepsie, New York.

81. Vassar College catalogue, 1910–1911, "Courses of Instruction: History, Course R. Ethnic Elements in American History," 47.

82. Vassar College Student Collection, Student Notecards, box 76, folder Helen C. Cole (VC 1926); box 76, Folder Anne Goodrich (Swann) (VC 1917); and box 77, G. L. Chase (Fletcher) 1911.

83. Lucy Salmon, "The Teaching of History in the Elementary Schools," *Educational Review* 1 (January–May, 1891): 443.

84. Carol Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge, La., 1975), 37–41.

85. Salmon Papers, *Finding Aid*, 19–24.

86. Henry Noble MacCracken to Lucy Salmon, 17 February 1923, Salmon Papers, box 7, folder 13.

87. Henry Noble MacCracken to Lucy Salmon, 13 March 1923, Salmon Papers, box 7, folder 14.

88. Henry Noble MacCracken to Lucy Salmon, 26 June 1926, Salmon Papers, box 7, folder 14.

89. Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*.