

## ABBREVIATIONS

BL	The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
CSA	California State Archives, Sacramento
CJEE	<i>California Journal of Elementary Education</i>
COUCLA	UCLA Chancellor's Office, Administrative Files of the Chancellor's Office, 1936–1959, Series 359, University Archives, Charles Young Research Library, UCLA
CSDP	Corinne A. Seeds Documentation Project 1925–1958, Series 1419, Special Collections, Charles Young Research Library, UCLA
CSPUCLA	Corinne Seeds Papers 1945–1956, Series 838, Special Collections, Charles Young Research Library, UCLA
CSPR	Corinne Seeds Papers, Collection 118, Special Collections and Archives, Tomas Rivera Library, University of California Riverside
HH/CSR	Helen Heffernan Correspondence with Corinne Seeds, Collection 117, Special Collections and Archives, Tomas Rivera Library, University of California Riverside
HHPR	Helen Heffernan Papers, Collection 116, Special Collections and Archives, Tomas Rivera Library, University of California Riverside
JTP	Joseph Trainor Papers, 1933-1980, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
RSPBL	Robert Gordon Sproul Personal Papers, CU-301, University of California Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
SCUCLA	Department of Special Collections, Charles Young Research Library, UCLA
UAUCLA	University Archives, Charles Young Research Library, UCLA
WJE	<i>Western Journal of Education</i>

# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

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2. Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "To Widen the Reach of Our Love: Autobiography, History, and Desire," *Feminist Studies* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 231.
3. Robin Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform* (Oxford University Press, 1991).
4. See, for example, Ellen Lewin, ed., *Inventing Lesbian Cultures in America* (Beacon Press, 1996); Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth Century America* (Penguin Books, 1992); John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (University of Chicago Press, 1998); Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncy, eds., *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (Penguin Books, 1991).
5. John Dewey, Introduction to Elsie Ridley Clapp, *Use of Resources* (Harper and Brothers, 1952), 3.
6. Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (Vintage Books, 1964).
7. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, 349.
8. Arthur Zilversmit, *Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice 1930–1960* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), 170.
9. Helen Heffernan, "Inventory of the Gains," *CJEE* 20(August 1951): 122.

## I WORKING GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN WEST

1. Patricia Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest* (W. W. Norton, 1987); Valerie Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds., *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* (University of California Press, 1999); Patricia Limerick, Clyde Milner, and Charles Rankin, eds., *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (University Press of Kansas, 1991); William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under An Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (W. W. Norton, 1992).
2. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *The Women's West* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage, eds., *Writing the Range* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Virginia Scharff, *Twenty Thousand Roads* (University of California Press, 2002); Mary Irwin and James Brooks, eds., *Women and Gender in the American West* (University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

3. Ardis Cameron, *Radicals of the Worst Sort: Laboring Women in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1860–1912* (University of Illinois Press, 1995), 26. See also Donald Cole, *Immigrant City* (University of North Carolina Press, 1963).
4. Anne Ellis, *Life of an Ordinary Woman* (University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 109.
5. Sally Zanjani and Guy Louis Rocha, *The Ignoble Conspiracy: Radicalism on Trial in Nevada* (University of Nevada Press, 1986), 54–55.
6. Sally Zanjani, *Goldfield* (Ohio University Press, 1992), 104; also, Mrs. Hugh Brown, *Lady in Boomtown* (University of Nevada Press, 1968), 43.
7. See Mary Murphy, “The Private Lives of Public Women: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878–1917,” *Frontiers* 7, no. 3 (1984): 194.
8. Edward Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School* (Harper and Row, 1964), 169.
9. *The Joshua Palm* [Senior Annual of Goldfield High School] (Goldfield, Nevada, 1912), n. p., HHPR.
10. Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher: The Life and Leadership of Margaret Haley* (Teachers College Press, 2005); Joan Smith, *Ella Flagg Young: Portrait of a Leader* (Northern Illinois Press, 1979).
11. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century teacher training schools were called normal schools after the French *ecole normale*.
12. Christine Ogren, *The American State Normal School* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Kathleen Underwood, “The Pace of Their Own Lives: Teacher Training and the Life Course of Western Women,” *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (Nov. 1986); see also Merle Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education* (Teachers College Press, 1956); Paul Mattingly, *The Classless Profession* (New York University Press, 1975); Willard Elsbree, *The American Teacher* (American Book Company, 1939); Richard Altenbaugh and Kathleen Underwood, “The Evolution of Normal Schools,” in *Places Where Teachers are Taught*, ed. John Goodlad, Roger Soder, Kenneth Sirotnik (Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990), 136–86; Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).
13. Romanzo Adams, “University Notes,” *Nevada School Journal* 3, no. 1 (1912): 10.
14. Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign: A Biography of Anne Martin* (University of Nevada Press, 1985).
15. *Goldfield News and Weekly Tribune* (July 31, 1915): 8.
16. “Times of Challenge—Years of Building,” in *A Teacher Affects Eternity*, 6, HHPR.
17. “Times of Challenge—Years of Building,” 5.
18. Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (Yale University Press, 1990).
19. Cited in Maresi Nerad, *The Academic Kitchen: A Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California, Berkeley* (SUNY Press, 1999), 29.
20. Cited in Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 64.
21. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 84.
22. Nancy Loe, *Life in the Altitudes: An Illustrated History of Colorado Springs* (Windsor Publications, 1983), 39.
23. Elizabeth Jameson, *Building Colorado* (Denver: Colorado State Council of Carpenters, 1984), 16–17.

24. See Elizabeth Jameson, *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek* (University of Illinois Press, 1998).
25. Corinne Seeds, "U.E.S.: The History of the Creative Elementary School" (Oral History Project, University of California Los Angeles, 1963), 6.
26. Jameson, *Building Colorado*, 17.
27. Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years* (Lorrin Morrison, Printing and Publishing, 1964), 74.
28. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (Verso Books, 1990), 25.
29. Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1950–1830* (University of California Press, 1993), 145.
30. Pasadena Board of Education, *Annual Report, 1908*, 37.
31. Seeds, "U.E.S.: The History of the Creative Elementary School," 1.
32. *Bulletin of the State Normal School, Los Angeles 1908–09* (Los Angeles Normal School, 1908), 11.
33. David Florell, "Origin and History of the School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles" (EdD diss., UCLA, 1946), 135.
34. The Los Angeles State Normal School, *A Quarter Centennial History 1882–1907*. n.d., 13. UAUCLA.
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36. *The Exponent 1910*, n. p., Series 252, UAUCLA.
37. George Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (University of California Press, 1999).
38. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis 1850–1930*, 123.
39. Lawrence DeGraff, "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890–1930," *Pacific Historical Review* 39 (1970): 343.
40. Monroy, *Rebirth*, 139.
41. For a more extensive discussion of Seeds's narrative, see Kathleen Weiler, "Corinne Seeds and the Avenue 21 School," *Historical Studies in Education* 14, no. 2 (2002): 191–218.
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43. John McClymer, "Gender and the American Way of Life," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1991): 8
44. George Sanchez, "Go After the Women: Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915–1929," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Vicki Ruiz and Ellen DuBois (Routledge, 1994), 289. See also Maxine Seller, "The Education of the Immigrant Woman: 1900–1935," *Journal of Urban History* 4, no. 3 (May 1978): 307–30; Katrina Irving, *Immigrant Mothers: Narratives of Race and Maternity 1890–1925* (University of Illinois Press, 2000).
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52. McClymer, "Gender and the American Way of Life."
53. Seeds, "U.E.S.: The History of the Creative Elementary School," 37.
54. Ellen Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (University of Chicago Press, 2000), 65–66.
55. Seeds, "U.E.S.: The History of the Creative Elementary School," 37.
56. Seeds, "U.E.S.: The History of the Creative Elementary School," 38.
57. John Beineke, *And There Were Giants in the Land* (Peter Lang, 1998), 94–96.
58. William Kilpatrick, "The Project Method," *Teachers College Record* 19, no. 4 (September 1918): 319–35.
59. Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (Vintage Books, 1964), 217.
60. Kilpatrick, "The Project Method," 319.
61. Cited in Beineke, *And There Were Giants in the Land*, 192.
62. Geraldine Clifford, "'Lady Teachers' and the Politics of Teaching in the United States, 1850–1930," in *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work*, ed. Martin Lawn and Gerald Grace (Falmer Press, 1987); John Rury, *Education and Women's Work* (SUNY Press, 1991); Courtney Vaughn-Roberson, "Having a Purpose in Life: Western Women in the Twentieth Century," in *The Teacher's Voice*, ed. Richard Altenbaugh (Falmer Press, 1992); Jackie Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools* (SUNY Press, 1998); Margaret Gribskov, "Feminization and the Women School Administrator," in *Women and Educational Leadership*, ed. Sari Biklen and Marilyn Brannigan (Lexington Books, 1980).

## 2 THE CHILD AND THE CURRICULUM

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3. See James Wallace, *Liberal Journalism and American Education 1914–1941* (Rutgers University Press, 1991).
4. John Dewey, "Education as Politics," *New Republic* 32 (1922). Reprinted in *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, 13, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 333.
5. Dewey, "Education as Politics," 334.
6. Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, *The Child Centered School* (World Book Company, 1928); Agnes De Lima, *Our Enemy the Child* (New Republic Inc., 1926); Stanwood Cobb, *The New Leaven* (Day Publishers, 1928).
7. De Lima, *Our Enemy the Child*, 35.
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11. Arthur Phelan, "The Administration of the University Elementary School of the University of California, Los Angeles, 1882–1957 (EdD diss., University of California, Los Angeles), 36.
12. Charles Waddell, "History of the University Elementary School," Typescript, 1938, 1, Series 193, Box 2, SCUCLA.
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24. Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1950–1830* (University of California Press, 1993), 78
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26. Edwin Layton, "The Better America Federation: A Case Study of Superpatriotism," *Pacific Historical Review* 30 (May 1961): 137–47; William Deverell, "My America or Yours?" in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, ed. Tom Sitton and William Deverell (University of California Press, 2001), 277–301. Mike Davis, "Sunshine and the Open Shop: Ford and Darwin in 1920s Los Angeles," in *Metropolis in the Making*, 116.
27. "The Elementary School of the University of California at Los Angeles," Typescript, n.d., 1. CSPR.
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36. Kathleen Weiler, "Women and Rural School Reform: California 1900–1940," *History of Education Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 25–47, and Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950* (Stanford University Press, 1998).
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38. Lee Richmond to Helen Heffernan, n. d., HHPR.

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41. "Praises Schools of Kings County," *Hanford Morning Journal* (June 30, 1926): 7.
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43. "Rural Club at San Francisco State College," *WJE* 34, 7 (July 1929): 8.
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51. Heffernan, "High Lights in Rural School Supervision," 5.
52. Clara Coldwell, "Teaching the Children of Seasonal Workers," *California Exchange Bulletin in Rural Education* 1, no. 2 (January 1927): 59–62.
53. Lillian Hill, Report of the Bureau of Attendance and Migratory Schools. *Biennial Report of the California State Department of Education 1929–1930* (California State Printing Office, 1930), 159.
54. Iva Elleson, "Being a Teacher in a Migratory School," *WJE* 36, no. 3 (March 1930): 9.
55. Helen Heffernan. Editor's Note to "The Education of Migrant Children in Ventura County," *WJE* 35, no. 10 (December 1929): 8.
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- and Public School Policy in the American Southwest, 1920–1940,” *Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (2003): 39–62; Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*. (University of California Press, 1978).
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  63. California State Department of Education, *Teachers’ Guide to Child Development* (California State Printing Office, 1930).
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### 3 DARE THE SCHOOL BUILD A NEW SOCIAL ORDER?

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## 7 THE BATTLE OF WESTWOOD HILLS

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  49. See Mark Orr, “Educational Reform Policy in Occupied Japan” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1954).
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- evidence against him.” Municipal League of Los Angeles to Los Angeles School Board, July 15, 1940, Vierling Kersey File, Board Secretariat Records Management, Los Angeles Unified School District.
98. Helen Heffernan to Afton Nance, November 25, 1947, HHPR.
  99. Afton Nance to Helen Heffernan, June 23, 1948, F3752:1828, CSA.
  100. Helen Heffernan to Afton Nance, June 22, 1948, F3752:1828, CSA.
  101. Minutes of Divisional Staff Meeting, March 30, 1949, F3752:626, CSA.
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  103. Roy Simpson, “Helen Heffernan Annual Evaluation, 1949,” HHPR.
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## 9 “PROGRESSIVE” EDUCATION IS SUBVERTING AMERICA

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10. Rogers, “Progressive Education: Irresponsible and Immoral Pedagogy,” 6.
11. Rogers, “Progressive Education: Irresponsible and Immoral Pedagogy,” 6.
12. Foster, *Red Alert!* 62.
13. Zoll, “‘Progressive’ Education is Subverting America,” 3–4.
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37. Heffernan to Afton Nance, July 6, 1952, cited in Ruth Morpeth, "Dynamic Leadership: Helen Heffernan and Progressive Education in California" (PhD diss., University of California Riverside, 1989), 267.
38. Heffernan to Afton Nance, August 6, 1952, F3752:1828, CSA.
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44. "UNESCO month, October 28 to November 30, 1946," *California Schools* 17, 9 (October, 1946), 271.
45. Martha Kransdorf, *A Matter of Loyalty: The Los Angeles School Board vs. Frances Eisenberg* (Caddo Gap Press, 1994), 39–41.
46. California Senate, Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, *Ninth Report, Un-American Activities in California* (California Printing Office, Sacramento, 1953), 211.
47. Senate Investigating Committee on Education, *Ninth Report: Are Loyalty Oaths Effective?* (California State Printing Office, 1952), 8.
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50. Seeds, "U.E.S.: The History of the Creative Elementary School," 162.
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58. Helen Heffernan to Richard Mayers, July 22, 1953, HHPR.
59. Helen Heffernan, "Report of a Conference on Inequalities of Educational Opportunity," *California Schools* 24, no. 5 (May 1953): 171.
60. Helen Heffernan, "Some Solutions to Problems of Students of Mexican Descent," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals* 39, no. 209 (March 1955): 43–53.
61. Heffernan, "Some Solutions to Problems of Students of Mexican Descent," 43.
62. Heffernan, "Some Solutions to Problems of Students of Mexican Descent," 49.
63. "The Education of Children of Seasonal Agricultural Workers in the San Joaquin Valley," Report to the Governor's Committee, July 1, 1950, CU-893, Box 10, BL.
64. Heffernan to Helen Wood, October 25, 1954, F3752:1850, CSA.
65. In these years, Heffernan also continued to publish curricular materials and articles, primarily in the *California Journal of Elementary Education*. Helen Heffernan, "The Education of Gifted Children," *CJEE*, 22 (August 1953): 135–39; Helen Heffernan, "In-Service Education of Teachers in the Modern School," *CJEE* 25, no. 5 (August 1956): 3–11; Helen Heffernan, "Strengths and Resources in the Democratic School," *CJEE* 22 (August 1953): 184–92. In 1954, she oversaw the production of a film strip called "A Good Day in the Kindergarten," one of a series of filmstrips on "good days" in various grades. The Kindergarten filmstrip focused on the kindergarten classroom of Esther Swain at UES. "A Good Day in the Kindergarten," mimeographed filmstrip script, F3752:1832, CSA.
66. Bureau of Elementary Education Subject Files: Nance, Afton D, F3752:1852, CSA.
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68. Howard Whitman, "Progressive Education—Which Way Forward?" *Colliers* (May 14, 1954): 32–36.
69. Mrs. Gladwin Hill to the Editor, *Colliers* (May 14, 1954): 2.
70. Gladwin Hill, "A Father Looks at Progressive Education," *The Atlantic* (December 1954): 55–57.
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74. "Record Search Information: Helen Heffernan," 1.23.61.3437.
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76. Helen Heffernan to George Guernsey, November 2, 1955, F3752: 1839, CSA.
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85. Helen Heffernan to Arthur Corey, Western Union Telegram, May 23, 1955, F3752:1821, CSA.
86. Frank Hubbard, Director, Research Division, National Education Association to Helen Heffernan, May 25, 1955, F3752:1854, CSA.
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88. Helen Heffernan, “Are the Schools Teaching the Three R’s?” Typescript, 1955, HHPR.
89. Roy Simpson, “California’s Investment in Educational Leadership,” *California Schools* 28, no. 2 (February 1957): 4–5.
90. Central Committee on Social Studies, “Building Curriculum in Social Studies for the Public Schools of California: A Progress Report” (California State Printing Office, 1957), 5.
91. Helen Heffernan to Afton Nance, Jan.17, 1957, HHPR.
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94. Robert Treacy, “Progressivism and Corinne Seeds” (PhD diss. University of California Los Angeles, 1971), 284.
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97. Corinne Seeds to Members of the Executive Board of the F.S.A. and the Parents whom they represent, n. d., Box 1, CSDP.
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99. Corinne Seeds, “Let the Children Speak,”1957, typescript, 1, CSPR.
100. “Education S131-B Unit of Work Construction in the Social Studies, Summer Session 1957, Corinne A. Seeds Instructor,” CSPR.
101. Robert Sproul to Corinne Seeds, March 5, 1957, Corinne Seeds Biographical File, CSPUCLA.
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103. Robert Wenkert and Merilee Finley, “The University Elementary School at UCLA: A Historical Overview, Chronology, and Annotated Bibliography”

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## 10 HOW TO TEACH THE CALIFORNIA CHILD

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3. Senate Investigating Committee on Education, *Sixteenth Report*, 74.
4. Senate Investigating Committee on Education, *Sixteenth Report*, 110.
5. Senate Investigating Committee on Education, *Sixteenth Report*, 48.
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23. "New Era in Classrooms: It Will Take More Work Now to Get a Diploma," *U.S. News and World Report* (October 3, 1958): 48–50.
24. Helen Heffernan, "How do you Answer the Questions?" n.d., n.p., mimeograph, F3752:1803, CSA.
25. Wayne Urban, *More Than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (University of Alabama Press, 2010).
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27. Helen Heffernan, "A Curriculum Worker Looks at the Federal Commitment to Schools," Address given to the Fourteenth Annual Conference, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Cincinnati, March 4, 1959, 4, F3752:626, CSA.
28. "Editorial comment and News Notes," *CJEE* 28, no. 4 (May 1960): 193.
29. Heffernan, "A Curriculum Worker Looks at the Federal Commitment," p. 8.

30. Heffernan, "A Curriculum Worker Looks at the Federal Commitment," p. 8.
31. Helen Heffernan, "Evaluation—More than Testing," *NEA Journal* 47 (1958): 227–29.
32. Hyman Rickover, *Education and Freedom* (Dutton, 1959); see also Hyman Rickover, "Let's Stop Wasting Our Greatest Resource," *Saturday Evening Post* 129 (March 2, 1957): 9, 108–11.
33. Rickover, *Education and Freedom*, 52.
34. Roy Simpson, "Maintaining a Balanced Educational Program," *California Schools* 31, no. 2 (February, 1960): 61. The public criticisms of the schools by Rickover and others led to the appointment of the Citizens Advisory Commission, made up of twenty-seven "distinguished citizens of the state," by the California legislature. The commission's final report on October 22, 1960 recommended that California create a system of statewide examinations and require that two-thirds of all instruction in elementary school be in "the three R's." See Mortimer Smith, "California's Latest Educational Committee," *Tax Digest* 37 (May 1959): 106, 115; Don Robinson, "The Conservative Revolution in California Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* 2, no. 3 (December 1960): 95.
35. Helen Heffernan, "The Young Adolescent," *CJEE* 28, no. 4 (November 1959): 71. See also Helen Heffernan, "Where Do You Stand on the Issues?" *California Journal for Instructional Improvement* 3, no. 4 (December 1960): 7; Helen Heffernan, "Pressures to Start Formal Instruction Early?" in *Don't Push Me!*, ed. Margaret Rasmussen, 14–18 (Association for Childhood International, 1960).
36. Helen Heffernan, "The Teacher's Role in Developing Quality Education," speech to staff at Santa Monica City Schools, September 14, 1959, F3752:1802, CSA. See also Helen Heffernan, "Evaluation—More than Testing," *NEA Journal* 47 (April 1958): 227–29; Helen Heffernan, "Where Do You Stand on the Issues?" *California Journal for Instructional Improvement* 3, no. 4 (December 1960): 7–12; Helen Heffernan, "Let's Give Them Time to Be Children," *California Journal for Instructional Improvement* 4, no. 2 (May 1961): 12–15. An example of Heffernan's own proposals can be seen in *The California Journal of Elementary Education* special issue on individualized reading programs, "Special Issue," *CJEE* 27, no. 1 (February 1959).
37. Helen Heffernan to Dr. Winifred Bain, October 8, 1958, F3752: 1810, CSA. Heffernan also served as a member of the advisory board of the *Instructor*, a leading journal in elementary education, and was a member of the board of editors of the respected national journal *Childhood Education*.
38. Riles was born in New Orleans but moved to Arizona as a youth; he attended Arizona State and taught in segregated schools in Arizona before moving to California. In the State Department of Education he served as executive secretary of the newly founded Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Employment.
39. Joshua Paddison, "Summer of Worry, Summer of Defiance," *California History* (Fall 1999): 188.
40. Helen Heffernan to Richard Clowes, "Memo." March 14, 1961, 3, F3752:1801, CSA.
41. Helen Heffernan to Richard Clowes, March 16, 1961, F3752:1801, CSA.
42. Helen Heffernan to Richard Clowes, March 16, 1961, F3752:1801, CSA.

43. Among other activities, she worked closely with the California Association for Childhood Education, and was actively involved in organizing a research conference on the young adolescent. With Vivian Todd she coauthored *The Kindergarten Teacher* (D.C. Heath and Co., 1960). In February 1961 she published an article on creativity in which she repeated the familiar argument for a curriculum based on contact with the natural world, even reprising examples from the UES unit on the harbor. Helen Heffernan, "You Can Release Creativity in Children," *CJEE* 29, 1 (February 1961): 184–88. In the early 1960s, when she was in Rhode Island delivering a number of presentations, the governor pronounced Helen Heffernan Day in the State of Rhode Island.
44. Mrs. Fredericka Tandler to Helen Heffernan, Dec. 2, 1959, F3752:1840, CSA.
45. Oliver Sause to Helen Heffernan, December 14, 1960, F3752:1811, CSA.
46. Cited in Stuart Greybill, "Bending the Twig," 422.
47. Franklin Parker, "School Critic Max Rafferty (1917–1982) and the New Right," *Review Journal of Philosophy & Social Science* 10, 2 (1985): 130.
48. Robert Treacy, "Progressivism and Corinne Seeds (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1971), 353.
49. Max Rafferty, "The Scapagoat," in Max Rafferty, *Suffer, Little Children* (Devin-Adair Company, 1962), 136–37.
50. Max Rafferty, "Suffer the Little Children," *Phi Delta Kappan* 36 (December 1956): 89–92; Max Rafferty, "A Chronicle of Masks," *Phi Delta Kappan* 37 (May 1957): 298–301; Max Rafferty, "The Philistines," *Phi Delta Kappan* 38 (November 1957): 42–46; Max Rafferty, "The Cult of the Slob," *Phi Delta Kappan* 40 (November 1958): 56–59; Max Rafferty, "Open Season," *Phi Delta Kappan* 41 (November 1959): 49–52; Max Rafferty, "Children of Uranus," *Phi Delta Kappan* 42 (October 1960): 20–23; Max Rafferty, "The Seven Grim Fairy Tales," *Phi Delta Kappan* 42 (December 1960): 114–20.
51. Rafferty, "The Philistines," 42.
52. Editor's Introduction to Rafferty, "The Cult of the Slob," 56.
53. H. H. Wubben, "American Prisoners of War in Korea: A Second Look at the 'Something New in History' Theme," *American Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 3–19. See also E. Merrill Root, *Brainwashing in the High School* (Devin-Adair, 1958).
54. Max Rafferty, "The Passing of a Patriot," reprinted from *The Ledger* (July 6, 1961), Series 50, Box 66, Folder: Committee of Teachers to Elect Max Rafferty, SCUCLA.
55. Max Rafferty, "What Happened to Patriotism?" *Reader's Digest* (October, 1961): 107–10. As Stuart Graybill notes, "What Happened to Patriotism" "bears a striking resemblance to the fourteenth report of the Dilworth Committee. It seems likely that he was familiar with it or borrowed it as a basic resource." Stuart Graybill, "Bending the Twig: Conservative Educational Criticism and the Revival of the Right, 1900–1960" (PhD diss., University of California Davis, 1999), 431.
56. Herbert Gwinn, "The Flag, the Pledge, and You," *California Schools* 32, no. 9 (October 1961): 7.
57. Roy Simpson, "Special Report to the State Board of Education," *California Schools* 32, no. 1 (January 1962): 1.

58. Field Reports, 1961, 1962, F3752:1789-1792; Afton Nance to Helen Heffernan, April 26, 1962, F3752:1789, CSA.
59. Heffernan to John Bryant, October 3, 1962, F3752:1824, CSA.
60. Helen Heffernan to Alfred Artuso, October 9, 1962, F3752:1824, CSA.
61. Bureau of Elementary Education, F3752:1838, Subject Files: General Correspondence B-D, CSA.
62. Heffernan to Dr. William Burton, July 23, 1962, F3752:1838, General Correspondence B-D, CSA.
63. William Burton to Helen Heffernan, October 6, 1962, F3752:1838, General Correspondence B-D, CSA.
64. Torron J. Anderson and Eugene Lee, "The 1962 Election in California," *Western Political Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (June 1963): 411.
65. California State Department of Education, "Statement Concerning Teaching About Communism," May, 1962, 6, F3752:1800, CSA.
66. California State Department of Education, "Statement Concerning Teaching About Communism," 2.
67. Helen Heffernan to Alfred Arturo, October 9, 1962, F352:1824, 1946-62, CSA. This is one Heffernan's few references to religion. That she saw Jesus as a humanitarian and not as divine is suggested by her comment in a letter to Afton Nance: "I always wish I weren't a heathen—in time of trouble. Some folks seem to get some relief in prayer but you know prayers are not in my pattern." Heffernan to Afton Nance, March 24, 1957, HHPR.
68. Rafferty, "Children of Uranus," in Rafferty, *Suffer, Little Children*, 129.
69. Graybill, *Bending the Twig*, 42.
70. Helen Heffernan to Dr. William Burton, November 26, 1962, F3752:1838, General Correspondence B-D, CSA.
71. Helen Heffernan to Richard Clowes, December 23, 1962. F3752:1800, 1962, CSA. See also Helen Heffernan, "Notes for Richard Clowes," November 9, 1962, F3752:1800; Helen Heffernan to Richard Clowes, December 12, 1962, F3752:1800, 1962, CSA.
72. Heffernan's last article in the *California Journal of Elementary Education* was Helen Heffernan, "Promising Practices in Summer Schools Serving the Children of Seasonal Agricultural Workers," *CJEE* 31, no. 1 (February 1963): 137-43.
73. "Special Announcement: California Education to be New Professional Journal," *CJEE* 31, 4 (May 1963): 193-94.
74. Helen Heffernan, "Let's Keep Our Perspective," *California Education* 1, no. 2 (October 1963): 25-26.
75. Max Rafferty, "Education in Depth," *California Education* 1, no. 6 (February 1964): 1.
76. Rafferty, "Education in Depth," *California Education* 1, no. 5 (January 1964): 1.
77. Max Rafferty, "Three Wonderful Years—1963," F3752: 855, CSA.
78. Max Rafferty, "Education and the Big Lie," typescript, 1965, n.p., F3752: 855. CSA.
79. Wilson Riles Collection, Box F1:5, 7, California State University at Sacramento.
80. Wilson Riles, "A Brief History of Education and Integration in California's Public Schools," 4, transcript of speech delivered to the Human Relations Committee of the Whittier Coordinating Council. March 1, 1962, Whittier,



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81. Wilson Riles, "School Boards and 'de facto' Segregation," *California Education* 1, no. 3 (November 1963): 7; See also Wilson Riles, "Problems of de facto Segregation," *California Education* 1, no. 1 (September 1963): 39.
  82. California Commission on Equal Opportunities in Education, "Equal Educational Opportunities in a Changing Society," report of a conference March 16–18, 1965. West Sacramento, CA, Wilson Riles Collection Box F2: 49. California State University at Sacramento.
  83. William O'Neill, *Readin, Ritin, and Rafferty* (Glendessary Press, 1969), 27.
  84. Max Rafferty, "The Puzzle of De Facto Segregation," in Max Rafferty, *On Education* (Devin-Adair Company, 1968), 37, 38.
  85. Helen Heffernan and George Shaftel, *The Water Story: Man Improves His World* (L. W. Singer Co., 1963).
  86. Helen Heffernan and Vivien Edmiston Todd, *The Years before School* (Macmillan, 1964) Helen Heffernan, "What is Good Education in Nursery School and Kindergarten?" *Childhood Education* 41, no. 1 (September 1964): 2–28.
  87. Helen Heffernan, "The Importance of Teaching." Handwritten manuscript, n.d. (1964 by internal evidence), 1, HHPR.
  88. Heffernan's was not the only voice attacking the school critics. See Mary Anne Raywid, *The Ax-Grinders* (Macmillan, 1963).
  89. Helen Heffernan, "Questions Parents Ask," *Grade Teacher* 81, no. 2 (September 1963): 23.
  90. Memo from Max Rafferty, November 24, 1964, F3752: 839, Campaign correspondence 1962, 1966, 1967, CSA.
  91. Max Rafferty, "Education in Depth," *California Education* 2, no. 4 (January 1965): 1.
  92. Helen Heffernan, "Are the Schools Teaching Phonics?" *Grade Teacher* 81, no. 3 (October 1963): 60, 124.
  93. Helen Heffernan, "Questions Parents Ask: Should Elementary School Children Have Homework?" *Grade Teacher* 81, no. 3 (October 1963): 149.
  94. Max Rafferty, "Teacher-Training Change Needed," *Los Angeles Times* (May 26, 1964): Section 2, 5.
  95. Helen Heffernan, "Questions Parents Ask: What is the Effect of Criticism on Teachers?" *Grade Teacher* 81, 4 (December 1963): 82.
  96. Max Rafferty, "Education and the Big Lie," typescript of speech, 1965, n.p., F3752: 855. CSA.
  97. Max Rafferty, "The Trouble with Life Adjustment," *Los Angeles Times* (October 26, 1964): Section 2, 7.
  98. Helen Heffernan, "Will the Anti-Poverty Bill Affect Me?" *Grade Teacher* 82, no. 6 (February 1965): 59.
  99. In 1964 and 1965 Heffernan continued to publish widely. Helen Heffernan, "Fostering the Child's Potential," *Childhood Education* (October 1965): 98–107; Helen Heffernan, Miriam Crenshaw, and Aline Merritt, *The Mysterious Swamp Rider: Life in the Young Republic* (Hans Wagner Publishing Co., 1965); Helen Heffernan and Leslee Bishop, "The Supervisor and Curriculum Director at Work," in Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Role of Supervisor and Curriculum Director in a Climate of Change* (Association for Supervision and Curriculum

- Development, 1965), 143; Helen Heffernan, "Why Nursery School for My Child?" *Grade Teacher* 82, no. 1 (September 1964): 23–24, 133, 135; Helen Heffernan, "Is Our School a Good School?" *Grade Teacher* 82, no. 3 (November 1964): 13–14, 130–31; Helen Heffernan, "Do Our Elementary Schools Really Teach Science?" *Grade Teacher* 82, no. 5 (January 1965): 32, 130–34; Helen Heffernan, "What is Individualized Reading?" *Grade Teacher* 82, no. 7 (March 1965): 28, 141–43;
100. "Helen Heffernan Retires from Education Bureau," *The Sacramento Bee* (September 2, 1965): 1.
  101. "Helen Heffernan Retires," *California Education* 3, no. 2 (October 1965): 1.
  102. Mary B. Lane, "Decades of Progress," typescript of speech at the dedication of the Helen Heffernan Honor Grove, October 1, 1966, F3752: 1788, CSA.
  103. Helen Heffernan, "Response to Presentation," October 1, 1966, F3752:1788, CSA.

## EPILOGUE

1. Helen Heffernan to Afton Nance, November 17, 1965, HHPR.
2. Helen Heffernan and Vivian Edmiston Todd, *Elementary Teacher's Guide to Working with Parents* (Parker Publishing Company, 1969).
3. Helen Heffernan and Vivian Edmiston Todd, *The Years Before School*, Second Edition (Macmillan, 1970); Helen Heffernan and Vivian Edmiston Todd, *The Years Before School*, Third Edition (Macmillan, 1977). She also published three articles: Helen Heffernan, "Fostering the Child's Potential," *Childhood Education* 44, 2 (October 1965): 98–107; Helen Heffernan, "Needed: New Compacts in Education," *Childhood Education* 43, 7 (March 1967): 382–84; and Helen Heffernan, "Early Childhood Education: Influence on the Elementary School," *Today's Education* 59 (April 1970): 41–42.
4. Helen Heffernan, "As We Move Ahead," EKNE Workshop Luncheon Session, June, 25, 1966, 3, 4, 7, typescript, HHPR.
5. Helen Heffernan, "Dear Friend," May 1, 1970, HHPR.
6. After his defeat by Riles, Rafferty took a position as dean of education at Troy University in Alabama. He died in a one-person automobile accident in 1982.
7. Helen Heffernan, "How it Feels to be Eighty," in "Festival HH," February 7, 1976, HHPR.
8. For a discussion of the impact of Proposition 13, see Peter Schrag, *Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future* (University of California Press, 1999).

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