Building a History Curriculum:  
Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools  

The Bradley Commission on History in Schools  

Introduction  

THE BRADLEY COMMISSION on History in Schools was created in 1987 in response to widespread concern over the inadequacy, both in quantity and in quality, of the history taught in American elementary and secondary classrooms. While other social science disciplines and many new fields, such as sex and health education, driver education, and computer education, have expanded their roles in the curriculum, the number of required courses in history has declined. Currently, 15 percent of our students do not take any American history in high school, and at least 50 percent do not study either World history or Western civilization.

Since 1982, a score of major books and studies, commissioned by such diverse organizations as the Council on Basic Education, the National Commission for Excellence in Education, the Carnegie Foundation, the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, have called for a more substantial academic core for all students and for more varied and imaginative approaches to teaching that common learning. Documenting the serious declines in achievement in reading, writing, mathematics, and science, they have endorsed the need for more rigorous classroom study with more innovative pedagogical methods.

History is obviously not the only subject which has suffered. The Bradley Commission, however, is the first national group to devote its attention exclusively to history in the schools. Indeed, the case for the importance of history has not been cogently and powerfully made since 1892, when the National Education Association appointed a distinguished Committee of Ten to examine the entire high school experience.
The 1892 subcommittee on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy, chaired by President Charles Kendall Adams of the University of Wisconsin, was to have a major influence on the shape of American education. It recommended that all students, whether or not they were college-bound, should take four years of history on the secondary level.

History, it declared, broadened and cultivated the mind, counteracted a narrow and provincial spirit, prepared students for enlightenment and intellectual enjoyment in after years, and assisted them to exercise a salutary influence upon the affairs of their country.

Unhappily, this common, democratic curriculum did not survive the educational changes made during and after World War I. Now the Bradley Commission declares once more that history should occupy a large and vital place in the education of the private citizen. Unlike many other peoples, Americans are not bound together by a common religion or a common ethnicity. Instead, our binding heritage is a democratic vision of liberty, equality, and justice. If Americans are to preserve that vision and bring it to daily practice, it is imperative that all citizens understand how it was shaped in the past, what events and forces either helped or obstructed it, and how it has evolved down to the circumstances and political discourse of our time.

From its inception, the Bradley Commission set itself two goals:

1. to explore the conditions that contribute to, or impede, the effective teaching of history in American schools, Kindergarten through Grade 12.

2. to make recommendations on the curricular role of history, and on how all of those concerned--teachers, students, parents, school administrators, university professors, publishers, and boards of education---may improve the teaching of history as the core of social studies in the schools.

To accomplish this task, I asked sixteen outstanding scholars and teachers to join me on the Commission. Together they determined the scope of the Commission's work and how it would be done. They represented different political philosophies, geographic regions, academic specialities, and levels of instruction. They shared only a passion for the study of history and a deep concern about its place in the curriculum.
The Organization of History Teachers, the American Historical Association, and the Organization of American Historians have all endorsed the efforts of the Bradley Commission. But in the end, the authority of this report rests upon the reputations of the commissioners themselves. As an examination of the list of members indicates, many of the most honored and respected members of the profession have given their time and energy to this report. Our roster includes former presidents of all the major professional associations in history and winners of the most prestigious prizes for writing and scholarship.

What was remarkable about the Bradley Commission, however, was its inclusion of classroom teachers as full voting and deliberative members of the policy-making group. These instructors were chosen because they had earned--on the front lines of American education--reputations as master teachers. Their contributions have been essential at every meeting and on every point, and they have helped us bridge the gap between the school and the university.

The Bradley Commission recognizes that the most important ingredient in any instructional situation is the individual teacher. It is easy to make pronouncements about what should happen in the classroom. But in truth what does happen in the classroom is determined by the person who daily has to contend with often under-motivated youngsters and an overly crowded curriculum. With too little time and too many students, many teachers still manage to convey the excitement, the complexity, and the relevance of the past.

Such teachers deserve more than our respect and admiration. They deserve our support. For too long, educational reform has been mandated from the top down. This lack of teacher involvement has demoralized many instructors and has meant that many changes have been more cosmetic than real. The Bradley Commission believes that teachers must be partners in educational renewal and that the quality of history instruction can be no higher than the quality of history instructors.

Precisely because so many history teachers have been inspiring and effective, the Bradley Commission recognizes the importance of careful training and selection. We deplore the practice, unfortunately quite common, of assigning unqualified teachers to teach social studies in our schools. State certification is not a guarantee of competence, if only because in some states it is possible to be certified to teach social studies without ever taking a single college course in history.
Because our resources and time were too limited to become heavily involved in pedagogical techniques or improved teacher training, the Bradley Commission concentrated on curriculum. We were dismayed to learn that the 1st grade course in American history is no longer universal, and that many school districts now allow optional classes, sometimes called "area studies" and with little history content, to substitute for the 8th grade course. Instead, the Bradley Commission asserts that history ought to be an important part of the educational experience of every American. All students need to understand the complexities of the Constitution and of the Civil War, of immigration and of Manifest Destiny, and of the struggle against slavery and for civil rights. The need for more curricular time is obvious. Unfortunately, history courses are now commonly so rushed that they remain superficial and/or never reach the twentieth century.

American history is only part of the problem. Our students also need to confront the diverse cultural heritages of the world's many peoples, and they need to know the origins and evolution of the political, religious, and social ideas that have shaped our institutions and those of others. Without studying the history of the West and the history of the world, students remain out of touch with these realities. They will not understand the origins and major tenets of the world's religions, they will not be familiar with the ancient and worldwide struggles for freedom and justice, and they will not know the many roads that nations have taken to conquest or survival.

No commission, whatever its size, membership or resources, could possibly restructure the entire history curriculum. Nor would such a result be desirable, given the diversity of a continental nation. The Bradley Commission has, however, endorsed nine important resolutions which we think deserve the careful consideration of professional educators. In particular, we depart from current practice in our recommendation that history be a substantial part of the elementary school experience. In addition, and once more, we believe that all children in a democracy—not just the gifted or the college-bound—deserve the knowledge and understanding that history imparts.

We do not presume to have said the final word on history in the schools, but we trust that these Guidelines will stimulate and encourage those who believe that the study of the past is essential to informed judgment and to democratic citizenship.

Kenneth T. Jackson, Chair
Why Study History?

History belongs in the school programs of all students, regardless of their academic standing and preparation, of their curricular track, or of their plans for the future. It is vital for all citizens in a democracy, because it provides the only avenue we have to reach an understanding of ourselves and of our society, in relation to the human condition over time, and of how some things change and others continue.

We can be sure that students will experience enormous changes over their lifetimes. History is the discipline that can best help them to understand and deal with change, and at the same time to identify the deep continuities that link past and present.

Without such understanding, the two foremost aims of American education will not be achieved—the preparation of all our people for private lives of personal integrity and fulfillment, and their preparation for public life as democratic citizens.

For the first aim, personal growth, history is the central humanistic discipline. It can satisfy young people's longing for a sense of identity and of their time and place in the human story. Well-taught, history and biography are naturally engaging to students by speaking to their individuality, to their possibilities for choice, and to their desire to control their lives.

Moreover, history provides both framework and illumination for the other humanities. The arts, literature, philosophy, and religion are best studied as they develop over time and in the context of societal evolution. In turn, they greatly enliven and reinforce our historical grasp of place and moment.

For the second aim of education, active and intelligent citizenship, history furnishes a wide range of models and alternatives for political choice in a complicated world. It can convey a sense of civic responsibility by graphic portrayals of virtue, courage, and wisdom and their opposites. It can reveal the human effects of technological, economic, and cultural change, and hence the choices before us. Most obviously, an historical grasp of our common political vision is essential to liberty, equality, and justice in our multicultural society.
As in the case of the humanities, history and geography provide the context of time and place for ideas and methods drawn from the social sciences—anthropology, economics, political science, psychology, and sociology. In turn, the formulations of the social sciences offer lively questions to explore in the historical narrative, and numberless insights to enrich it.

Beyond its centrality to educating the private person and the citizen, history is generally helpful to the third aim of education, preparation for work. It is needed for such professions as law, journalism, diplomacy, politics, and teaching. More broadly, historical study develops analytical skills, comparative perspectives, and modes of critical judgment that promote thoughtful work in any field or career.

**Commission Recommendations**

In recognition of the critical value of historical study to the education of Americans, the Bradley Commission has adopted the following resolutions, addressed to all citizens who bear responsibility for designing and implementing courses of study in our schools:

1. That the knowledge and habits of mind to be gained from the study of history are indispensable to the education of citizens in a democracy. The study of history should, therefore, be required of all students.

2. That such study must reach well beyond the acquisition of useful information. To develop judgment and perspective, historical study must often focus upon broad, significant themes and questions, rather than short-lived memorization of facts without context. In doing so, historical study should provide context for facts and training in critical judgment based upon evidence, including original sources, and should cultivate the perspective arising from a chronological view of the past down to the present day. Therefore it follows...

3. That the curricular time essential to develop the genuine understanding and engagement necessary to exercising judgment must be considerably greater than that presently common in American school programs in history.
4. That the kindergarten through grade six social studies curriculum be history-centered.

5. That this Commission recommends to the states and to local school districts the implementation of a social studies curriculum requiring no fewer than four years of history among the six years spanning grades 7 through 12.

The Commission regards such time as indispensable to convey the three kinds of historical reality all citizens need to confront: American history to tell us who we are and who we are becoming; the history of Western civilization to reveal our democratic political heritage and its vicissitudes; world history to acquaint us with the nations and people with whom we shall share a common global destiny. It follows...

6. That every student should have an understanding of the world that encompasses the historical experiences of peoples of Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe.

7. That history can best be understood when the roles of all constituent parts of society are included; therefore the history of women, racial and ethnic minorities, and men and women of all classes and conditions should be integrated into historical instruction.

8. That the completion of a substantial program in history (preferably a major, minimally a minor) at the college or university level be required for the certification of teachers of social studies in the middle and high schools.

The Commission is concerned by the minimal, frequently insubstantial, state requirements for historical studies in the education of social studies teachers. The kind of historical instruction we believe to be indispensable requires prior study of the subject in depth.

9. That college and university departments of history review the structure and content of major programs for their suitability to the needs of prospective teachers, with special attention to the quality and liveliness of those survey courses whose counterparts are most often taught in the schools: world history, Western civilization, and American history.
The Commission is concerned that the structures and requirements of the undergraduate history major are too frequently inchoate, and that insufficient attention is paid to courses demonstrating useful approaches to synthesis, selection, and understanding of organizing themes.

**History's Habits of the Mind**

The perspectives and modes of thoughtful judgment derived from the study of history are many, and they ought to be its principal aim. Courses in history, geography, and government should be designed to take students well beyond formal skills of critical thinking, to help them through their own active learning to:

- understand the significance of the past to their own lives, both private and public, and to their society.
- distinguish between the important and the inconsequential, to develop the "discriminating memory" needed for a discerning judgment in public and personal life.
- perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness.
- acquire at one and the same time a comprehension of diverse cultures and of shared humanity.
- understand how things happen and how things change, how human intentions matter, but also how their consequences are shaped by the means of carrying them out, in a tangle of purpose and process assuming that either is somehow more natural, or more to be expected, than the other.
- prepare to live with uncertain-ties and exasperating, even perilous, unfinished business,
- realizing that not all problems have solutions.
- grasp the complexity of historical causation, respect particularity, and avoid excessively abstract generalizations.
• appreciate the often tentative nature of judgments about the past, and thereby avoid the temptation to seize upon particular "lessons" of history as cures for present ills

• recognize the importance of individuals who have made a difference in history, and the significance of personal character for both good and ill.

• appreciate the force of the non-rational, the irrational,

• the accidental, in history and human affairs.

• understand the relationship between geography and history as a matrix of time and place, and as context for events

• read widely and critically in order to recognize the difference between fact and conjecture, between evidence and assertion, and thereby to frame useful questions.

To nurture such habits of thought, narrative history must illuminate vital themes and significant questions, including but reaching beyond the acquisition of useful facts. Students should not be left in doubt about the reasons for remembering certain things, for getting facts straight, for gathering and assessing evidence. “What of it?” is a worthy question and it requires an answer.

Vital Themes and Narratives

In the search for historical understanding of ourselves and others, certain themes emerge as vital, whether the subject be world history, the history of Western civilization, or the history of the United States.

To comprehend the forces for change and continuity that have shaped--and will continue to shape--human life, teachers and students of history must have the opportunity to pursue many or most of the following matters:

Civilization, cultural diffusion, and innovation. The evolution of human skills and the means of exerting power over nature and people. The rise, interaction, and decline of successive centers of such skills and power. The cultural flowering of major civilizations in the arts, literature, and thought. The role of social, religious, and political
patronage of the arts and learning. The importance of the city in different eras and places.

*Human interaction with the environment.* The relationships among geography, technology, and culture, and their effects on economic, social, and political developments. The choices made possible by climate, resources, and location, and the effect of culture and human values on such choices. The gains and losses of technological change. The central role of agriculture. The effect of disease, and disease-fighting, on plants, animals, and human beings.

*Values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions.* The origins and spread of influential religions and ideologies. The evolution of political and social institutions, at various stages of industrial and commercial development. The interplay among ideas, material conditions, moral values, and leadership, especially in the evolution of democratic societies. The tensions between the aspirations for freedom and security, for liberty and equality, for distinction and commonality, in human affairs.

*Conflict and cooperation.* The many and various causes of war, and of approaches to peacemaking and war prevention. Relations between domestic affairs and ways of dealing with the outside world. Contrasts between international conflict and cooperation, between isolation and interdependence. The consequences of war and peace for societies and their cultures.

*Comparative history of major developments.* The characteristics of revolutionary, reactionary, and reform periods across time and place. Imperialism, ancient and modern. Comparative instances of slavery and emancipation, feudalism and centralization, human successes and failures, of wisdom and folly. Comparative elites and aristocracies; the role of family, wealth, and merit.

*Patterns of social and political interaction.* The changing patterns of class, ethnic, racial, and gender structures and relations. Immigration, migration, and social mobility. The effects of schooling. The new prominence of women, minorities, and the common people in the study of history, and their relation to political power and influential elites. The characteristics of multicultural societies; forces for unity and disunity.
Topics for the Study of American History

History is a great, suspenseful story whose turning-points and consequences are best revealed in a narrative that is analytical and comparative. Chronological development is essential, but within it, major topics and questions must make clear the significance of the unfolding story. The following are central to the history of the United States:

1. The evolution of American political democracy, its ideas, institutions, and practices from colonial days to the present; the Revolution, the Constitution, slavery, the Civil War, emancipation, and civil rights.

2. The development of the American economy; geographic and other forces at work; the role of the frontier and agriculture; the impact of technological change and urbanization on land and resources, on society, politics, and culture. The role and emancipation of American labor.

3. The gathering of people and cultures from many countries, and the several religious traditions, that have contributed to the American heritage and to contemporary American society.

4. The changing role of the United States in the outside world; relations between domestic affairs and foreign policy; American inter-actions with other nations and regions, historically and in recent times. The United States as a colonial power and in two world wars. The Cold War and global economic relations.

5. Family and local history, and their relation to the larger setting of American development.

6. The changing character of American society and culture, of arts and letters, of education and thought, of religion and values.

7. The distinctively American tensions between liberty and equality, liberty and order, region and nation, individualism and the com-mon welfare, and between cultural diversity and civic unity.

8. The major successes and fail- ures of the United States, in crises at home and abroad. What has "worked" and what has not, and why.
**Topics for the Study of Western Civilization**

As in the case of United States history, the facts and narrative of ancient, medieval, and modern European history must be grouped and taught in relation to significant topics. And particular emphasis should be placed on two aspects of the history of the Western world. First, upon those developments that have so much shaped the experience of the entire globe over the last 500 years. Second, upon those ideas, institutions, and cultural legacies that have directly influenced American thought, culture, and politics since colonial times. Each of the following meets these criteria:

1. The political, philosophical, and cultural legacies of ancient Greece and Rome.

2. Origins, ideas, moral codes, and institutions of Judaism and of Christianity in all its forms.

3. Medieval society and institutions; relations with Islam; feudalism and the evolution of representative government.

4. The culture and ideas of the Renaissance and Reformation, European exploration, the origins of capitalism and colonization.

5. The English Revolution, its ideas, and the practices of parliamentary government, at home and in the colonies.

6. The culture and ideas of the Enlightenment, comprising the scientific revolution of the 17th century and the intellectual revolution of the 18th.

7. The American and French Revolutions, their sources, results, and world influence.

8. The Industrial Revolution and its social consequences, its impact on politics and culture.

9. The European ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries and their global influence: liberalism, republicanism, social democracy, Marxism, nationalism, Communism, Fascism, Nazism.
10. The new nineteenth century imperialism, ultimate de-colonization, and the consequences of both for colonizers and colonized.

11. The two world wars, their origins and effects, and their global aftermath and significance.

12. The making of the European community of nations; new approaches to cooperation and interdependence.

**Topics for the Study of World History**

Given the enormous scope of world history and the difficulty of teaching it effectively, even in the expanded curricular time the Commission recommends, it is all the more necessary to make imaginative use of the larger "vital themes" listed above. Facts and narrative must be selected and taught to illuminate the most significant questions and developments. The world history course should incorporate many of the following topics:

1. The evolution and distinctive characteristics of major Asian, African, and American pre-Columbian societies and cultures.

2. The connections among civilizations from earliest times, and the gradual growth of global interaction among the world's peoples, speeded and altered by changing means of transport and communication.

3. Major landmarks in the human use of the environment from Paleolithic hunters to the latest technologies. The agricultural transformation at the beginning and the industrial transformation in recent centuries.

4. The origins, central ideas, and influence of major religious and philosophical traditions, such as Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism, Christianity; and of major ideologies and revolutions such as the American, French, Russian, and Chinese.

5. Close study of one or two selected non-European societies, to achieve the interest and power of the good story that narrative provides.
6. Study of at least one society that can no longer be simply defined as "Western" or "non-Western," such as in South and Central America.

7. Comparative history of selected themes, to demonstrate commonalities and differences not only between European and other societies, but among non-European societies themselves.

8. Comparative study of the art, literature, and thought of representative cultures and of the world's major civilizations.

9. Varying patterns of resistance to, or acceptance and adaptation of, industrialization and its accompanying effects, in representative European and non-European societies.

10. The adaptation of both indigenous and foreign political ideas, and practices, in various societies.

11. The interplay of geography and local culture in the responses of major societies to outside forces of all kinds.

12. Selected instances of historical success and failure, of amelioration and exploitation, of peace and violence, of wisdom and error, of freedom and tyranny. In sum, a global perspective on a shared humanity and the common human condition.

Historical study of nations and cultures other than our own must be at the heart of the new movement toward global and international studies. The overriding reason for the Commission's insistence on a minimum two-year sequence for the presentation of Western civilization and world history is that world history is inadequate when it consists only of European history plus imperialism, just as it is inadequate when it slights European history itself. It is imperative that more time, and better ways of preparing teachers to illuminate both European and non-European history, be found if students are to emerge with an intelligent global perspective.
The Place of History in the Early Grades

In recommending that "the kindergarten through grade six social studies curriculum be history-centered," the Commission underscores the need for decisive change in elementary schools. For decades, historical studies and historical literature have been widely neglected in the earliest grades. The curricular pattern in most states is based on a concept called "expanding horizons," which dictates that young children study themselves (in kindergarten), their family (in first grade), their neighborhood (in second grade), and their city or community (in third grade). As explicated in widely-used pedagogical textbooks, expanding horizons as a concept is indifferent to historical instruction, because children are bound by time and place to remain in the present and in their own personal environment—my family, my neighborhood, my community.

Although this approach is sanctified in state guidelines, in teacher training programs, and in social studies textbooks, it is not grounded in cognitive research on how children learn or in developmental studies of what they are capable of learning. Indeed, there is now a convincing body of research and practice that demonstrates the practicality and desirability of enriching the social studies in the primary grades, reaching far beyond the limitations of the child's own family and community to the exciting worlds of history, biography, and mythology.

Young children are fascinated by heroes, amazing deeds, fantastic tales, and stories of extraordinary feats and locales. History offers a wide range of materials to delight and engage the young learner. Although the use of dates is inappropriate in the early grades, children can begin to develop a sense of time and place ("long, long ago, far away") as they are introduced to historical literature. But as frequently practiced, the expanding horizons pattern discourages imaginative studies of distant worlds, different cultures, and exemplary lives.

In their classrooms, many imaginative teachers are applying two kinds of approaches to achieve the desired change. One is to abandon the expanding horizons curriculum altogether and to substitute a different pattern of historical and literary subject matter. On almost any topic, children's classics and trade books abound—folk tales of different cultures; novels that vividly portray important events and people, and the experiences of ordinary people in extraordinary times; poetry; songs;
stories of immigrants; and books that bring complicated subjects such as the U.S. Constitution within the understanding of young children.

The other approach is to infuse as much as possible of such literature into the current framework. An engaging start could be made on family and local history. By introducing more literature, geography, history, and biography, the horizons could be much expanded by readings about the lives of children, families, and communities of long ago and of other lands-together with the legends and heroes that excited them.

Whichever approach is chosen, the Commission is concerned that teachers be left free to choose engaging books with memorable content, and to tap the same vein of curiosity and imagination that popular culture recognizes and exploits for commercial gain. Teachers of young children should be encouraged to be storytellers and dramatists, not just monitors of basal readers or sociologists of the neighborhood.

Historical enrichment of the earliest grades should be followed by courses that are explicitly history-centered. State history is frequently introduced in grade four. An introductory United States history and geography course is fairly common in grade five. For grade six, several options are possible, depending upon the district's curricular pattern for grades seven through twelve. Present sixth grade courses vary greatly, including local and family history, state history, ancient and European history, and world history, world geography, or world cultures. Whatever the chosen pattern, every effort should be made to insure that each course has links to, and avoids repetition of, those courses that precede or follow it.

Suggested Elementary Curricular Patterns

The following are offered as suggestions, possible alternative course sequences by which curriculum-makers might improve the social studies program in elementary grades.

Pattern A begins with the familiar "expanding horizons" approach but adds the historical dimension to the study of children, families, neighborhoods, and communities. History-centered courses begin with state history in the 4th grade. In this sample, the 5th grade United States history course is not a survey but dwells on the period prior to 1865. Likewise, world history and geography stress the beginnings of civilization.
Pattern B resembles the newly-adopted California social studies curriculum, which in the earliest grades, K-3, represents another kind of adaptation to the expanding horizons sequence, infusing historical, literary, and biographical materials. Grades 4, 5, and 6 are similar to Pattern A, but with even greater stress on the very earliest periods of American and world history.

Pattern C represents the sharpest break from the concept of "expanding horizons," to a whole-hearted concentration on history, geography, biography, literature, and the arts, together with an early beginning on work with primary sources. Obviously, a very great number of different combinations and sequences is possible.

Pattern A
Grade Course
K  Children of Other Lands and Times
1  Families Now and Long Ago
2  Local History: Neighborhoods and Communities
3  Urban History: How Cities Began and Grew
4  State History and Geography: Continuity and Change
5  National History and Geography: Exploration to 1865
6  World History and Geography: The Growth of Civilization

Pattern B
Grade Course
K  Learning and Working Now and Long Ago
1  A Child's Place in Time and Space
2  People Who Make a Difference
3  Continuity and Change: Local and National History
4  A Changing State
5  United States History and Geography: Making a New Nation
6  World History and Geography: Ancient Civilizations

Pattern C
Grade Course
K  Children's Adventures: Long Ago and Far Away
1  People Who Made America
2  Traditions, Monuments, and Celebrations
3  Inventors, Innovators, and Immigrants
4  Heroes, Folk Tales, and Legends of the World
5  Biographies and Documents in American History
6  Biographies and Documents in World History
The Place of History in the 
Middle and High Schools

The Commission's resolution on the place of history in middle or junior high schools and high schools is based on its stated conviction that "the curricular time essential to develop the genuine understanding and engagement necessary to exercising judgment must be considerably greater than that presently common in American school programs in history."

History should have special relevance for adolescents who are developing a sense of their own past as different from the present, struggling with problems of time's irreversibility in their own lives, searching for meaning and commitment for themselves, and redefining their relationship to society.

Following upon a history-centered social studies curriculum for the preceding grades, the Commission recommends to state and local school districts "the implementation of a social studies curriculum requiring no fewer than four years of history among the six years spanning grades 7 through 12."

Suggested Secondary Curricular Patterns

The Bradley Commission offers the following four patterns of history and related courses as suggestions only, from which curriculum-makers may choose, or upon which they may build their own sequence of courses. In each of these patterns, the Commission demonstrates its unanimous conviction that a minimum of two years is necessary to teach United States history to an acceptable level of content and sophistication and, likewise, that two years are required to present the necessary combination of Western and world history, whether within an integrated course or by devoting a year to each.

Whatever the order of courses chosen for any given school or district, the curriculum should:

• be uncomplicated, clear in its scope and sequence, and wholly practicable (as opposed to the overloaded, overambitious curricular instructions common in social studies).
• be explainable to students, in terms directly useful to their comprehension of its aims.

• provide sufficient time to teach significant portions of the substance, and to exercise the habits of mind discussed earlier.

• provide ways to relate each course to the other history courses that precede and follow it, throughout the curriculum.

• provide an ordered developmental sequence of increasing challenge and sophistication, based on current knowledge of learning styles and stages of intellectual development in students.

• recognize that the need for survey courses does not preclude substantial concentration on selected eras and topics.

• provide ways to relate the study of history to biography, to geography, and to other subjects in the social sciences and humanities.

• provide, together with the history-centered courses of grades 4, 5, and 6, a meaningful portrait of the national and civilizational past, warts and all, from regional and local history to national, Western, and world history.

Pattern A
This pattern is familiar in its repetition of United States history, grades 8 and 11. Less common is the two-year sequence of Western and world history, which the Commission considers essential for adequate learning. Each pattern suggests American government, or an equivalent course (civics, problems of democracy, and the like) as a capstone course in social studies in the 12th grade, when it is hoped that students will have acquired the historical knowledge and habits of mind to profit most from a study of contemporary democratic institutions and their workings.

Grade Course
7    Regional and neighborhood history and geography
8    U.S. history and geography
9    History of Western civilization
10   World history and geography
11   U.S. history and geography
12   American government; social studies elective
Pattern B
This pattern resembles Pattern A except for the two-year integrated course in world and Western history, divided by chronological eras. Putting the two halves in adjoining grades should facilitate teaching the great sweep of such a course, whether it is broken at 1789 or at some other workable date.

Grade Course
7 Social studies elective; local history
8 U.S. history and geography
9 World and Western history to 1789
10 World and Western history since 178
11 U.S. history and geography
12 American government; social studies elective

Pattern C
This pattern generally reflects the recently-adopted History-Social Science Framework in California, continuing the sequence of courses noted above for the elementary grades. Its main feature is the division of United States and world history courses into chronological eras, and provision for a full year of social studies electives in the 9th grade.

Grade Course
7 World history and geography to 1789
8 U.S. history and geography to 1914
9 Social studies electives
10 World history, culture, and geography since 1789
11 U.S. history and geography, 20th century
12 American government; social studies elective

Pattern D
Pattern D puts two two-year sequences together. The history and geography of European and of African, Asian, and Latin American civilizations are studied in successive years. The two-year United States history course is divided in the 19th century, for flexibility of coverage and emphases.

Grade Course
7 Social studies electives; local history
8 History of European civilization
9 History of non-European civilizations
10 U.S. history and geography to 1865
11 U.S. history and geography since 1865
12 American government; social studies elective
Course Structures and Priorities

The Bradley Commission strongly recommends that all social studies teachers be involved, directly and throughout, in the shaping of their school's curriculum, insofar as this can be done at the building level, and that their representatives be similarly involved in whatever deliberations are carried on at the district and state levels. Curriculum-building without the involvement of experienced teachers conversant with their local school conditions, and with their own students, is most likely to be counter-productive.

As the structure, priorities, and content of each course are being decided, certain questions and criteria should be kept in mind:

1. Are the aims of the course and its overall structure readily explainable to students? Is there a good answer to their common question: "What am I supposed to be getting out of this?"

2. Does the course begin with a unit on why study history, and this sort of history in particular? Does it allow time for free-swinging exchange on the blunt question: "So what?"

3. Is the proposed—and promised—course coverage likely to be achieved in the time available? This is especially important for courses purporting to reach the present day which they so often fail to do, to the disappointment of students and teachers alike.

4. Has the notion that "less is more" been considered, as themes, topics, and questions are selected? The amount of time required to achieve student engagement and genuine comprehension of significant issues will necessitate leaving out much that is "covered" by the usual text.

5. Has the selection of what to teach considered the content of earlier courses, and the likely content of courses still to be taken by the students? Has the depth and sophistication of topic treatment been similarly considered?

6. Does the course include particular topics and materials that explicitly relate its substance to history courses that precede and follow it?
7. If more than one course surveys the same historical eras at different grade levels, are the courses properly designed to avoid repetition, to be markedly different in style and emphases?

8. If different historical eras are stressed and taught at different grade levels, are the various courses attentive to needed reviews and continuing, unifying themes and questions?

9. Are there plans to explain to students what is being left out of the course, and why? Again, given the nature of most textbooks, some good explanation will be necessary--and can itself be highly engaging and instructive.

10. Has the selection of what to teach also been made with regard for nourishing the larger perspectives and habits of critical judgment that history helps to teach?

11. Do the selected themes and topics lend themselves to teaching, and using, the relationships between history and biography, history and geography, history and the social sciences, history and the humanities?

12. Has it been decided beforehand, at least tentatively, which topics may be worth extended treatment, perhaps over a week or so, and which may be done more briefly? Which may lend themselves to "active learning" projects? Which could most effectively be taught by use of original sources?

Above all, time must be found for discussion of significant, thoughtful questions. For example, in regard to World War I, narrative of detail should not crowd out questions like the following:

• What were the war's origins, long-term and immediate?

• What were the roles of individual acts and character, of the irrational, the accidental?

• How did past actions or inaction limit human choice at the moment of crisis?
• What was the social and psychological impact of the scale of slaughter?

• What was the war’s impact on the United States, on colonial societies in Africa and Asia?

• What “lessons” have we drawn from the war of 1914-1918? Are they dependable?

**History’s Many Modes and Methods**

There are today, as we hope there always will be, vigorous debates over the best kinds of history to teach, and the most effective methods by which to teach them. Obviously, teachers of history, whatever their own specialties or levels of instruction, may profit from following these debates, and plucking from them new ideas and insights. But just as obviously, they should feel free to choose their own emphases and ways of teaching, according to their own teaching conditions, interests, and talents. And they should be encouraged to apply the axiom that variety is the spice of learning, just as it is of life. Even the most exciting, innovative method loses its effect when it is over-used, just as no single mode of history-political, economic, social, cultural-will remain fresh under too much concentration.

Among the popular questions currently under discussion are several that directly pertain to the teaching of history in the schools:

• Should history be taught as activity, as "something you do," or as cultural heritage?

• Should the history curriculum be driven by our cultural diversity as Americans, or by our common, mainly Western, political heritage?

• Should social history, concerned with the ordinary people and daily issues, play the primary role, or should political history, concerned with "elites" and decision-making?

• Should we stress facts or concepts? Chronology or case studies? Narrative or thematic history?
Experienced teachers will recognize these as false dichotomies, however earnestly they may be debated by various partisans. Good history and good teaching have always encompassed something of each of these modes and methods. There is no right answer, no one best way, but only a sensible mixture put together by each teacher according to circumstances, to the subject and students being taught, and to that teacher's particular strengths. It is hard to imagine not taking advantage of every one of the above approaches, to one extent or other, in teaching the history of slavery, of immigration, of the Depression and the New Deal, of the struggle for civil rights. It is hard to imagine not taking advantage of local history where primary sources can be used to their best effect, and genuine discoveries may be made by students on their own.

Each form of history-political, economic, social, intellectual, cultural, urban, local, labor, family, women-has its own color and texture. Student interest may be sustained, or revived, by shifting from one to the other, explicitly, and explaining to students why each has its own contribution to make in recreating a usable past. And how each kind of history provides us a sturdy bridge to one or more of the social sciences and humanities:

- political, military, and diplomatic history as context for political science;
- economic history and geography, for economics;
- social, ethnic, family, urban, and local history, for anthropology and sociology;
- cultural, religious, and intellectual history, for the arts, literature, religion, and philosophy.

Each kind of history offers narrative and case studies to test and illustrate concepts drawn from other disciplines, which in their turn give added meaning to the historical record. History, by its nature, is an interdisciplinary subject. It should never be reduced to a thin recital of successive dates and facts, but carry what has been called "thick narrative," which combines lively storytelling and biography with conceptual analysis drawn from every relevant discipline. Biography in particular reveals the significance of individual lives, both of leaders and of ordinary people, as a way of making historical processes and their human consequences real to students.
Here, two examples may make the point. In teaching 19th century colonialism in Africa and mid-20th century decolonization, the historical narrative simply cannot do without the concurrent study of geography, religion, and culture, and their interplay in the several regions of Africa. The force of ideas, both indigenous and foreign, is revealed in memoirs and literature, as are the human effects of technology, and of economic and military power. Particular examples, such as that of the Congo, or that of Algeria, offer chances to add first-hand accounts, novels, film, and drama, and the classroom testimony of recent immigrants to bring historical complexity and controversy home to the students.

Another example is the fateful collapse of the Weimar Republic in Germany and the coming to power of Nazism. The chronological narrative of the Republic's problems, failures, and final disappearance is indispensable. Reaching back to German unification, through the great era of progress and pride before 1914, to defeat and humiliation in war, the Versailles Treaty, the scourges of inflation and depression, the narrative alone is full of adventure, irony, and tragedy. But it is greatly enriched by concepts, insights, and illustrative materials from literature, biography and memoirs, psychology, economics, sociology, culture both high and popular, military and political science, film, drama, music, and philosophy. We cannot stress too much the fruitful combination of narrative with the new, wider range of historical modes and the variety of cultural documents increasingly available in recent years.

Conclusion

The Bradley Commission is well aware that most of what we have to say is already known and done by good teachers in schools that encourage them to work at their best. Our aim is to help create those conditions that will enable many more of our teachers and students to enjoy the benefits of more history, better taught. We do not underestimate the obstacles to achieving the quantity and quality of historical instruction we believe to be needed in American schools, and we shall address these obstacles in a forthcoming book, The Future of the Past, Macmillan 1989.
Like the Committee of Ten and all of its successors, the Bradley Commission is concerned with the central role of history for civic education. The social studies have always taken education for democratic citizenship, and for the public good, as their primary aim. In the late 20th century, it is self-evident that American public life will profit from a grounding of its debates, on all of the major issues of our time, in the knowledge and perspectives that history provides. By its nature, history is not wishful, or partisan, or proselytizing. By grounding us in reality, it sets us free to make our own informed, considered choices. All children, all students, all adult citizens, deserve such freedom. Without it, democracy is wanting.

Decisive changes will be necessary not only in curricular and course design as addressed in these pages, but in every other condition that affects the teaching of history in the classroom. Thoughtful teaching will require better textbooks. Much recent criticism of textbooks is well-founded. They are often overstuffed with facts, distracting features and irrelevant graphics, and they are rarely organized to clarify the larger themes and questions the Commission finds indispensable.

At the other, "innovative," end of the school materials spectrum, many audio-visual and computer-assisted programs are shoddy and shallow in design and content, the products of commercial zeal and misapplied techniques rather than of historical and pedagogical imagination. The Commission is convinced that means must be found for regular critical reviews of textbooks, auxiliary materials, and instructional technology by teams of historians and classroom teachers.

Genuine change will also require more flexible class schedules--to allow the use of seminars, debates, cooperative projects, and extended lecture/discussions--as well as more favorable student/teacher ratios, a significant reduction of the many extra-curricular duties and paperwork chores that weary and distract teachers the country over. It will require greater teacher authority in all matters that bear upon instruction, from curriculum-making to textbook choice to the design of in-service programs.

Nothing will be more important than the expansion of collaborative efforts among school, college, and university teachers of history, on the model of the American Historical Association-Organization of American Historians-National Council for the Social Studies History Teaching Alliances. College and university departments of history need to assume much greater responsibility than is now common for
knowing what is going on in the schools, for knowing what their former students are facing as classroom teachers. Each party has much to tell the other. Only as equal partners will they succeed in producing better texts and materials, designing better courses, and constructing more effective in-service programs. Fully as important, college and university historians will manage to improve undergraduate and graduate preparation of teachers only by becoming sharply aware of the necessities of the K-12 classrooms.

The necessities change—are changing rapidly in our time—and collaboration must continue without break. Perhaps the greatest challenge facing historians is the need for new syntheses of the growing, variegated body of historical knowledge. The need for new approaches to world history is the most obvious, but American and European history also require rethinking and reordering—in textbooks, in undergraduate courses preparing teachers, and in the graduate training of all who write and teach history.

We recognize that the contrary pressures on historians to specialize are formidable. But the result too often is that survey courses are neglected, understaffed, and casually administered at the undergraduate level. At the graduate level, where they are in many senses even more important to the maturation of students, they are exceedingly rare. How can school textbooks and courses be clear and effective if historians themselves fail to focus upon the larger themes and questions that are needed to engage the student, not to speak of the general reader and citizen?

This Commission calls upon college and university history departments to reorder their priorities. All members should be active in the design and teaching of broad and lively survey courses in United States history, the history of Western civilization, and world history. The last, which requires the most ingenuity of all, is also the most scarce. We recommend the establishment of special chairs for distinguished professors of survey history. We cannot over-emphasize our belief that history departments fail their students—whether as citizens or as prospective teachers, or both—and they fail themselves no less when they neglect wide-ranging interpretative courses, when they do not concern themselves with the quality of school books and materials, and when they isolate themselves from the teachers and the very schools from which they must draw their future students.
Long-term cooperation will also be needed not only to keep healthful initiatives alive, but to ward off or reshape those periodic bursts of fashion that threaten the quality, and equality, of American schooling. Among recent trends is the rush to "assessment" and "accountability," which in many instances results in standardized testing of the sort that limits local school autonomy, forbids curricular and methodological flexibility, and discourages the thoughtful, conceptual history we believe to be necessary. Since we cannot simply say No to testing, the triple alliance of classroom teachers, university historians, and faculties of education faces the challenge of devising tests that will help and not hurt the quality of learning.

There are and will be many other challenges, not the least of which will be the continuing review and revision of the guidelines we propose here. There is much work to be done together and as historians we are the last to deny the difficulties, and the need to shape our recommendations in the light of realities. At the same time, we have the responsibility to say clearly what ought to be done. To set forth the ideal place of history in the curriculum of a democratic school system is a goal worth our unceasing effort.

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