What kind of history should school history be?

The Medlicott Medal Lecture 2007

I need to start by introducing myself. Most of the previous winners of the distinguished Norton Medlicott Medal have been household names, historians who have moved beyond the library shelves to reach wider audiences through the popularity of their books or television programmes. If you looked through the Radio Times to see which blockbuster series this Chris Culpin was presenting, you will not have found me. I'm a schoolteacher. I taught history for 18 years in comprehensive schools, and now I continue to teach through the textbooks I write, the courses I run for students and teachers, the schools' TV programmes I work on.

I am very pleased that the Historical Association has decided to award the Medal this year, not particularly to me, but to a schoolteacher. Indeed, I can think of several colleagues who could have been similarly honoured in this way and on whose insights and ideas, generously given, I have drawn today. This Association is, I think, unique among subject associations in bringing together people who are interested in the subject, as well as teachers at both University and school levels. And this "Triple Alliance" is one we need as much now as we ever did.

In fact, the quality of history teaching in our schools is better now than it has ever been. Yet somehow things are not right, are they? There is a dissatisfaction, a concern which regularly bursts out. Every six months some survey announces that young people apparently know no history at all. These surveys (never properly provenanced, incidentally) have been part of the context of my entire working life. As long as I can remember I have done my job with the feeling that, out there, lots of people think I'm doing it badly and getting it wrong. It's not a comfortable feeling. That such critics have no idea of the statutory requirements laid on history teachers and have unrealistic expectations of what we can manage only makes me feel worse, not better: it must be our fault for not explaining ourselves properly. The division, a highly regrettable division, which has opened up in the last two decades between school history teachers and university history teachers has not helped either, especially when academics have been tempted to clamber on the schoolteacher-bashing bandwagon.

There is obviously a paradox

History is enormously popular outside schools, yet seems to struggle in them. The National Trust, for example, has 3.4 million members and 12 million people visit their paid entry sites ever year. More people go to historic sites every week than go to football matches. There are three TV channels devoted exclusively to history. (Is there are physics channel? A business studies channel?) On the main terrestrial channels, household name

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presenters pull audiences of up to 10 million. This is great. It must be good that UK citizens, of all ages presumably, including young people of school age, are viewing these splendidly-resourced programmes, broadening their knowledge of historical topics, periods and people.

So... why not sack all the schoolteachers and just sit the pupils in front of streaming videos from our most TV popular series?

Because TV series and school curricula are driven by entirely different priorities and designed to meet entirely different targets. For TV history, audience size is all. Programme-makers are competing in popularity stakes. I'm not equating Tristram Hunt with Ant and Dec here: Britain is a sophisticated, well-educated society and the ghastly hybrid word "edutainment" probably describes what are in fact memorable and enjoyable hours on the sofa. I work with TV producers: talk to any of them about pitching ideas for programmes to a TV company. The key question is not: is this history important, or does it present new research? It is: will large numbers of the public watch it?

The contrast with school history is total.

In the first place, TV audiences are volunteers and if they get bored, or something else more interesting turns up on another channel, they can



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drop history at a click of the remote. School pupils cannot do that. They are conscripts, with no say in the design of the history course they study. Education has been compulsory since 1880 and successive governments have prescribed a National Curriculum in history since 1991.

Secondly, the combined output of TV history does not amount to a curriculum suitable for young people. There are some really interesting programmes out there; teachers often record them and insert extracts from them into their schemes of work. But it's not an educational curriculum. The channel "UK History", for example, transmitted 119 hours in one week last

month. Of this, 35% was not, in my view, history at all: it was dinosaurs and global warming. 34% was technological history -Fred Dibnah and Adam Hart-Davis. 18% was the Second World War, 11% was family history. If you're good at mental arithmetic you'll know that I'm 2% short, and that, of course, was about Hitler. Producers and commissioning editors know what gets people to tune in their TVs. Adults are fascinated by certain aspects of history. They are also fascinated by antiques, family history and, come to that, motorsport, dogbreeding and pilates. But that's not a curriculum.

Don't sack the teachers yet.

So what does go on in schools? First, let's dispose of a few myths: there never was a Golden Age of history teaching. Some of you may have been lucky, but actually history teaching 45 years ago was in dire trouble. The Newsom Report, Half Our Future, published in 1963, found that history was the second most unpopular subject in the curriculum—after music. Some people who have reasons of their own to put the boot into school history would have us believe that nothing has changed. A senior English Heritage figure told a conference four years ago that just over 2,000 candidates took history GCSE that year. In fact he was

out by a multiple of over 100: the figure was 218,000 and by 2006 it was nearly 232,000. What was interesting was not so much the error, but that he found such a ludicrous figure plausible. In fact, history will soon be the most popular optional subject at 16. The AS entry in 2006 was 54,000 and the A2 entry was 47,000, keeping history in the top 5 or 6 A Level subjects. Considering the real difficulties history labours under in many schools, only ever been compulsory to 14, our uniqueness among civilised nations in undervaluing history in schools in this way notwithstanding.

Myth 3: we spend all our time teaching empathy. There was a brief period over 15 years ago when GCSE syllabuses had to award a small number of marks to empathy, usually around 15%, but look at any GCSE specification or any National Curriculum document

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some of which I will lay out soon, that is an extraordinary achievement.

A major factor in this achievement is the quality of teaching. We now have some measure of this in Ofsted reports: the first of these, in 1996, reported that 51% of history lessons were good and 4% excellent. In 2003, the last year for which we have figures, the numbers are 63% good and 12% excellent. To put some kind of comparison to this, history is regularly in the top two or three best-taught subjects in the school. In the light of these figures it is perhaps not surprising that the numbers of pupils who found history "enjoyable" have risen from 41% in 1967, to 61% in the 1984 Hargreaves Report, to nearly 70% in the HMI survey of 2005.

Thanks to The Historical Association, we have one of the best professional journals for schoolteachers of any subject, *Teaching History*. Since 1968, and especially since Christine Counsell took over as editor in 1998, school history teachers have explored and reported on their practice in what is now, cumulatively, an extraordinary and widely-admired record of excellent practice and thoughtful reflection on practice, almost all written by schoolteachers.

While I'm demolishing myths, can I take two more at once?

Myth 2: Once upon a time everyone did history to the age of 16. In fact, of course, no subject was compulsory until we got a National Curriculum in 1991. Even then, although your school might have made its own decisions, history has today and you won't find the word. We do teach young people that the attitudes, values and beliefs of people in the past are important in helping us understand them, that people have motives for their actions and that these can be complex and varied, including value systems that are not the same as ours. I don't see how you can study history properly without addressing these perspectives, and these insights are part of our historical enquiry, but have not been a separate study for many years.

It is a sad indication of the inadequacies of the educational press that I've found it necessary to deal with these myths before getting to the realities of teaching history in schools. There is a serious mismatch here: poor press coverage, and massive public interest in what goes on in the school history curriculum. So what's the problem? The problem is that a lot of people don't care about the history curriculum. I'm not just talking about a Prime Minister and a President who clearly have no sense of how wars change history. I'm talking about those who take decisions for the curriculum, in government and then in schools. We, in the community of this Association, may argue with each other, and with the interested minority of the public, about what history to teach, and indeed how to teach it, but it is clear that other decisions have been and are being taken which are disastrous for history in school. Do not be certain that history has a guaranteed place in the school curriculum. It arrived in the late nineteenth century and could disappear in the twenty-first. Indeed, for

some pupils it has virtually disappeared already. How has this happened?

There are three people in this sad story, two real, one a fictional stereotype that I'm going to create. First Kenneth Baker. He laid out a National Curriculum in which a hierarchical divide was made between Core subjects and Foundation subjects. Not even the medieval university curriculum of trivia and quadrivia made such a powerful distinction. Core subjects have Statutory Attainment Tests (SATs) at 11 and 14 on which a school's league table position is based. The Core subjects are English, maths, science, ICT and religious education. History is a Foundation subject, a second ranking subject. There are no league table points to be earned from pupils doing well in history. Nor did Baker lay out any statutory time allocation for each subject. Schools are required to teach history at Key Stages 1, 2 and 3, that's 5 to 14, and a programme of study is prescribed for what to teach, but no minimum time allocation.

I am sorry to label Kenneth Baker in this way because I know he cares about the position of history in schools and probably had little idea of the farreaching results of his decision. Nor, probably, did my second exponent of the dangers of unintended consequences, David Blunkett. In 1997 he introduced the Literacy Strategy into Key Stages 1 and 2, with the specific instruction that time should be found for it by cutting time from Foundation subjects like history. The brief flowering of Key Stage 2 history which Kenneth Baker's National Curriculum had set up was now chopped down.

My third villain is an updated version of the schoolmaster Dickens satirised in Hard Times, Mr Gradgrind. But where Mr. Gradgrind was concerned only to teach facts, my Mr. Gradegrind is concerned only with getting high grades for as many of his students as possible. Let me outline a scenario of where history stands in Mr. Gradegrind's school, and why. As Head of a school which is the least popular of four in his area, Mr Gradegrind knows that his league table position is a factor in persuading parents, in this highly competitive situation, to choose his school. As only maths, English and science count in the 14 year olds' league table, he is giving them more curriculum time, cutting history to 50 minutes a week. And then he looks at GCSE results. To move up the league table he needs as many students as possible to gain five or more GCSEs at C or better. This is not simply chasing numbers or reputation. In his view, this is a target to benefit his pupils too, as he knows that

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employers use this five GCSEs hurdle to select young people for jobs and it is also an admission criterion to Further Education. He is doing the best for his pupils, as he sees it.

History is a hard GCSE. Last summer I invigilated GCSE examinations in several subjects and I am convinced that you have to remember more, write more, read more and do more varied things in history than in any other subject. The statistics, the famous "residuals" which compare the results students scored in history with what they got in other subjects, are usually negative: that is to say, many history can offer? It's not enough for me: history has important things to say to all pupils, over and beyond their ability to jump through GCSE grade hoops.

Now Mr. Gradegrind has heard of a new wheeze: cut Key Stage 3 to two years, so pupils can either take three years over GCSE, if they are not very able, or take it in two years and add even more subject passes by taking more subjects in Year 11, or starting A Levels early. What a winner!

Where does that leave young people's history education in his part of town? A few afternoons on a strange and incoherent collection of topics in Key

History is general knowledge

As far as Mr Gradegrind is concerned history is general knowledge, a few facts, a few stories, and a consensus heritage to be transmitted as quickly as possible. Twenty key facts, 12 key people —just the kind of history curriculum he can deal with. The trouble is, it's not education. I used to fret over the fact that, in England, we cannot actually agree on the 20 key facts or the 12 key people. Try it yourselves: next time your dinner party is flagging a bit, round about the pudding course, open another bottle and see if you and your guests can agree on such a list. It's a great party

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students often get better grades in other subjects. History has a reputation among pupils as being interesting but hard—as opposed to other subjects which are known to be boring but easy. Now, "interesting but hard" may not be a reputation we want to argue with. But Mr Gradegrind wants GCSE passes, so anyone at his school who isn't going to get a pass is barred from choosing it. Maybe you don't mind that: a nice little group of literate students? But is that all Stage 2; in KS3, young people have their only encounter with trained history graduates, but only for 50 minutes a week, and then at 13 it's optional, and two-thirds of them never study history again.

Things are not like this in every school, of course. There are remarkable schools where everyone does GCSE history and others where the take-up rate is 70% or 80%. Pupils continue to opt for history at 14 because many of them seek out quality teaching and intellectual engagement. But the trend is towards Mr Gradegrind's curriculum, rather than away from it. The two-year Key Stage 3, for example, is being introduced school by school, with HMI unable to say how many schools have made the change and ministers complacent about its impact on history education. A recent Parliamentary answer revealed that a disturbingly large number of schools do

not even offer history at GCSE.

And none of this is the fault of history teachers.

game, but again, even if we could achieve national consensus in England, which we clearly can't, it's not a curriculum. In fact, it's a dangerously weak defence of the place of history in the curriculum.

Governments, particularly right wing governments, like this kind of history too: Ben Walsh's remarkable talk in March in Liverpool revealed to us the intentions of the Florida Education Bill of 2006, that :

American history shall be viewed as factual, not constructed. It shall be viewed as knowable, teachable, and testable.

Someone, somewhere, doesn't understand what the discipline of history is.

We in Britain are very slow to pick up on how other countries organise themselves. A little while ago I was able to visit Russia and talk with some history teachers. Life for teachers there is not easy: underpaid, sometimes not paid, under-resourced, but with a very clear idea of their role. Russian, maths and

The late John Fines.

history are central to the curriculum, and by history they mean not just the political history, but social history, and the culture of the period they are studying: its music, its art and literature. History helps young people find out what it is to be Russian.

What school history really ought to be

I must turn now from describing what history is not and get on with what school history really ought to be. So, let me begin by laying out three principles for my curriculum, each supported by a quotation from Terry Haydn's remarkable collection of over 100 quotations about the place of history in education.

I want to start by remembering John Slater. I met him first at an HA event in Kennington and he was the first Staff Inspector for history I knew. He reminded us, in 1992:

Not all human beings throughout the whole of time can be studied. Historians are obliged to select. Selection involves value judgement which gives public importance and status to those who are selected and, implicitly, denies it to those who are not. History is not a value-free enterprise.

It would move our discussion on a great deal if writers about the curriculum took this obvious truth on board.

Secondly, I'm talking about a curriculum for all young people. And so was Christine Counsell, in her TES article of February 2006 when she insisted, in relation to not-so-clever pupils:

The historical consciousness of these children matters because they are human beings. History teaches us the meaning of human-ness. These pupils too can experience the awe and humility that a disciplined, stretching study of the past confers.

And again she called for:

Sharing the vision for bringing historical knowledge and historical thinking to everyone, whether plumber, politician or policeman, because they are future citizens, because they are human beings.

How much I loathe hearing how the Gradegrinds have decided that history is not for some pupils, as if it were some élite club, a discourse which only the clever can engage in. That way lies Latin: do we want history to be the Latin of the



twenty-first century curriculum?

I want a curriculum for all, which is about people: not about Bessemer converters or stagecoaches, but how these things changed people's lives. Not about castles, but how people lived in castles.

The history curriculum reflects the state of our country and our world today: mine certainly does. I have in mind a conversation I had over lunch during an INSET session I was doing in March with three teachers. They started by describing their school. One told us that his school had children of 38 different national origins, with pupils from every continent. One taught in an all white school. The pupils in the third school almost all came from quite a small part of Pakistan. This is Britain today, and clearly a curriculum, based on *Our Island Story* just will not do.

Thirdly, I want a curriculum of argument, of discussion, of learning to make informed judgements. Sir Keith Joseph, in 1984, argued that the purpose



of history in the curriculum was so that pupils were enabled:

To use their reason as well as their memories and to develop skills of analysis and criticism in a situation in which there cannot be a provably right answer.

Quite an answer, from a Conservative politician, to the Florida curriculum.

History is one of the few places in the ordinary curriculum not dominated by seeking the single right answer. Good science teachers do it, and some good English teachers, but not in a way that is as central as it is to history.

What history should we teach? I think there are four main themes to explore.

Who rules?

My first strand is the most traditional, and the most difficult to teach: Who rules? Who had power in different periods and why did it change?



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This is the place where we might find the most traditional stories, where teachers might decide to show, for example, some of Simon Schama's brilliant programme from his British history series on Henry II and Becket. They will discuss how much of the story he tells so well is his creation, his building of a plausible and absorbing narrative, based firmly on the known facts, but filling us in with his creative reconstruction of aspects of the personalities which he, and we, cannot possibly know. Because that is what historians do, and what TV history so rarely makes clear. It is what we want to replicate in the classroom.

You notice that I've expressed the theme as a question. It's an enquiry, which pupils will re-visit at different points in their history curriculum, getting different answers in different periods, and trying to explain why they So the Chartists failed—never mind, their grandchildren got a good deal of what they wanted. It was not inevitable. Each concession was wrung from a reluctant establishment: that's the story.

Like all my other themes, I would end this one in the present, with the figures for voting apathy among young people. Politicians need to confront this apathy, but so do young people, in the context of the history classroom.

Ordinary lives

My next theme is ordinary lives. Ordinary people rather dip in and out of the traditional curriculum. Pupils might find out about the life of a medieval peasant—usually hard, boring toil, no individual freedom and an early death, apparently. Not surprisingly, they revolt in 1381, and then largely disappear until they get various limbs caught in spinning jennies in the nineteenth which is always victorious in war? Is this the story of Agincourt, the Armada, Trafalgar and Waterloo? A kind of tribal saga of victories and great deeds? These were, in some, but not all cases, significant events, bringing changes to Britain, Europe, even the world. But now, for children growing up into the new millennium, shouldn't they have a more balanced picture? What about the defeats in France in the fifteenth century? The Dutch in the Medway in 1667? The Opium Wars?

My concern is also with the legacy of the wars curriculum. In the current Key Stage 3 National Curriculum, we have to teach the First World War, the Second World War and the Cold War. They are clearly important—though not necessarily the most important—events in the twentieth century. But there is an inherent danger in concentrating on these three: the hidden message seems

But who exactly are "our neighbours" in this global village? Are Wales, Ireland and Scotland neighbours? Or are they part of our nation? If so, why do we teach almost nothing of their history in school?

are different. The individual stories of great moments need to be told, but there is something lacking in a curriculum which consists only of the stories. And that is: what is the big picture? When did monarchy give way, finally, to parliamentary rule? What pattern will young people take away from this course long after they have forgotten the Constitutions of Clarendon and the terms of the 1884 Reform Act? What is the chronological framework which we can give pupils into which they can fit all the future bits of information-not to mention distortion and opinion, which they are going to encounter? Questions, too, enable debate. Who ruled well? What does it mean to rule well-in 1100, in 1850, in 2007? This is mainly a British story, but this is also where we need to look beyond these shores to see how other people solve similar problems. This is the place, for instance, for the French Revolution, that cataclysmic event which certainly changed Europe, probably the world, and which we pretend had no impact on Britain at all. (Why were people at Peterloo in 1819 wearing the red, white and blue cap of liberty?)

Most of all, though, I want this topic to be taught with some passion. Too many outline descriptions of this theme give it a kind of triumphalist inevitability, with huge condescension to those who struggled for their democratic rights. So the Levellers were shot down in Burford church—never mind, their descendants got the vote 250 years later.

century and join up in 1914 to get mown down in the First World War. Again, what is the big picture? My question: When was it a good time to live here? It might seem unhistorical, but by unpacking the idea of "a good life", pupils have to confront the pre-TV, pre-ipod life. Not only what was the diet, the life expectancy, the ability to travel, but also what were the satisfactions, the capacity and opportunities to enjoy yourself? This theme also asks these questions of women, as well as men, people in the provinces as well as London. The country that is revealed would not be homogenous, nor all white. We know that those who came on the Windrush were not the first black people to live here.

There are opportunities too to make comparisons across place as well as time. As we find out what medieval London looked like and felt like, could we not also look at Medieval Córdoba, where, under Muslim rule, Muslims, Jews and Christians lived and worked together to produce a cultured and civilised life? Of course, I'm selecting, and we would examine how real this rosy picture was, but one of the functions of history is surely to widen experiences and knowledge: the world doesn't have to be the way it is today and here.

My next theme is also traditional: war and conflict. I have real problems with the selection and treatment of this topic. Do we want those children in the three schools I described to think of Britain as a warlike country? A country to be "war works". In these three cases there was a terrible price, in lives and resources, but evil was defeated and goodness prevailed. I don't have to spell out the possible doubts many people have had over recent views that "war works". So I want to make my question: Do wars succeed in achieving their aims?

England and its relations with the rest of the world

Finally, we need to look at England and its relations with the rest of the world. A nation has been defined as a group of people with a misunderstood view of their own history and a dislike of their neighbours. I've tried to open up some thoughts about our own history, but who, exactly are "our neighbours" in this global village? Are Wales, Ireland and Scotland neighbours? Or are they part of our nation? If so, why do we teach almost nothing of their history in school? Part of the purpose of education is to help young people find their identity-who they are, where they came from, what made them. We must accept that this will be complex, multilayered: a finding of identities-plural, rather. One might be, at the same time, white, East Anglian, English, European but with close relatives in the USA. Or black, Yorkshire, Muslim, British with close relatives in Germany. The history curriculum needs to be much more reflective of these layers and diversities.

Another part of the identity might be European. I am very aware how

young adults today regard Europe, even beyond, as their own. Many university courses, by no means just in foreign languages, involve a year at a non-British university. Friends are made and parties planned across the boundaries which are so deeply entrenched for the rest of us. There is a proposal in the next Key Stage 3 course that pupils study the British Empire. That's fine, but what a distorted view of European empires they will get if they only look at ours. I am currently doing some work on the slave forts of the west African Coast, particularly Cape Coast Castle, an important British slaving base for 200 years. But it was built by the Portuguese, and held by the Danes, the Swedes and a local ruler, before it became British. That's another context for our slave trade story.

Controversially, again, I think this should be brought right up to date. Remember how young these young people are. Anyone taking GCSE this year was born after the Berlin Wall came down; they are post-Cold War people. "What was Communism?" they ask. In lifetime terms, they are as remote from the attack on the Twin Towers as I am from the Cuban Missile Crisis. Secondly, sometimes you can study history backwards: start with a fairly recent event, and see how history explains it. Because only history can properly give the deep explanations these young people crave. 24 hour news media are fine for telling us which cat got stuck up a tree yesterday, but useless for taking us back to the historic roots of present day events.

The 'How' of history in schools

I need now to say something about the 'How' of history in schools. History is a marvellous way of getting children to think critically about factual situations and make their own judgements. Of course pupils need to know some history, remember it, but also use it. By thinking critically, I mean engaging with the kinds of enquiries I have been putting before you: recognising, and learning by trying to do it that historical explanations are usually complex and might involve reasons of different kinds, and of different weights, requiring careful use of language. History requires recognising, and learning by trying it, that statements need to be backed with evidence, from the history, and ultimately from the sources. Pupils need to be taught to recognise that historical events have attributed significance and that these attributions amount to interpretations. They need to begin to analyse how these are made, and why they differ.

If the label has any meaning at all,

this is the so-called "new history". Not so new now, because I was there at the beginning, in my first teaching job, attending-not a Schools History Project Conference, but a Historical Association Conference, at Tring Manor, in 1971. The Conference was called to launch a pair of pamphlets by John Fines and Jeanette Coltham, entitled "Educational Objectives for the Study of History". It all stems from there: a full year before the Schools History Project team was even assembled. What John Fines and Jeanette Coltham did was to suggest that "the study of history" was an active process, in which children could engage, and which has educational benefits for all of them, even if they never do any history as adults. Just as children learn about science and what a scientific approach to physical phenomena is by active science lessons, which we call practicals, so children learn about history and a historical approach to human existence by active history lessons.

This is the point which some of our colleagues just do not grasp when they condemn the kind of classroom I am talking about. Anyone who ever saw my great predecessor as wearer of this medal, John Fines, talk with young children about what a particular primary source they are looking at together might mean will recognise something of the power of history to educate.

Don't forget Mr Gradegrind and all those who are looking to steal curriculum time. If history is only memorising dates, learning a few Ladybird book style stories, then our defences are very weak. In an internet age, when too much knowledge is readily available, it is the ability to handle it, to separate truth from lies, to find patterns, to communicate meaning, that the human race needs, and young people who have been taught to be active thinkers, not passive receptors, are tremendously useful.

So where do we go from here?

I've tried to explain what is going in some schools and what could go on in all of them. Of course, with 4,500 secondary schools there will be differences. I am sure I've also fallen into the same trap which everyone I've ever worked with on the curriculum has fallen into, simply adding more and more worthwhile, important history to an already crowded course. None of what I have said is really an answer to Mr Gradegrind, either, on his terms. He, and some of the government thinkers for whom he is my stalking horse, really has lost the plot. He needs to be told what a school is for and what a curriculum is for. For the rest of you all non-schoolteachers with a view

on history in the curriculum—and that's just about everyone in the country—I would say: join us. Find out what is really going on. Read the National Curriculum. Read GCSE and A level syllabuses—they're all public documents, not secret. Don't believe what so-called "education journalists" would have you believe. For them, the curriculum is just the continuation of political arguments by other means.

For history teachers in universities I also say: join us. We need you- to help us write better textbooks, to up-date our syllabuses, to set better question papers. I'm sure you won't agree with a lot of what I have said, but can we at least have similar starting-points, based on a realistic understanding of what history in the school curriculum is, and is striving to be.

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