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A historical introduction to the development of Language Teaching and Learning in Higher Education in England: Spanish as a case study

1. Introduction

This chapter sets out the historical context for the teaching and learning of languages in Higher Education (HE) in England today. We begin with a brief overview, sketching no more than the bare bones of a fuller history which remains to be written, and deliberately saying little about lobbying and strategizing in the face of continuing overall contraction of languages in HE over the last twenty years (see McLelland 2017, 85-126 for the period to 2016; now also British Academy et al. 2020; for primary sources see Ayres-Bennett & Humphries, (2022: <https://www.promotinglanguagepolicy.org/>). Besides offering a case study of Spanish, our overview encompasses the history of several languages, large and small; we have not addressed the very different history of teaching and learning ancient languages, nor have we explored the (as yet short) history of teaching British Sign language (which can now be studied at three British Universities as part of a degree, as well as at a small number of others through Institution Wide Language Provision (IWLP) (UCML and AULC 2021, 16-17).

Our overview is complemented by a fuller case study, Spanish, a language that was both amongst the first to be taught in Britain and that is, despite the historical dominance of French and German, now the most widely taught at British schools and universities. The Spanish case in particular exemplifies the long-running discourse promoting the economic importance of languages; the disciplinary expansion beyond the core of studying literature to many other aspects of history, cultures and societies; and the transnationalization of languages disciplines over recent decades.

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2. An outline history of teaching and learning languages in Higher Education in Britain

2.1 Teaching and learning languages before Higher Education

People in Britain have always encountered other languages — whether other indigenous languages within Britain or other languages when travelling abroad or encountering travellers. Britain's history of colonisation, empire, migration and conquest (both inward - Roman, Viking and Norman — and, later, outward) also shaped its history of multilingualism. After the Norman Conquest of 1066, French was the first foreign vernacular language to be taught. Italian and Spanish both enjoyed a flurry of interest during the sixteenth century, driven by the influence of the Italian Renaissance on the one hand, and by dynastic and political ties to Spain, as well by appreciation of Spanish literature on the other hand (the sixteenth century is still known as the Golden Age of Spanish culture today). Thanks to the importance of trading ties between the Low Countries and England, a *Dutch Scholemaster* was published in London in 1606, yet the first textbook of German for English learners was published only in 1680. Britain can lay claim to the first grammars of Portuguese (1662) and of Russian (1696) written for foreign learners in Europe. By the late 18th century, languages — chiefly French, Spanish, Italian and German (a later addition to the list, first evidenced in 1748) — were being taught not just by private teachers but also in schools and academies of various kinds (McLelland 2015, 24, 52). The ascent of Hanoverian King George I to the British throne in 1714 and Germany's literature and cultural flowering in the later eighteenth century meant that by the 19th century, when schooling became more institutionalized, it was German that joined French — always the first foreign language — to become institutionalized as the first 'Modern Languages' in the so-called Public Schools (actually private, fee-paying schools) and universities from the 1820s onwards. (See McLelland 2017, 5-38).

'Modern Languages' being established in boys' schools and at University was radically different from languages as they had been taught and learned up to the 18th century, where the emphasis was on the spoken language, learned through dialogues modelling everyday situations of travellers, and possibly some reading and writing for practical purposes (such as commercial correspondence), and/or, for the leisured elite, reading literature of various kinds. While the typical language manual included a grammar section, there were no grammar drills and no explicit testing of metalinguistic knowledge. Translation was often viewed as a good way of learning the language, but — not least given the habit of presenting the target language text and the learner's language in parallel — it was not considered a skill to be honed and tested in of itself. That changed in the later 18th century, with some pioneer language masters starting to integrate grammar practice into their materials, and by the late 19th century, the elements

of what became known as the grammar-translation method were in place: explicit grammar drills and translation into and out of the target language, with the laudable intention of not just providing grammatical information, but also allowing learners to practise applying rules as they learned them (McLelland 2017, 95-99) — and that principle, at least, has survived. (For a much fuller overview of the history of language teaching methods than is possibly here, see McLelland 2017, 85-126).

2.2 The beginnings of languages study at universities: which languages, where?

Despite recent steady and painful contractions in modern language provision and take-up at University, overall the past century and a half saw huge growth in the disciplines. There were 60 graduates in Modern Languages nationally in 1904 (Bayley 1991, 23); the eight students admitted to modern languages at Oxford and Cambridge in 1911 were outnumbered about 25 to 1 by the 205 students admitted to classical philology (Sagarra 1999, 685). A century later, in 2005, there were some 21,465 FTEs (i.e. Full-Time Equivalents, possibly many more individuals) studying modern foreign languages either as a degree subject or as part of their degree at undergraduate or postgraduate (taught or research) level, as well as some 590 FTE undergraduates studying Modern Middle Eastern studies, and over 800 undergraduates were studying Russian and East European Studies (LLAS and UCML 2006, 5). As for staff numbers, in 1918 there were 70 people involved in teaching French, 42 German, 11 Italian, 11 Russian, and 7 Spanish (Leathes 1918, 216, 145, cited by Bayley 1991, 14). That grew to some 2000 researchers in 2006 (LLAS and UCML 2006, 5), a number that does not include the very numerous professional teaching staff without a research allocation in their contract.

The oldest languages chair in these islands was established in Trinity College Dublin in 1776 for German and French, intended to spare the leisured but not sufficiently wealthy among Ireland's elite the expense of a Grand Tour (McLelland 2015, 52); a Chair in Italian and Spanish was similarly established. In Britain, University College London (UCL) appointed the first Chair in German in 1829; a Chair in Italian and Spanish already in 1828; King's College London (KCL) followed in 1831; a Spanish Chair was also established at KCL in (1831). At Oxford, Swiss German Francis Henry Trithen was appointed to a chair in modern European languages in 1845; his first course of lectures was on 'the language and literature of Russia' (Muckle 2008, 40). Oxford introduced modern languages as a main subject only from 1903, however (Muckle 2008,

42), and a Chair in French was not established there until 1919 (Campos 1989, 81).

After Trithen's early lectures on Russian language and literature at Oxford, Slavonic Studies first became established in English universities in 1870, with a bequest to support the study of "Polish and other Slavonic Languages, Literature and History", resulting in the Ilchester lectures, first given (though Polish was swiftly forgotten), by William Richard Morfill (1834-1909), later Reader (1890) and Professor (1900) at Oxford. Cambridge made a regular appointment in Russian only in 1900 (Muckle 2008, 40, 45).

The study of indigenous Celtic languages first became established at universities out of a combination of historical-comparative philological interest and sometimes nationalist romanticism; a Chair in Celtic was established in Oxford in 1877; the first Chair of Celtic in Scotland followed in 1882, in Edinburgh. At Liverpool, Kuno Meyer, initially appointed to a lectureship in German in 1884, was Chair in Celtic Studies 1895-1912 (see Meek 2001, Koch 2007).

Professorships in Chinese Studies were established earlier: at UCL in 1837 and at KCL in 1947. KCL served as "the Empire's centre for training colonial officers in the Chinese language before they were sent to the Far East colonies to assume administrative duties" (Kwan 2014, 624), a function later taken over by the School of Oriental and African Studies. Chairs in Chinese were established at Oxford and Cambridge in 1876 and 1888 respectively, followed by Manchester in 1901 (see Kwan 2014; Twitchett 1995). The School of Oriental Studies was founded in 1917 'to meet commercial and government needs in the heyday of imperial expansion' but 'its staff in Chinese Studies was the old familiar mixture of ex-missionaries and ex-government officials. It did nothing to establish Chinese studies on a sound academic basis' (Twitchett 1995, 247); the School added African Studies to its remit, becoming the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1938. Two government reports in 1946 and 1961 on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies led to numerous new appointments at SOAS (Twitchett 1995, 248), and then, in the 1960s, to diversifying of Asian Studies beyond Oxford, Cambridge and London; for example, the University of Leeds gained Chinese Studies, Sheffield Japanese, and Hull South East Asian Studies (University of Leeds, n.d.).

European languages began to find a home beyond London and Oxbridge much earlier than Asian languages, already in the last decades of the nineteenth century. At Aberystwyth, the first professor was appointed in languages in 1872; three years later (1875), the second incumbent, Hermann Ethé (1875) professed to cover French, German, Italian, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Sanskrit; his successor in 1894 limited himself to French and older German (Campos 1989, 79). Mary Brebner, an assistant lecturer at Aberystwyth c.1898-1907, first in Greek and Latin, then in Modern Languages, was certainly among the first women to

hold a university post in Modern Languages in Britain (McLelland 2020, 205). Lecturers in French were appointed at Liverpool in 1882, at Aberdeen in 1893 and at Nottingham in 1898 (Campos 1989, 78). At Newcastle, French and German were taught from 1880; from 1887 the French lecturer also offered classes in Spanish and Italian as. Newcastle's first professor of modern languages, Albert George Latham, was appointed in 1894 to teach French and Italian (though clearly also very competent in German: a well-known translator, he translated Goethe's *Faust*, published in 1905). The first Chair of German at Manchester, where German had been taught since 1851, was endowed in 1895 by German industrialist Henry Simon (University of Manchester, n.d). In the south of England, Southampton appointed a Dr. E. Du Bois to a Chair in French and German in 1899 (Holmes 2011, 14). Details of many other such early appointments can be found in Campos (1989, 79-80).

In 1908 the University of Liverpool established its Gilmour Chair of Spanish, endowed by Captain George Gilmour, a self-described 'merchant' and 'estanciero' (farmer) of Birkenhead who had done business in Argentina for 30 years (Martínez del Campo 2015, 31). The first Chair in Russian at Liverpool, established in the same year, was also in part funded by a businessman, but also by other donations, possibly reflecting popular interest in the 1905 revolution in Russia. To what extent, if any, the funding of these and other such endowments was the result of colonial exploitation remains to be understood. The commercially focussed origins of the Chairs in Spanish and Russian contrast with the 1905 endowment of a Chair in French by Mrs James Barrow to 'permanently ensure the study in Liverpool of the French language and literature', according to her lawyer (Campos 1989, 80) — a mix of motivations for language study that runs through the entire history of languages at University.

World War I and then the 1917 Revolution triggered increased interest in Russian — long caught between fear of the autocratic Russian state and fascination with Russian literature and culture (Muckle 2008, 31, 52-58) — so that a School of Slavonic Studies was established at KCL in 1915, and Russian was soon also introduced at Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, Glasgow and Newcastle. The First World War was also a catalyst for the first undergraduate degree programme in Dutch, introduced at Bedford College, London, in 1916, 'largely driven by imperial interests in South Africa, but also under the impression of the wave of refugees from Belgium' (Tiedau 2022, 45); Britain's first Chair in Dutch was founded in 1919 at UCL funded by a combination of Dutch interest groups and South African companies (Tiedau 2022, 45, 53).

2.3 Diversification, growth and contraction

The Leathes Report of 1918 — the first major report on 'modern languages' in the British education system, and the first to include university provision in its remit — reinforced the trend towards growth and diversification, arguing in particular for the importance of Spanish, Italian and Russian in universities alongside the dominant French and German. Its vision of 55 new Chairs of Modern Languages, including ten for each of the languages other than French, was not fulfilled, but there was some expansion and diversification beyond French and German (Bayley 1991, 73). The Leathes Report's authors, while likely to be disappointed by later 20th and 21st century reductions in Russian provision, would no doubt be gratified to learn of the strong growth in Spanish (see our case study below), as well as of Italian, offered in 2015 by 13 of 24 Russell Group Universities as a Single Honours and/or Major, with altogether 40 universities offering Italian language as part of a variety of degree programmes (Pieri 2015, 6).

As for "smaller" European languages, after the initial establishment of a School of Scandinavian Studies at UCL in 1917, Scandinavian Studies reached its high point in the 1970s: in 1977, 17 Universities offered Scandinavian Studies in some form, four offering at least three Scandinavian languages to degree level, a further two offering just one to degree level. However, cuts in the 1980s led to numerous course closures, so that by 2017 UCL and Edinburgh were the only two institutions left in the UK to offer a full provision (Garton 2017, 98). The trajectory of Dutch is not dissimilar. In 2006, 22 institutions offered Dutch in some form, often as an option within German[ic] Studies, seven of those only through institution-wide language programme; only six offered content modules beside the language, and there was been further contraction since then (Heppleston et al. 2006).

The pattern of a period of expansion followed by sometimes severe contraction of provision holds true for the "largest" languages too. Growth was triggered when the 1963 Robbins Report on Higher Education recommended an expansion of universities, and that all colleges of advanced technology should be given the status of universities. As an example, staffing in French at Leeds grew from six in the 1930s to 19 by the late 1960s (and remained around the same in 2010). Meanwhile new universities established departments of languages, often more vocational in orientation, widening the class base from which undergraduates were drawn (Holmes 2011, 19). However, this era of optimism was followed by painful contractions of the 1980s, when, for example, the University of Salford saw a 44% cut in income from the University Grants Committee, and the loss of eight out of 40 jobs in its modern languages department. Since then, as Holmes noted, French (and language study more widely) has disappeared not

just from Salford but also from many more of the 30 so-called polytechnic universities which had established departments of languages (Holmes 2011, 16).

2.4 The changing shape of languages study

It is important to note the changing shape of languages provision at Universities over the decades. Responding to the fact that fewer students take a language to A-level, most languages can now be taken on degree programmes from beginners' level; while some languages have a longer tradition of this, French and German have largely only joined the fold in the last two decades (UCML and AULC 2021; on reasons for declining take-up, see British Academy et al. 2020). From the norm of Single Honours programmes, there has also been an increasing shift in student demand to Joint and Combined Honours degrees, allowing students to combine language study with another specialism. There has also been huge growth over the past half-century in the availability of languages through Institution-Wide Language Programmes (IWLP, i.e. languages offered to all students through a Language Centre or similar). In 2013 at least 59 Universities (including 20 Russell-Group institutions), offered an IWLP with between 4 and 20 languages, 62% offering languages for credit, and with some 50,000 students taking a language in some form, significantly more than the numbers studying a language degree, and roughly double the number reported to be on IWLPs in 1998-9 (UCML and AULC 2013, 4). The range of languages offered has also increased, from 20 reported in 2013 to 34 different languages; at least ten institutions offer 13 or more different languages, including a handful offering British Sign Language (UCML and AULC 2021, 17). The wider availability of language teaching by expert language teachers (with, increasingly, appropriate career progression) is welcome. However, IWLP is sometimes a pathway for the managed decline of degree programmes, with a language initially continuing to be offered though at IWLP before disappearing from the institution entirely; all four institutions who reported offering languages only through IWLP in 2021 had previously had full language degree programmes (UCML and AULC 2021, 23).

2.5 Languages scholars and the world beyond university

We finish this overview with a reflection on the history of interactions of university language teachers with the world beyond the university, in the days before public engagement, knowledge exchange and impact existed as labels. Arnold Toynbee, the holder of the Koraes chair for modern Greek, was 'in 1924 effectively dismissed by King's College because of his reporting on the Greco-

Turkish war in Asia Minor, which displeased the chair's donors' (Tiedau 2022, 49) — an extreme example of the price paid for social and political engagement. Not for nothing does the British Association for Chinese Studies (founded in 1976) describe itself as a "non-political organization". Many Jewish refugees made a significant contribution to German Studies in Britain (Livingstone 1991) (as well as to Chinese Studies: Twitchett 1995, 247), but some British Germanists were slow to recognize the dangers of national socialism, as Brinson (1996) and Wilson (2021) have shown for Leonard A. Willoughby (1885-1977), Professor of German at UCL from 1931 (see also Brenn, 1989). Robey (2012) notes the outright sympathy to Italian Fascism among some British or British-based Italianists (as among many in the wider British population). Robey suggests that a desire to avoid difficult political topics may even have influenced the focus of the journal *Italian Studies* in its first years (starting in 1937), perhaps helping reinforce 'the general trend of modern language studies […] to focus on the language and literature of the past' (Robey 2012, 289).

More positively, from the very outset, many languages academics were very influential in discussions about how languages should be taught in schools. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, University academics were necessarily involved in setting the public exams run by universities for school students (McLelland 2017, 127-130), but several went well beyond the minimum. UCL Professor of German Adolphus Bernays lectured aspiring languages teachers in the new Queen's College in 1849; Mary Brebner's (1898) *Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany* introduced readers to reformed methods of language teaching in schools, such as the use of realia in the classroom (McLelland 2015, 114-15, 132, 314); Karl Breul (at Cambridge) lectured and published on the training of teachers (McLelland 2015, 111). Walter Rippmann, also at Cambridge and later at London's Queen's College and Bedford College (the first higher education college in the UK for the education of women), produced numerous Reform Method textbooks of French and German, including an emphasis on the then new science of phonetics (McLelland 2015, 118-122). Rippmann also ran holiday courses in London for foreign students 1903-1939 (Casey, 2017), which, together with the counterparts offered on the continent, constituted an early form of residence abroad. (On the history of residence abroad, see McLelland (2017, 76-80). Engagement with wider publics is, then, nothing new.

In sum, as our brief overview makes clear, a combination of trading and political ties with artistic and literary influences drove the demand for the teaching and learning of languages privately and in schools, well before they became part of Higher Education. That demand in turn drove the publication of grammar books, vocabularies, and dialogues with a focus on the practical aspects of using the language. With the establishment of new universities in the 19th century, modern languages became institutionalized as academic disciplines, part of pro-

grammes of study at universities, sometimes with a vocational orientation. After the consolidation of subject-language departments and the creation of Chairs in main European languages by the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century, cultural aspects including history, literature and society played an increasingly dominant role in modern languages syllabi in Higher Education. Teaching methodologies were mainly based on (variations of) the grammar-translation method, but the Reform Movement and new trends in linguistics also led to new approaches, including those that placed more emphasis on pronunciation and exposure to 'authentic' language.

Diversification, growth, and then contraction have shaped language learning provision at universities in the past century and a half. The increased range of languages on offer and the wider availability of language teaching by specialist language teachers observed in the second half of the 20th century has been followed by a recent decline in the number and range of degree programmes on offer, the move towards non-degree language study, and, indeed, the shrinking or even closure of some departments of languages in universities and other Higher Education institutions.

We turn now to the history of Spanish as a more detailed case study, considering the institutionalization of Spanish in English education; its consolidation of in British universities and the rise of Hispanism; and Spanish in post-Brexit Britain

3. The long tradition of Spanish language in Britain: an overview of the ideologies, social events and people that shaped the teaching of Spanish

The significance of the Spanish language in Renaissance England is associated with Tudor external politics and the Spanish Empire, starting with the marriage of Catherine of Aragon first to Arthur (1501) and then to Henry VIII (1509), and culminating in the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) and the invasion of Cádiz (1596) during the Anglo-Spanish War (Cámara Rojo 2017). The co-dependency of Anglo-Spanish political and literary cultures and their effect on Elizabethan nation-building at the end of the sixteenth century increased the importance of the Spanish language at court and as a literary model. During 1580s and 1590s English authors used literature from Spain 'as a means not only to construct English identity but more importantly to define their own political roles within the developing Protestant state' (Crummé 2015, 5). Prominent courtiers produced English versions of scholarly and literary pieces of the Golden Age — notable examples are Rychard Hyrde's translation of Luis Vives' works, commissioned by Catherine of Aragon (Crummé 2015), and Sir Philip Sidney's

translations of two popular Spanish novels, *Diana* and *Amadís de Gaula*. Although the feelings and attitudes regarding Spain differed and changed constantly in Tudor (1485-1603) and Jacobean (1603-25) times, these English scholars observed the connections between language and power and understood the close alliance between the spread of Spain's political, economic and military power and the role that its language played in international politics and Empire building.

Political alliances led to mercantile and military interchanges and generated a considerable need for grammars and Anglo-Spanish lexicographical works. The production of such textbooks in the 16th century was in the hands of religious refugees in England, English travellers, experienced translators and teachers of languages. The first Spanish grammar published in England was *Reglas Gramaticales para aprender la lengua Española y Francesa* (1586), by the polyglot scholar Antonio del Corro, translated into English by John Thorius (1590). The importance of Corro's grammar from the historical and philological point of view (López Fernández 1996, 110) is evident in its influence on later works such as Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), William Stepney's conversational dialogues *The Spanish Schoole-master* (1591), and John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English and A Spanish grammar and Pleasant and delightful dialogues in Spanish and English* (1599). A non-conformist refugee from Seville who became Professor of Theology at the University of Oxford, Corro's grammar presents the principles of the Spanish and the French languages modelling the Latin language. The grammar also refers, in its introductory dedication, to the importance of learning vernacular languages to maintain friendship among the nations, in line with the linguistic ideas developing in Europe at the time (Suso López 2009).

These works paved the way for later manuals published in England under the influence of the Port-Royal grammar (1660) (Miel 1969) and the idea of logic and rationalistic linguistic thought. The emphasis on presenting the idiosyncrasies of the language as it is naturally spoken defines the numerous conversational dialogues published during the 17th and 18th centuries by grammarians, translators and teachers of Spanish, such as Juan de Luna, who established themselves in the City of London as part of the protestant refugee community. Luna's *Arte breve y compendiosa, para aprender, a leer, pronunciar, escrevir y hablar la lengua Española* (Paris, 1616; London, 1623), a detailed and logically structured grammar of Spanish, stressed the importance of studying the grammatical rules and the role of the teacher in the learning process (Luna 1623, 10). Luna also published *Diálogos familiares* (1619, 1621), based on Minsheu's dialogues (Sánchez Pérez 1992, 95), a collection of proverbs, idioms and uses of everyday language according to the principle of usefulness for learners of the Spanish language. A similar approach characterises the work of another protestant refu-

gee, Félix Antonio de Alvarado's *Diálogos Ingleses y Españoles* (1718). This popular book 'for the improvement of young beginners' (1718, xiv) adopts a contrastive approach between English and Spanish to explain 'several manners of speaking, proper to the Spanish tongue' (Alvarado 1718, title) with examples of practical use. Alvarado emphasizes the usefulness of learning Spanish as a universal language because 'the Sun never sets in the Spanish Dominions' and therefore, 'we might very well call it an [sic] Universal Tongue' (1718, xvi). The literature of Spain, on the other hand, continued attracting English hispanophiles like Captain John Stevens, who authored English versions of Spanish picaresque novels such as *La Celestina* and *Estebanillo González*, as well as a Spanish grammar (Sánchez Pérez 1992, 459) and popular lexicographical works such as *A New Spanish and English dictionary* (1726).

The Peninsular War (1807-1814) that drew together Spain, Portugal and Britain against France put Spain into the British spotlight once again. English scholars, inspired by the ideas the Romantic Movement and enthused by the authors of the Spanish 16th century Golden Age, advocated the cause of Spanish liberals who, following the War of Independence (1808-1814) and the absolutist restoration, fled to England in the years 1814 and 1823, supported by the British government. Many of the Spanish Constitutionalists played a significant role in progressing the study of Spanish language and literature among middle classes and as an academic subject in English universities and schools through translations and the production of dictionaries and grammars (Gallardo 2003). These works owe much to the prescriptive *Ortographía* (1741), *Gramática* (1771) and *Diccionario* (1780) of the Real Academia Española, established in 1713. Two treatises by Spanish and Latin American exiles, Vicente Salvá's *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana según ahora se habla* (1831) and the *Gramática de la lengua castellana, destinada al uso de los Americanos* (1847) by the Venezuelan philologist Andrés Bello had a significant influence on contemporary and future pedagogical grammatical works.

Teaching languages was a principal activity among Spanish Liberals, some of whom were appointed to the first Spanish professorships in the newly created London universities, which offered modern languages within the core liberal syllabus in the arts and sciences. The University of London (UCL at present) appointed Antonio Alcalá Galiano as first Chair of Spanish language and literature (1828), while the KCL professorship in Spanish (1831) was held successively by Pablo de Mendíbil, José M. Jiménez de Alcalá and Juán Calderón (Gallardo 2003). Only in 1858, did the Taylorian Institution at the University of Oxford open a new Spanish teaching position; Lorenzo Lucena, a religious dissident was appointed. He held the post until his death in 1881. Spanish classes at these institutions followed a similar pattern of lectures on Spanish literature and practical instruction in the language. Lectures offered a chronological overview

of the literature of Spain since its origins to contemporary authors. Language lessons followed the grammar-translation method of learning the grammatical rules and translating texts, initially extracted from literary pieces, but gradually incorporating examples of everyday topics and commercial correspondence (Gallardo 2003). This approach matched the demands and interests of the student audience, mainly men from the middle and upper classes with expectations of future placements in commercial and diplomatic enterprises in Spanish-speaking countries, because as explained by E. A. Peers 'all the economic activity of Latin America was concentrated during the XIXc in the city of London' (1938, xiii). The aim was 'to pronounce correctly, to write grammatically and to speak with ease and perspicuity' (Alcalá Galiano 1828, 16).

Commercially produced manuals, such as McHenry's *New and Improved Spanish Grammar designed for every class of learners* (1812) and Del Mar's *Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Spanish language, adapted to all classes of learners* (1826) featured in the reading lists for Spanish classes at Oxford and KCL for decades (Gallardo 2006). In-house textbooks were also produced, such as *A Grammar of the Spanish Language for the use of the students in King's College* (1833, 1840) by Jiménez de Alcalá, the first Spanish pedagogical grammar in English specifically designed as a coursebook for undergraduates. The author uses the principles of analogy to explain diachronic linguistic variations across the Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish languages. His aim was to encourage students to identify corresponding similarities for themselves. Although the system heavily relied on memorization and word accumulation, it also promoted students' linguistic awareness and reflection on the mechanisms of language (Gallardo 2006). As modern languages, including Spanish, became subjects in school examinations for university entry, a thriving market emerged, conveniently exploited by the publishing industry. Vast numbers of manuals, dictionaries, grammars, readers and commercial correspondence books were published in London to meet the increasing demand in both the British and American markets. Spanish language manuals such as Robertson's, Ollendorff's, Hossfeld's, and Berlitz's were extensively used throughout the 19th century and first decades of the 20th.

3.1 The rise of Hispanic Studies

Anglo-Spanish relations became fashionable in Edwardian society (Hooper 2020) as a number of events focused on Spain: the foundation of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in London (1886), the Earl's Court Spanish Exhibition (1889), the Anglo-Spanish royal wedding between King Alphonse and Princess Ena (1906), the centenary of the Peninsular War (1907) and the tercentenary of

Don Quijote (1905). The consolidation of Spanish studies in British HE was advanced by the publication of the first comprehensive history of the Spanish literature in English language by James Fiztmaurice-Kelly in 1898. Considered the first British Hispanist, Fiztmaurice-Kelly was Spanish lecturer at Cambridge before being appointed to the first Gilmour Chair of Spanish at Liverpool (1909) and later to the Cervantes Professorship of Spanish Language and Literature at KCL (1916). Spanish Chairs were gradually introduced in the first two decades of the 20th century in so-called *redbrick* universities, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow and Bristol, and a generation of experts emerged with the linguistic and cultural competence to grow the discipline of Spanish Studies. Nevertheless, the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland was not constituted until 1955.

Despite a major report noting 'conclusive evidence of the damage suffered by British trade in South and Central America caused by 'ignorance of Spanish' (Leathes Report 1918, 63), British Hispanism was centred in Spain and did not consider Latin America until the 1960s (Martínez Campo 2014) after the Parry report (1962) led to the establishment of Centres of Latin American Studies in Cambridge, Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Oxford (San Román 2007). In 1965 R. A. Humphreys, a British historian, was appointed the first Professor of Latin American studies at the newly founded Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of London. A few years later, in 1969, the *Journal of Latin American Studies*, started publication. Today Hispanism is transnational, encompassing study of the literatures, histories and cultures of the Spanish-speaking countries.

The two men who held the Stevenson Professorship of Hispanic Studies at the University of Glasgow from the 1920s to the 1970s exemplify British Hispanists at the time. Both W. J. Entwistle (from 1925-1932) and W. C. Atkinson (from 1932-1972) studied in Britain and in Spain and taught Spanish at Manchester and Durham respectively before Glasgow. Entwistle moved in 1932 to the King Alfonso XIII Chair of Hispanic Studies in Oxford, following the Spanish Nobel price Salvador de Madariaga, where he also became director of Portuguese studies. Alongside his professorship, Atkinson was Head of the Spanish and Portuguese sections of the Foreign Research and Press Service of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1939-1943), and later Director of the Institute of Latin-American Studies (1966-1972).

Cambridge appointed John Brande Trend, author of *The Origins of Modern Spain* (1934) and *The Civilization of Spain* (1944) to the first Chair of Spanish in 1933, although Spanish had been taught there since 1913. It was through Trend that members of the Spanish republican exile, such as Arturo Barea, Pedro Salinas and Luis Cernuda became teachers of Spanish at Cambridge, while others, like Lorca specialist Rafael Martínez Nadal, taught at KCL (1936-1976). Jour-

nalist Esteban Salazar Chapela and poet Luis Cernuda founded the Instituto Español in London (1944) with the aim of spreading the culture of Spain and raising awareness of the convulsive situation in the country as a result of the Civil War. Its *Boletín* included contributions by well-known Hispanists such as Marcel Bataillon and linguists such as Karl Vossler, as well as members of the republican exile. The Instituto closed in 1950, but since 1946 it co-existed alongside the Instituto de España, the cultural centre established by the Franco's regime. Their successor, the present Cervantes Institute, was founded 'to promote the Spanish language and the culture of Spain and Spanish-speaking countries' (Frost 2018, 41).

At Liverpool, Edgar Allison Peers, Gilmour Professor of Spanish (1922), championed the importance of Spanish Studies in Great Britain after the First World War. In 1923 he founded the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, the leading British academic journal devoted to the languages, literatures and civilizations of Spain, Portugal and Latin America, which published regular accounts on the situation of Spanish in British education. His 1935 report on behalf of the Spanish Committee of the Modern Language Association showed that Spanish had become the second modern language in many schools, although the report also pointed out the lack of textbooks and standardised examinations, and highlighted three key issues: a) the need for formal teacher training qualifications, which would allow British nationals to become professional teachers of Spanish and to address the shortage of teachers in secondary schools; b) the need to address teachers' isolation by establishing associations and schools networks; and c) the importance of achieving curricular uniformity (Peers 1936). Such issues still resonate today.

Peers was the editor of *A Handbook to the Study and Teaching of Spanish* (1938), the first comprehensive study of the subject to be published in Britain for researchers, teachers and students. It included a chapter on teaching Spanish, as well as sections on Catalan, Galician, Portuguese and Hispano-American literature by well-known experts. Influenced by the Direct Method, he advocated the importance of culture in language learning and favoured cross-cultural interaction. He also criticised the system of examinations for second languages in schools, because the expectation of quick results 'imposes tests like the translation into Spanish of disconnected sentences and continuous prose passages to which Direct Methodists raise fundamental objections' (Peers 1935, 191). Peers' body of work represents a major contribution to the growth of Spanish studies in Britain.

The study of Spanish in Britain expanded in the second half of the 20th century with more universities introducing Spanish studies as well as language centres offering the language as part of IWLP. The development of communications and mass tourism brought new opportunities for ordinary British people to travel

to Spain and led to a surge of language tourism (Bruzos 2017). The economic value of Spanish as a foreign language, SFL, generated a discipline in itself in the 1990s and 2000s to meet the demands of the globalized world (Bruzos 2017). Furthermore, the transnationalization, characteristic of teaching and learning of modern languages is embodied in the community of qualified Spanish language specialists in the UK. But the reality for many practitioners has been one of precariousness, insecurity and constant changes brought by economic pressures and inconsistent educational policies (Gallardo 2019). On the other hand, affiliation to cultural and professional associations such as the Association of Teachers of Spanish & Portuguese, and the Association for the Teaching of Spanish in Higher Education in the United Kingdom (ELEUK), has played an important role in developing a professional collective identity.

At present, Spanish is the most commonly-taught language in HE in Britain but, like other languages, it is affected by the decline in the number of institutions offering languages at degree level and by departmental closures (Polisca *et al.* 2019, 24). In parallel, the development of Spanish in secondary schools has been positive with a steady increase since the 1990s (Dobson 2018) which has seen Spanish taking over German as the second language in GCSE entries and, recently, overtaking French as the most popular language in A levels entries (Collen 2020). However, the negative impact of Brexit on attitudes to language learning and the implications for ensuring 'high quality language teaching' (Collen 2020, 3) raise concern. The current unsettling socio-political discourse which affects migrant citizens in the UK, as experienced by many European language teachers, and the decrease in opportunities for international engagement have an impact on Continuous Professional Development, CPD, opportunities for language teachers in the public sector and affect the availability of qualified teachers of modern languages in general and of Spanish in particular.

As a subject of study in Britain, 'Spanish has come far' (Frost 2018, 44), evolving from the study of Castilian language, literature and culture to embrace the broader cultural aspects of the Spanish-speaking world. The principle of usefulness associated with learning the Spanish language has coexisted with the fascination with the histories and the literatures of Spain and Latin American countries among British academics. The discipline and those who teach it have also adapted to the educational demands and the economic and political upheavals of internationalization and the market economy.

4. Conclusion

In this article we have offered an insight into the complex set of factors that characterised the development of language teaching and learning in Higher Edu-

cation in Britain. We have drawn on the case of Spanish to illustrate key features of the growth of the modern languages discipline, and of this language in particular, including the ongoing discussion on the socio-economic importance of languages; the growth of modern languages as academic disciplines beyond the study of literature, to encompass the study of cultures, history, and societies; and the transnationalization of language study over recent decades. The limitations of such a short article have mean that it was not possible to tackle numerous themes that a fuller history of languages at UK universities would demand. Such themes include the sometimes vexed question of the balance between British language scholars and those from the target cultures studied, including the role of refugees and exiles (McLelland 2017, 66-69); the question of participation and curricular representation of gender and of minoritized groups in a subject that has been traditionally white, and overwhelmingly majority female at undergraduate level, yet until recently overwhelmingly male in its staffing and curricula (McLelland 2017, 55-61; Holmes 2011, 22-23) and the institutionalization of languages study told through the history of the subject associations and journals founded in the course of the twentieth century. There would also be much to say on the history on the broadening of the subject: beyond its early emphasis on language and literature (still very much present) to greater interdisciplinarity, and to transnational approaches — developments that have occurred in different ways and to differing extents in the various languages, and differently in curricula compared to in research (see e.g. Robey 2012, Pieri 2015 and Glynn et al. 2020 for the case of Italian).

Nevertheless, we trust that this article sets useful context for further investigation and research on the subject.

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Appendix: the development of language teaching and learning in Higher Education in the UK. A selective chronology

1066	Norman Conquest brings French as an additional, then foreign language
1500	**Tudor England & the Spanish Empire**
1550	*Principal Rules of Italian Grammar*
1586	Corro's *Reglas Gramaticales para aprender la lengua Española y Francesa*
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada
1600	**Trading ties between England and European countries**
1606	*The Dutch Scholemaster*
1623	Luna's *Arte breve y compendiosa, para aprender, a leer, pronunciar, escrevir y hablar la lengua Española*
1660	*Port Royal Grammar*
1662	*A Portugez Grammar*
1683	*High Dutch* [German] *Minerva*
1696	*Grammatica Russica*
1700	
1714	George I becomes King increasing prestige of German in England
1718	Alvarado's *Diálogos Ingleses y Españoles*
1726	Stevens′ *A New Spanish and English dictionary*
1741	RAE's *Ortographía*
1776	The world's first Chair in Modern Languages established, Trinity College Dublin
1800	
1807-	The Peninsular War: Spain,
1814	Portugal & Britain against France
1828	Chairs in Spanish and Italian, UCL
1829	Chair in German, UCL
1831	Chairs in German and Spanish, KCL Salvá's *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana según ahora se habla*
1833	Jiménez de Alcalá´s *A Grammar of the Spanish Language for the use of the students in King's College*
1837	Chair in Chinese Studies, UCL
1845	Chair in European Languages, Oxford
	First course in Russian at Oxford
1847	Chair in Chinese Studies, KCL. Bello's *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los Americanos*
1858	First Spanish teaching position, The Taylorian Institution (Oxford)
1870	Ilchester bequest to support "Polish and other Slavonic Languages, Literature and History", Oxford
1872	Chair in languages, Aberystwyth
1876	Chair in Chinese, Oxford
1877	Chair in Celtic Studies, Oxford
1880	French and German at Newcastle
1882	Chair in Celtic Studies, Edinburgh
1886	Lecturer in French at Liverpool. The Spanish Chamber of Commerce in London established

1888	Chair in Chinese, Cambridge
1893	Lecturer in French at Aberdeen
1894	First professor of Modern Languages, Newcastle
1895	Chair of German, Manchester
1898	Mary Brebner's *Method of Languages in Germany*
1899	Mary Brebner one the first women to hold a post in languages, at Aberystwyth. Fiztmaurice-Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature*.
	Chair in French and German appointed at Southampton
1900	
1900	First appointment in Russian at Cambridge
1901	Chair in Chinese, Manchester
1903	Modern languages as a main subject at Oxford
1903	Walter Rippmann establishes language holiday courses for language teachers from abroad at the University of London
1904	60 graduates nationally in Modern Languages
1905	Chair in French, Liverpool
1908	Gilmour Chair in Spanish, Liverpool
1911	8 students admitted to Modern Languages at Oxford and Cambridge; 205 were admitted to classical philology
1915	School of Slavonic Studies established at KCL
1916	Dutch introduced at Bedford College, University of London
1917	School of Oriental Studies founded, University of London
1917	School of Scandinavian Studies established at UCL
1918	Leathes Report, first major report on the Position of Modern Languages in the educational system of Great Britain"
1919	Britain's first Chair of Dutch at UCL
1920	Stevenson Professorship of Hispanic Studies, University of Glasgow
1923	*Bulletin of Spanish Studies* founded
1927	King Alfonso XIII Professorship of Spanish Studies, Oxford
1933	Chair in Spanish, Cambridge
1934	Trend's *The Origins of Modern Spain*
1935	The Spanish Committee of the MLA showed Spanish had become the second modern language in many schools
1936	*German Life and Letters* founded
1937	*Journal of Italian Studies* founded
1938	School of Oriental Studies becomes School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). Allison Peers' *A Handbook to the Study and Teaching of Spanish*
1944	The Instituto Español in London founded by republican exiles
1946	The Instituto de España in London by Franco's regime. Scarborough Report on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies

1947	*French Studies* journal founded
1950	
1955	Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland established
1961	Hayter Report on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies
1962	Parry Report on Latin American Studies, leading to Centres of Latin American Studies at Cambridge, Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Oxford
1963	Robbins Report on Higher Education in Great Britain, leading to expansion of the university sector
1969	*Journal of Latin American Studies* established
1976	British Association for Chinese Studies established

2000	
2005	First UK Confucius Institute, SOAS
2006	Camões Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, London
2011	Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies established (LLAS)
2013	59 HEIs offered IWLP, double the number reported in 1998-1999
2014	The Association for the Teaching of Spanish in HE in the UK (ELE-UK) was founded
2021	UCML and AULC survey reports on the reasons for declining take-up in languages. The survey shows Spanish and French are the most commonly taught languages in British HE

Título / Title

Introducción histórica al desarrollo de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de lenguas en la educación superior en Inglaterra: el español como caso de studio
A historical introduction to the development of Language Teaching and Learning in Higher Education in England: Spanish as a case study

Resumen / Abstract

El presente artículo muestra el contexto histórico sobre el que se fundamenta la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de lenguas modernas y el español entre ellas, en la educación superior inglesa en la actualidad. En primer lugar, siguiendo un enfoque cronológico, se ofrece una visión general de los acontecimientos que marcaron el desarrollo de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de lenguas desde el siglo XVI, mostrando el creciente interés en el estudio de las mismas por su valor cultural y no sólo puramente práctico, así como su paulatina incorporación al sistema educativo en escuelas y universidades. A continuación, se perfila la posterior diversificación de la enseñanza de lenguas en la educación superior durante el siglo XX: del enfoque casi exclusivo en la enseñanza del francés y el alemán que caracterizaba la especialización en Lenguas Modernas a principios de siglo, hasta el panorama actual, la amplia oferta de lenguas, y la variedad de estudiantes y de instituciones académicas que las imparten. En la actualidad, el español se ha impuesto al alemán como la segunda lengua más estudiada en el Reino Unido. Por este motivo, la segunda parte del artículo se centra en la lengua española como caso de estudio. Manteniendo el enfoque cronológico, se examina el contexto socio-político, económico y educativo en el que se ha desarrollado la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de la lengua española en Inglaterra desde el siglo XVI hasta la actualidad, prestando atención al papel desempeñado por disidentes religiosos, exiliados políticos y emigrantes económicos del mundo hispano hablante en el fomento del estudio de la lengua, así como a los especialistas británicos, hispanistas, que impulsaron los estudios hispánicos como disciplina académica en este país, sugiriendo algunas razones para su rápido crecimiento.

This article sets out the historical context for the teaching and learning of languages in Higher Education in England today. It begins with an overview of developments in language teaching and learning since the sixteenth century, tracing the growing interest in language learning for its cultural value rather than for purely practical purposes, and the gradual institutionalization of language teaching in schools and then universities. The article then charts the subsequent diversification of language teaching in higher education in the course of the twentieth century: from an almost complete focus, at the start of the century, on teaching French and German to students specializing in Modern Languages, to offering a wider range of languages, to a wider range of students, and in a wider range of institutions. More recently, German has been overtaken by Spanish as the second most commonly studied language, and the second part of the article homes in on the case study of teaching and learning Spanish in particular. Presenting a chronological overview from the sixteenth century to modern times, we examine the socio-political, economic and educational background to the teaching and learning of Spanish, including the role played by religious dissenters, political exiles and economic migrants from the Spanish-speaking world in promoting the study of the language. We will also consider the emergence of British scholars who helped establish Hispanic Studies as an academic discipline in the UK, and suggest some reasons for its recent rapid growth.

Palabras clave / Keywords

Historia de la enseñanza y aprendizaje de lenguas. Lengua española.
History of language learning and teaching (HoLLT); Spanish.

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