

**THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN EUROPE:
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN SPAIN**

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ABSTRACT

This paper traces the history of English language teaching in Spain, within the European context, right up to the origins of the communicative approach. I firmly believe that the historical perspective awakens a critical attitude in the teacher, which at the same time helps him to develop a real motivation to innovate his methodology. It is crucial to understand that many present methodological trends and theories contain certain historical components that have been evolving through time and will continue to do so in the future. The main problem in this type of work is the complexity and diversity of the components that make up this kind of study. The socio-cultural component, which comprises the educational and historical context in which foreign languages were taught and learnt (political factors helping or hindering linguistic achievement, working conditions, subject and teacher status, demand of the languages concerned, school systems (private or public) among others). The bibliographical component or the study of primary sources, that is to say, the first pedagogical grammars and primers and the materials used in a particular period. The third basic component is the methodological one, which is perhaps the most elusive one as we have to rely on primary and secondary sources to imagine how foreign languages were taught and learnt. Then I proceed to analyse these components.

RESUMEN

Este capítulo intenta seguir la pista de los orígenes del método comunicativo en la historia de la enseñanza del inglés en España dentro de un

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contexto europeo. Creemos firmemente que la perspectiva histórica despierta una actitud crítica en el profesor y, al mismo tiempo, le ayuda a desarrollar una motivación real para innovar su metodología. Es crucial comprender que muchas tendencias y teorías actuales contienen ciertos componentes históricos que se han ido desarrollando a través del tiempo y que continuarán haciéndolo en el futuro. El problema principal en este tipo de trabajo es la complejidad y diversidad de los componentes que conforman dicho estudio. El componente sociocultural, que comprende el contexto educativo e histórico en el que las lenguas extranjeras se enseñaban y se aprendían (factores políticos que favorecían o retrasaban los logros lingüísticos, las condiciones de trabajo, el estatus de la asignatura y del profesorado, la demanda de las diversas lenguas extranjeras, el sistema educativo –privado o público– entre otros). El componente bibliográfico, es decir, el estudio de las fuentes primarias tales como las primeras gramáticas pedagógicas y otros materiales utilizados en un determinado período. El tercer componente es el metodológico, que es quizás el más esquivo ya que sólo podemos confiar en las fuentes primarias y secundarias para imaginarnos cómo se enseñaban y se aprendían las lenguas extranjeras. A continuación procedo al análisis de estos componentes.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce chapitre essaie de suivre la piste des origines de la méthode communicative dans l'histoire de l'enseignement de l'anglais dans un contexte Européen. Nous croyons volontiers que la perspective historique éveille une attitude critique chez le professeur et l'aide en même temps à développer une motivation réelle pour innover sa méthodologie. C'est important de comprendre que beaucoup de tendances et de théories actuelles contiennent certains éléments historiques qui se sont développés au cours du temps et que continueront à le faire dans le futur. Le problème principal dans ce genre de travail c'est la complexité et la diversité des composantes qui forment l'étude en question. La composante socio-culturelle qui comprend le contexte éducatif et historique dans lequel les langues étrangères s'enseignaient et s'apprenaient (facteurs politiques que favorisaient ou retardaient les acquis linguistiques, les conditions de travail, le statut de la matière et du professorat, la demande des diverses langues étrangères, le système éducatif (privé ou public) entre autres). La composante bibliographique, c'est-à-dire, l'étude des sources primaires comme les premières grammaires pédagogiques et d'autres matériaux utilisés dans une période déterminée. La troisième composante c'est l'élément méthodologique, qui est peut-être le plus déroutant et difficile vu qu'on ne peut se fier qu'aux sources primaires et secondaires pour imaginer comment on enseignait et apprenait les langues étrangères. Ensuite je procède à l'analyse de ces composantes.

The paucity of studies on the history of foreign language teaching in Europe or in a particular European country, such as Spain, is generally due to the complexity and diversity of the components that make up this kind of study. The socio-cultural component, which comprises the educational and historical context in which foreign languages were taught and learnt (political factors helping or hindering linguistic achievement, working conditions, subject and teacher status, demand of the languages concerned, school systems (private or public) among others). The bibliographical component or the study of primary sources, that is to say, the first pedagogical grammars and primers and the materials used in a particular period. The third basic component is the methodological one, which is perhaps the most elusive one as we have to rely on primary and secondary sources to imagine how foreign languages were taught and learnt.

Among the most important works in the field I would like to mention Mackey (1965, pp. 141-151); Titone (1968); Kelly (1969); Steiner (1970); Howatt (1984). Restricting the field to particular European countries and to certain periods I would like to refer to Schröder (1959); Martín Gamero (1961); Closset (1949); Maréchal (1972); Hammar (1991) *Espagne et al.* (1991) or Viña Rouco (2000). A historical perspective help us gain a deep insight into the teaching and learning process and the methodology used to achieve the linguistic goals. Stern (1993, p. 76) firmly believes that through studying the history of language teaching we can understand better present-day thought and trends and find directions for future growth.

More often than not, our ignorance about the past make us live through old conflicts again as if they were something new and very modern. In this sense, Heining-Boyton (1990, p. 503) remarks:

All too often in education "new" programs are planned without thoroughly investigating what was done in the past.

The historical perspective awakens a critical attitude in the teacher, which at the same time helps him to develop a real motivation to innovate his methodology. It is crucial to understand that many present methodological trends and theories contain certain historical components that have been evolving through time and will continue to do so in the future. As Fred Clarke (1940, p. 32) says quite accurately:

There is perhaps, no more liberating influence than the knowledge that things have not always been as they are and need not remain so.

Titone (1968, p. 1) believes that a historical study of the teaching and learning of foreign languages will help those interested in applied linguistics to understand the various theoretical and practical claims of contemporary language teaching methods by critically reviewing past and present opinions and experiences in this field. According to his views

History gives us perspective [...] past experiences can illustrate present trends in teaching [...] History offers us a criterion. The historically-informed language teacher can adopt a more critical attitude vis-à-vis modern problems and solutions. He will have greater resourcefulness in finding and trying out solutions; he will not fall into naïve repetition of out-moded procedures and unsuccessful attempts (1968, p. 2).

Historically speaking, the teaching and learning of modern foreign languages in Spain follows a slightly different pattern from the rest of European countries. English as a foreign language has been for a long time (until 1980's) a minority choice among Spanish students. According to Halls (1970, p. 12):

In Western Europe English is the first foreign language most commonly taught. Spain is an exception: French, for historical, geographical and cultural reasons has primacy.

Titone (1968, p. 96) said that as regards Spain "in general, the teaching of English in the Universities has not hardened into a fixed tradition". It is not until the last quarter of the 20th century that English becomes the first foreign language taught in schools, colleges and Universities.

Now I'll go back to the three main components, already mentioned at the beginning, which make up the historical study of foreign language teaching and learning. With respect to the socio-cultural component it is important to notice that the teaching of foreign languages in Spain in the 19th century and even in the first half of the 20th century was considered a luxury offered especially as a bonus by famous private schools¹. The subject itself was considered an "*ornamental subject*", together with other subjects such as playing an instrument, dancing, fencing or riding. As a consequence the teachers who taught these subjects were paid less and had a lower status in schools and colleges if compared to the teachers of classical languages, who were considered

¹ Vid. BOPL (Lugo Province Official Bulletin) n° 50, 22-06-1836, p. 3.
Vid. Rules and Regulations of *Our Lady's College for girls*, Madrid, 1880.

more important and therefore had a much higher social and academic status. This particular trait is found in other European countries such as England. According to Blackie (1845, pp. 172-173):

In many of our great schools, indeed, the teachers of modern languages stand in somewhat the same relation to the Greek and Latin dignitaries that dissenters do to the deacons and doctors of the established church; they seem, in fact, rather tolerated than recognized; attendance on their classes is not imperative; they have no salary, or a very small one; [...] and thus it has come to pass that while a head-mastership in a classical school is oft-times the best passport to a bishopric, the professorate of Teutonic or Romance philology is an office that for the most part has no existence in England.

In 19th century Spain, political exiles from other countries, especially from France and England became teachers of their native languages as a means of keeping body and soul together especially when they found themselves alone in a foreign land. Besides, the Spanish legislation favoured them. For example the Moyano Law (1857) in its article 167 established that "foreign language teachers and music teachers did not need to be Spanish in order to be able to sit for public examinations so as to become a member of the public school staff".

Blackie (1845, p. 173) spoke in a scornful way about the foreigners who tried to make a livelihood out of teaching their mother tongues:

The duties that ought to be performed by [a foreign language teacher] being delved upon the "voluntary" teacher of modern languages, any poor Polish refugee, German baron, or Italian marchese, that can find nothing better to do.

From a political point of view 19th century Spanish liberals were broad-minded and therefore open to foreign languages and cultures. The conservative forces, on the other hand, considered the introduction of foreign languages in the school curriculum as something dangerous that might go against the patriotic feeling of Spanish identity. Besides, they also considered some other ornamental subjects, such as, dancing or playing an instrument as having a detrimental effect on Catholic education and ideals:

We acknowledge that a good command of French and English is one of the best accomplishments that a lady or a gentleman can have [...] but we also know that this knowledge shouldn't be imparted until our youngsters have been educated in the Catholic faith otherwise dangerous effects might appear [...] We shouldn't forget that in French

and in English books you can find all the wrong and artificial arguments with which Rousseau and Voltaire have tried to ruin our Holy Religion [...]².

Another fact we should bear in mind is that textbooks usually had a long life. That is to say, many of the textbooks used in the 19th century had been printed in the previous one. Due to the scarcity of English-Spanish double manuals, Spanish students of English learned English through French, Italian or Portuguese double manuals such as:

Anon. (1705). *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica or short and compendious system of an English and Portuguese Grammar*.

Pleunus, Arrigo (1710). *Nuova e perfetta grammatical inglese che contiene con metodo tutta la teorica e pratica di questa lingua*.

Mauger, C. (1714). *Grammaire Angloise expliquée par regles generales. Utile à ceux que sont curieux d'apprendre l'Anglois*.

The usual approach to the study of foreign language learning in a historical context is through an analysis of textbooks or educational theories and ideas. In none of these approaches the learners are dealt with in any great depth; we are not told who and how successful they were, where and how they studied. Therefore, I tried to spot the type of learner who learnt English as a foreign language in 19th century Spain. In many of the titles or Prefaces of the manuals it is said the type of student the book is intended for. In general, adults were the first to apply themselves to the study of English as a foreign language and towards the end of the 19th century the books began to cater for secondary school students. The prefaces of most EFL textbooks give us some idea of the kinds of learners these books were written for. The kinds usually mentioned are: traders and travellers, scholars, military men or diplomats and secondary school students. Let's analyse some examples taken from the prefaces of the primary sources:

Designed for, and fitted to all capacities, and more especially such whose chance or business may lead them into any part of the world, where that language [English] is used or esteemed (Anon. *Grammatica Anglo-Lusitanica*, 1705).

The English will find in the *Anglo-hispano interpreter* the same advantages as the Spaniards, for whose immediate use it has been compiled (W. Casey, 1836).

² Vid. AHN (Archivo Histórico Nacional) (National Historical Archives): Consejos: *Expediente a D. José Garriga*, Madrid, 1824 (translated by Viña Rouco, 2000).

For the use of secondary school students (Esperón, 1846).

Ollendorf's Method adapted to English for the use of the students of San Felipe Neri School in Cádiz (Benot, 1853).

The selections in this volume embody a series of specimens peculiarly adapted to facilitate improvement in reading and translating English. Elegance and propriety of thought vie herein with eloquence and beauty of expression. Both ancient and modern authors have supplied these gems, which the youth of Spain may make their own [...] (H. Mc Veigh, 1857)

As regards the bibliographical component, in the 19th century we find materials that, for the first time, were specifically written for Spanish students. A study of these primary sources is an interesting activity because it tells us about the ideas behind the texts, the problems the writers had to face and in general many points of linguistic and language teaching interest. 19th century teaching materials contained similar sections to the ones printed in previous centuries:

- A long title.
- A short Preface or Prologue.
- A Grammar Section:
 - Orthography and/or Orthology.
 - Etymology or Analogy.
 - Syntax.
 - Prosody.
- Idiomatic Phrases or Familiar Phrases.
- Dialogues or Familiar Dialogues.
- Personal and Commercial letters.
- A Miscellany: (a word list; a vocabulary, usually grouped in semantic fields; a table of English money; abbreviations; a list of proverbs; texts with interlinear translation; fables and other practice material.

The prefaces or prologues of the primary sources provide us with information about contents, sometimes source material, special features, recommendations and methodological beliefs:

The object of this work is to furnish the traveler and the student with a concise and easy *Manual of Conversation*. To supply the student with a *new simple and practical method* for the study and pronunciation of the English Language. I have endeavoured to avoid, as far as possible, that diffuseness of expression and redundancy of verbiage so tedious, embarrassing and confusing to the traveler: and at the risk of

being abrupt I have preferred being concise, being of opinion that, in a foreign tongue and in a foreign land where the golden axiom –worn now by exclusive insular usage almost threadbare– that “time is money” is practically recognized even in daily conversation, one’s wants cannot find expression in language too plain and in a style too commonplace [...].³

The grammar section was in agreement with the classical tradition. It was divided into four parts: *orthography and/or orthology* was about spelling and pronunciation; instead of *orthology* the term *orthoëpy* was sometimes used; *etymology or analogy* was about the parts of speech and in some cases about word derivation; *syntax* was about word order; *prosody* was about stress and the rules of versification.

The idiomatic phrases or familiar phrases usually appeared in bilingual parallel columns:

He was back in the twinkling of an eye.	Estuvo de vuelta en un abrir y cerrar de ojos.
Tho' I say little, I think the more.	Pues yo, aunque callo, piedras apaño.
I think your answer was not much to the purpose.	Me parece que ha respondido Vm. un gran adefecio ⁴ .

Within the term Familiar Phrases some authors included what we understand, at present, by linguistic functions:

To affirm, deny, consult, consent, etc.	Para afirmar, negar, consultar, consentir, etc.
It is true, I assure you.	Es verdad, se lo aseguro á Vm.
The truth is, we are ignorant.	Lo cierto es que ignoramos.
This a fact, upon my word.	Es un hecho, á fé mía.
There's not the least doubt of it.	No cabe la menor duda de ello.
As sure as I am here.	Tan seguro como que estoy aquí.
To tell you the naked truth.	A decirle a Vm. la pura verdad. [...] ⁵

³ *Vid.* The Preface, of Hudson's *Vademecum* (1875, p. 3). Barcelona, Imp. De Espasa Hnos. y Salvat.

⁴ Casey, G. (1836, p. 103). *Intérprete Anglo Hispano*, Barcelona, Imprenta de Oliva.

⁵ *Vid.* W. Casey (1836, p. 41).

The bilingual dialogues took up an important part in language learning textbooks. Sometimes they filled many pages and in some cases, they tried to imitate the living language of everyday situations but in other cases, they dealt with philosophical and political subjects and used to have long and unusual titles:

- *Dialogue between a Frenchman and an Englishman about the State of England*⁶.
- *Another Dialogue about the State of England at the next meeting*⁷.
- *A Discourse about the true State of France, as it is now governed under Lewis XIV, in the year 1685*⁸.

Among the more colloquial dialogues some of them had a comic tone based on punning such as the following one:

Familiar Dialogue

A: Good morrow. God be w'ye. How do you do?

B: Very well. God be thanked.

A: At your service.

B: I thank you

A: Are you sick?

B: No, I am well. I am not sick. But I'm lazy.

A: I believe you

B: You may believe me. I never lye.

A: You lye now.

B: You say true, because I am a bed.

A: Will you not rise?

B: I am sleepy. But I will rise.

(Festean, 1685).

These older dialogues were not structurally graded and they served a more general purpose of providing a good context for revision of the material already learnt. The dialogues also contained lots of socio-cultural information, customs of the country and even political affairs as already pointed out. Some of the dialogues tried to introduce the vocabulary related to a specific semantic field, with titles such as the following ones:

⁶ *Vid.* Festean (1685).

⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁸ *Vid.* Mauger, 1714.

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Of breakfast	Para desayunarse ⁹
Travelling by rail	Viaje en ferrocarril ¹⁰
Travelling by sea	Viaje por mar ¹¹
Travelling by stagecoach	Viaje en diligencia ¹²
Hotels and lodging houses	Hoteles y casas de huéspedes ¹³
The telegraph	El telégrafo ¹⁴
Public cabs	Carruajes de alquiler ¹⁵
At the customs house	En la aduana ¹⁶
The arrival in London	La llegada a Londres ¹⁷
Hiring a motor car	Alquilando un auto ¹⁸

Spanish authors that included everyday dialogues or as they were usually called familiar dialogues were: Feraud (1821); Tramarría (1826); Fernández (1828); Casey (1836); Urcullu (1840); Faría y Camargo (1845); and Pavia (1926) among others. I'll pass on to enumerate some sections that could be present or not in these foreign language textbooks:

– *Proverbs and idiomatic phrases or Idiotisms:*

These phrases offered good examples of the living language because they were used in colloquial language more frequently than at present. Besides, they were short and easy to memorise by the student:

Remove an old tree and it will wither away	Planta muchas veces trasplantada ni crece ni medra
Rob Peter to pay Paul	Ganar el cielo con rosario ajeno
Rome was not built in a day	No se ganó Zamora en una hora
Saying and doing are two things	Del dicho al hecho hay un gran trecho

⁹ *Vid.* Cornellas (1851, pp. 295-297).

¹⁰ *Vid.* Fermín Alonso, 1867.

¹¹ *Ibidem.*

¹² *Ibidem.*

¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ Hudson, 1875, p. 101.

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶ Motte (1928).

¹⁷ *Ibidem.*

¹⁸ *Ibidem.*

Short prayers reach heaven	Una breve oración penetra el cielo
Silence gives consent	Quien calla otorga ¹⁹

Some other authors that included Proverbs and Idiomatic Phrases in their manuals were: Shipton (1826); Casey (1836); Alcober y Largo (1860); Ayuso (1882); Valls Spinosa (1886); Hamburger (1903); Dixon (1915); and Parejo Santos (1927).

– *Letters* (personal or business): Both types of letters were included, but the commercial ones were never missing. They were presented with a proper layout so that they could be used as models for prospective users. As regards business letters, they paved the way for the inclusion of other interesting sections such as: weights and measures, forms of address, abbreviations, tables of coins and money, etc. Fictitious names were used with suitable translation and the dates used in the letters were often close to the date of publication of the book and this is very helpful in cases in which we are uncertain about such date. Commercial letters came in several kinds, such as, letters of advice, consultation, bills of lading, assignments, bills of exchange, clearing of account, etc. I'll transcribe two samples of personal and business letters taken from William Casey's *Intérprete Anglo-hispano* (1836):

<p>Dear friend, You will doubtless excuse the task I am going to lay on you, if you only take into consideration the necessity thereof. My daughter Harriot is now come of age, not only the most proper to acquire, but also to retain, instruction: herefore I think it my duty, as far as I can afford, to have her well educated. A young lady in possession of the accomplishments derived from good education, has no need of further advantages to get through the various indictments of life. I then request you will be kind enough to apply to M.N., in your neighbourhood and acquaint me with her terms for</p>	<p>Querida amiga, Sin duda disimulará Vm. El encargo que le voy a imponer, como solo considere la necesidad que hay de hacerlo. Mi hija Enriqueta ha llegado ya a una edad, no solamente la más apropiada para recibir las instrucciones, si que también para retenerlas: en consecuencia, creo ser de mi deber el darla, en cuanto permitan mis facultades, una buena educación, pues la señorita que posee las prendas que ella proporciona, no necesita de otras ventajas para soportar las vicisitudes de la vida. Suplica a Vm. pues, se sirva conferirse con la señora N., su vecina, y me avise de sus honorarios</p>
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¹⁹ *Vid.* Hudson (1875, p. 192).

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<p>dancing, music, French, German and all manner of needle work, especially for the latter; for though Harriot is to enjoy a great fortune, 'tis nevertheless requisite she should know how to make a handy use of her needle.</p> <p>I await your answer, and am your most affectionate friend.</p> <p>N. N.</p>	<p>para enseñar el baile, la música, el francés, el alemán, y todo lo concerniente a la aguja en especial, porque a pesar de la crecida fortuna que debe disfrutar Enriqueta, no por eso se hace menos necesaria la destreza en sus labores manuales.</p> <p>Aguardando su respuesta quedo su afectuosa amiga.</p> <p>N. N.</p>
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<p>Gentlemen,</p> <p>With the hopes of enlarging the number of our correspondents in England, we have desired several of our friends to inform us of the different houses of that country, with which we might negotiate with safety, and as they have convinced us of your integrity and the good commission you afford on the sale and purchase of various goods, we request you will accept our service, which you will find us ready to offer on all occasions. A sufficient stock, all requisite knowledge and experience, will, we flatter ourselves, enable us to act in this our present new establishment, to the complete satisfaction of such as may honour us with their trust.</p> <p>Please to give credit to no other signatures than the following.</p> <p>We remain with esteem,</p> <p>Gentlemen,</p> <p>Your humble servant.</p> <p>Thomas Haymer and C^o</p>	<p>Muy señores nuestros,</p> <p>Con la esperanza de aumentar el número de nuestros corresponsales de Londres, hemos suplicado a nuestros amigos nos informasen de las diferentes casas de aquel país con el que poder nosotros negociar con seguridad, y como nos han dejado convencidos de su integridad de Vds., y las buenas comisiones que dan por la venta y compra de varios géneros, les rogamos admitan nuestros servicios, persuadidos que nos hallarán Vds. Prontos a ofrecérselos en todas ocasiones. Nos lisonjamos de que unos caudales suficientes, juntamente con los conocimientos y experiencia precisos, nos pondrán en estado de obrar en este nuevo establecimiento con entera satisfacción de cuantos nos honren con su confianza.</p> <p>Sírvanse Vds. no dar fe a otras firmas que las siguientes.</p> <p>Dios guarde la vida de Vds.</p> <p>Sus humildes servidores</p> <p>Tomás Haymer y comp.</p>
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Foreign languages began to be introduced in the 19th Century school curriculum slowly and gradually that is why 19th century language learning materials began to take into account children and teenagers' interests

not only as regards the content of the prose texts but also as regards the format of the material: graded exercises and graded readings were included. Translation was the key activity in the classroom. If we pay attention to the content, texts included instructive, religious, moralistic passages, fables, parables, anecdotes and allegoric passages:

Lessons in words of one syllable very easy to spell and read:

Be a good child. Love and fear God. Mind your book. Love your school. Strive to learn. Tell no tales. Call no ill names. Do not lie nor swear. Do not cheat nor steal. Play not with bad boys. Use no ill words at play. Pray to God to bless you. Serve God and trust in him. Take not his name in vain. Fear God. Spend your time well. Walk not in thine own way, but in the ways of the Lord [...]²⁰

The moral education of the young was also achieved through the used of fables, parables and religious passages, which were introduced to the young for the sake of shaping character:

FABLE THE FIRST

The boy that stole the apples
[...]

Moral: if good words and gentle means will not reclaim the wicked, they must be dealt with, in a more severe manner.

FABLE THE SECOND

The lion and the mouse
[...]

Moral: Since no one knows what may befall him, nor who may be a means of serving him, it is the highest wisdom to behave kindly and civilly to all mankind²¹.

There were other authors that included these kinds of materials in 19th century Spain such as: McVeigh (1857) with titles as the following ones:

*The Bear; The Two Travellers; The miser; The Vulture's Lessons; Luxury and Avarice; The Voyage of Life; [...]*²²

Rafael Reyes (1910, pp. 209-216) includes passages with these titles:

The Duchess and the Watch
A good answer

²⁰ Vid. Sebastián Fábregas (1829, p. 46).

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

²² Vid. McVeigh (1857), pp. 30, 32, 39, 43, 49, 77.

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The Dog and the Shadow

Sir Isaac Newton

[...]

Bruño (1919, pp. 127-154) contains the following fables:

The Ewe and the Wolf

The fox and the Hens

King Porus and his Elephant

The Vulture and the Hen

[...]

and also well-known stories taken from the Bible such as the story of Joseph and his brothers (p. 165):

JOSEPH

Jacob loved Joseph, and his brothers were jealous of him. One day they sold him to Egyptian merchants. "What has become of my son?", said Jacob. "Alas! A wild beast has devoured him". The old man had long mourned his lost son, when famine obliged him to send his children to Egypt to buy corn. Joseph was Pharaoh's Prime Minister. Oh! What were his emotions when he saw his lost brothers and asked them where was their old father of whom they told him!

Apart from the materials based on moral and patriotic virtues these textbooks also included prayers and hymns to favor the catholic education of Spanish youth:

A HYMN TO MARY

I'll sing a hymn to Mary,
The mother of my God,
The virgin of all virgins,
Of David's royal blood.
O teach me, holy Mary,
A loving son to frame,
When wicked men blaspheme thee,
To love and bless thy name²³.

Contemporary educators, such as William J. Bennett (1994) recognise that there is a lack of moral values and virtues in our present day society. Therefore, he claims a return to the use of these fables and stories because they are a rich mine of moral literacy, a reliable

²³ *Vid.* Bruño (1919, p. 164).

moral reference point that will help anchor our children and ourselves in our culture, and our traditions. In Bennett's words (1994, p. 14) fables and anecdotes "are fascinating to children but the pedagogy (and the material herein) will need to be varied according to the students' level of comprehension, but you can't beat these stories when it comes to engaging the attention of a child. Nothing in recent years, on television or anywhere else has improved on a good story that begins "Once upon a time..."

Another popular book used in the teaching of modern foreign languages in Spain throughout the 19th Century was *Telemaco* by Fénelon. François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715) was a French archbishop, theologian and man of letters whose liberal views on politics and education concerted opposition from church and state. In 1689, Fénelon was named tutor to Louis XIV. For the Prince's education, he composed his best known work, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699), in which the adventures of Telemachus in search of his father, Ulysses, symbolically expressed Fénelon's fundamental political ideas. The translations of this work to Spanish and other European languages during the 18th and 19th centuries showed the importance of this work because of the numerous editions. There are more than thirty editions published only in Spain (Madrid, Barcelona, Valladolid, Toledo and Valencia). Foreign editions such as those published in Antwerp, Paris, Brussels and Bordeaux were also used as language learning materials in Spain. The edition I examined in the University of Santiago's library is a polyglot edition published in Paris in 1837 in six languages: French, English, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. Faubell Zapata (1986) remarks in his work that the *Aventures de Thélémaque* is the textbook universally used in foreign language teaching in Spain since 1763.

An interesting trend observed in 19th century materials is the fact that many authors begin to publish the practice materials in books separated from the grammar, so that students had to buy two books: the grammar and the practice book, which was usually called *Selected Passages*, *Literary Rhapsody*, *Chrestomathy*, *Collection of Writings*, *Class Book*, etc. These books usually contained literary or historical passages. Among the former I'd like to mention certain literary authors that even though they are considered as minor authors their work was quite popular in foreign language learning. For example, Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825), who was a British writer, poet and editor. Her best writings are on political and social themes. Her poetry belongs essentially in the tradition of 18th century meditative verse. The same could be said of

Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), who's very well-known for her children's stories and for her novels of Irish life. As one of the aims of learning a foreign language (at least in theory) was to be able to speak it the authors also used to include various plays in the practice books in an attempt to give a living example of oral English. They argued that the plays reproduced the oral language in all its registers and varieties especially what was usually called "familiar or colloquial" language. This was impossible to find in classical authors or grammars. They were very fond of Restoration comedies, which mirrored the manners of the day and in which the main ingredients were intrigue and love. Together with famous authors such as Sheridan, Scott, Congreve, Goldsmith or Fielding there appeared some minor authors, whose work is no longer known at present but who were very popular in 19th century English language learning practice books. Among them there is a group of actors and actresses who also wrote comedies. Their names and their plays appeared in the language learning materials of those days, for example:

Mrs. Cowley's *Belle's Stratagem, Bold Stroke for a Husband*.
 Mrs. Dorothy Jordan's²⁴ *Spoiled Child*.
 Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald's *Child of Nature, Everyone has his fault, Love's Vows, Midnight Hour, Mogul Tale, Wedding Day, Wives as they were*.
 Mrs. C. Kemble's *Personation*.
 Mrs. Mitford's *Julian's Rienzi*.
 Mrs. Centlivre's *Bold Stroke for a Wife, Busy Body, Wonder*.
 John O'keefe's *Agreeable surprise, Castle of Andalusia, Farmer, Highland Reel, Modern Antiques, Peeping Tom of Coventry, Poor Soldier, Prisoner at large, Son-in-law, Sprigs of Laurel, Wild Oats, Young Quaker*.
 J.H. Payne's *Ali Pacha, Lancers, Love in Humble Life, Therese*.
 Charles Mackin's *The Man of the World, Love à la Mode*.
 Thomas Holcroft's *The Road to Ruin, Tale of Mystery*.

Other authors who were not actors but wrote plays which were used as English language learning materials were:

Isaac Bickerstaff's *Love in a Village, The Hypocrite, The School for Fathers*.
 Charles Dibdin's *Banks of the Hudson, Don Giovanni, Lady of the Lake, Man and Marquis, Paul Jones, Ruffian Boy, Sixes of the Devil's in the Dice, Two Gregories, Under the Rose*.

²⁴ She was a famous actress, and William IV's mistress, who bore him ten children.

Thomas Morton's *Children in the Wood, Education, Invincible, Methinks I see my Father, My Husband's Ghost, Secrets worth Knowing, School of Reform, Slave, Speed the Plough.*

Arthur Murphy's *Three Weeks after Marriage, The Way to Keep Him.*

Other plays usually selected for students of English as a foreign language were:

Caroline Boaden's *William Thompson* (a farce in two acts).

Southern's *Isabella* (a tragedy in five acts).

Maturin's *Bertram* (a tragedy in five acts).

Sheridan's *The Hunchback* (a play in five acts).

S. Penley's *The Sleeping Draught* (a farce in two acts).

Townley's *High Life below the Stairs* (a farce in two acts).

As regards well-known authors I'd like to mention Oliver Goldsmith, whose *Vicar of Wakefield* was very popular among teachers of English as a foreign language. This novel was adopted in many 19th century Spanish schools. It was used as complementary material for reading and translation purposes. Nevertheless, I was able to spot an instance in which it was used as the only English textbook in the Commerce School in Corunna in the academic course 1859-1860²⁵. This choice of materials (for the teaching of English as a foreign language) was also common in other European countries such as Belgium:

As regards the choice of authors [...] we can mention Thomas Campbell, Sheridan, Walter Scott, Joseph Addison, Maria Edgeworth and especially Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* [...] ²⁶.

In an attempt to introduce students to European cultural and historic events the authors also included passages related to European history, in this case, Spanish and English history. For example, some historical passages included by H. Mc Veigh (1857) were:

<i>Execution of Mary Stuart</i>	p. 103
<i>Abdication of Charles V</i>	p. 108
<i>Death of Charles V</i>	p. 112
<i>Capture of Dumbarton Castle</i>	p. 115
<i>Battle of Hastings</i>	p. 117
[...]	

²⁵ Vid. *Memoria acerca del estado de la enseñanza en el Distrito Universitario de Santiago y Anuario del curso 1859-1860.*

²⁶ Vid. Maréchal (1972, pp. 78-79) (translated by Viña Rouco, 2000).

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<i>Foray of the Spanish knights</i>	p. 142
<i>First Landing of Columbus</i>	p. 157
[...]	
<i>The Siege of Zaragoza</i>	p. 181

González Bermúdez (1890? 1900?) included in his English course book *Fairbill* the following historical passages:

Trafalgar; Royal Weddings; The Spanish Armada; Mary, Queen of Scotland; Elizabeth, Queen of England; Richard the Lion-Hearted in Holy Land; Nelson's loss of his arm; etc.

All these texts are long and *authentic*, that is to say, they haven't been simplified or graded for learners of a foreign language. This seems to corroborate the fact that they were not used for presentation purposes but to check the understanding of the vocabulary and the grammatical rules by applying translation techniques. Many of these passages tried to inculcate patriotic ideals in young people, this kind of topic in a textbook may appear unfamiliar or rather outlandish to the modern reader:

TRAFALGAR

Soon after daylight Nelson came upon deck. The 21st. of October was a festival in his family, because on that day his uncle, Captain Sucking, in the *Dreadnought*, with two other line-of-battle ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four sails and three frigates. Nelson, with that sort of superstition from which few persons are entirely exempt, had more than once expressed his persuasion that this was to be the day of his battle also [...] "May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it! And may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually I commit my life to Him that made me; and may His blessing alight on my endeavors for serving my country faithfully! To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen, Amen, Amen"²⁷.

As regards the third basic component of a historical study, that is to say, the methodological one the controversy between inductive and deductive approaches continues: the Grammar-Translation Method, which became well established in the 19th century is going to be challenged by the Reform Movement, which gave rise to the Direct Methodology,

²⁷ *Vid.* González Bermúdez (1890? 1900?, p. 12).

at the end of that century. This Movement, which started with the publication of Viëtor's pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* (*Language Teaching must start afresh!*), was based on three fundamental principles: the primacy of speech, the presentation of new material by means of a connected text, and the total adherence to an oral methodology in the foreign language classroom. They totally rejected the Grammar-Translation methodology, especially the absurd model sentences produced ad hoc with the only purpose to present a certain structure. Charles F. Kroeck (1887, p. 170) refers to this methodology in the following way:

When Latin ceased to be a living tongue, some schoolmaster [...] conceived the unlucky idea that the proper way to learn Latin was by studying those excellent books of reference, the grammar and the dictionary. In proportion as boys learnt less and less Latin, more and more importance was attached to the study of grammar. [...] The same method naturally came to be applied to modern languages, for it required a minimum of talent and exertion on the part of the teacher.

As I already pointed out, supporters of the Direct Method especially ridiculed the exemplification of grammatical rules by means of absurd, disconnected sentences:

Now we come to the content of the sentences! "It almost looks", Günther remarks, "as if someone took a wicked delight in collecting together all the most heterogeneous scribbles he could find, mixing them in with the most trite and vapid bits and pieces of information, and flinging the whole lot together without rhyme or reason (and often, one might add, having a great many grammatical mistakes). But these sentences have not actually been written and published as funny stories and carnival jokes, they are meant to be studied and worked through seriously week-in and week-out for years, wasting the time and mental energy of everyone in the class²⁸.

Krashen and Terrel (1983, p. 11) remark that Spain has always favoured formal and deductive methods as opposed to active and inductive methodology. This is the reason why during the 19th and great part of the 20th Century the only methods that became popular in this country were those which didn't contradict the basic tenets of formal, deductive methodology. Therefore, certain authors such as: Jacotot, Hamilton, Robertson, Ahn, Ollendorf, Otto, etc. became well-known and their manuals were adopted as textbooks both in private and public schools. On the other hand, those active, inductive methods that favoured

²⁸ Vid. Wilhelm Viëtor (1882), *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!*

the oral monolingual principle didn't prosper in this country: methods such as those devised by Claude Marcel, François Gouin, Paul Passy, Henness, Sauveur and others were never adopted as textbooks.

Nevertheless, I was able to spot a Spanish Reform Movement in education (*La Institución Libre de Enseñanza* or *the Free School*), which started at the end of the 19th Century and also influenced the teaching of modern languages. Like the German Reform Movement, the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free School) adopted an active, oral methodology in the teaching of modern foreign languages but they became popular only among the cultural élite. Francisco Giner de los Ríos was the founder of this innovative pedagogic Institution. In the second half of the 19th century there was, among thinking men in Spain, a certain attitude to life and education of which Giner was the chief representative. This philosophical trend was called *Krausism* as its main tenets were founded upon Krause's philosophy. The movement spread more widely in Spain than in any other country. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the things in modern Spain, which a stranger can most approve and admire, are due to the precept and example of this *Free School*. In the first half of the 20th century, the influence of this little group of thinkers and teachers extended over the whole of Spain. Francisco Giner tried to introduce English methods into Spanish schools. In 1876 Giner and several others had been deprived of their professorships because of their heterodox opinions. The Spanish government, seeing that the English system was opposed to the principle of authority and all the medieval ideas in which they still believed, did their best to put obstruction in its way. This group of intellectuals was bent on the creation of a *Free School* (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza*). From the very beginning, the Institution was free from the inspection and control of both the Government and the Church, therefore it was incredibly prosperous in all fields of study, among them foreign languages. Giner insisted that his pupils should travel. Among those who became intimately acquainted with English language and culture were Riaño, Cossío and Castillejo, who became an exile in England after the Spanish Civil War. Exchange of students and understanding of other languages and cultures has always been the main point in the *Free School* doctrine. With this aim in mind they also founded what is known as the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios* (the Board for the Completion or Widening of Studies). Spanish students went about Europe and America and saw how things were done in foreign universities.

Probably Castillejo was the most representative figure of modern Spain. He was the Director of the Board for the Completion or Widen-

ing of Studies or the *Junta* (the precursor of our modern *Socrates* or *Erasmus* programs). His fluency in all European languages was astonishing and it might be said of him that he was more interested in the method of teaching than the subject itself. At the beginning of the 20th century the Spanish Universities published few books, and they rarely sent their students abroad. The Junta has been the first body in Spain to look after its students in any way.

The basic ideals of the *Free School* (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza*) were the ideals of a free, experimental, innovative and creative teaching, therefore, they favoured the Direct Methodology in the teaching and learning of foreign languages.

Even though, Castillejo worked hard for the Junta, he also had other innovative projects such as the *Escuela Internacional Española* (*International Spanish School*) (1928). Within his European perspective, Castillejo always felt the need for international education and foreign language learning in Spain. The *International Spanish School*²⁹ came to be one of the most interesting educational enterprises in Europe. Castillejo proposed the introduction of foreign languages in kindergarten. The conservative forces were against this introduction at such an early age.

The adherence to Direct Methodology in this school was complete. The foreign language teachers were native speakers and they only used the target language in their classes. The L2 was learnt through the insistent everyday use in all the activities the child engaged in. They used toys, pictures, flashcards, photos, engravings, illustrated magazines and books and all kinds of intuitive materials they could lay hands on. The foreign language teachers did everything that lay in their power to make the children associate directly the foreign word and the corresponding object or action. In this way they complied with the main tenets of the International Phonetic Association and the Direct Method: the primacy of speech, the direct association of the object and its foreign equivalent (no translation), the key role of the connected text and the absolute priority of an oral methodology in the foreign language classroom. The teacher was expected to speak the foreign language as the normal means of classroom communication³⁰.

²⁹ *Vid.* The Multilingual Association. The International Spanish School. Report and Syllabuses. Madrid, 1931.

³⁰ This rule was strictly observed in the International School. Castillejo fired a French teacher because she spoke Spanish in the French class (according to a letter written by Castillejo to Pedro González Bueno, 09-12-1932).

You can find some interesting materials used in this School in the Pedagogic Museum Archives (Madrid). For example, short role-plays in English in which the child is supposed to learn English together with some interesting aspect such as safety in the roads, or to run away from some danger. I'll pass on to transcribe some of these plays:

SAFETY IN MOTHER GOOSE LAND³¹
(Slightly abridged)

Characters

<i>Mother Goose</i>	<i>Old Mother Hubbard and Dog</i>
<i>King Safety</i>	<i>Tom, Tom the Piper's son</i>
<i>Little boy blue</i>	<i>Simple Simon</i>
<i>Boo Peep</i>	<i>Johnny Green</i>
<i>Jack and Jill</i>	<i>Johnny Stout</i>
<i>Old woman who lived in a shoe</i>	<i>Dr. Foster</i>
<i>Doctor</i>	<i>Nurse</i>

(Costumes conforming to Mother Goose illustrations may be made of crepe paper or cheesecloth).

Mother Goose, is the central character of the famous *Mother Goose Stories* in American children's literature. It is depicted as an old peasant woman who tells stories of past times to children. *Mother Goose Stories* is the American equivalent to *Nursery Rhymes*.

Mother Goose is the main character in this play and together with *King Safety*, she gives a piece of advice to children about safety in the roads and if it is necessary and they get hurt *Dr. Foster* and *Nurse* help them:

Mother Goose: Now, what has happened to little Boo Peep who always so carefully tends her sheep?

Boo Peep: (tearfully) I ran out from behind a parked truck to find the tails for my sheep and an automobile knocked me over.

Mother Goose: It is a lucky thing that your were not killed [...]

³¹ *Mother Goose Stories* or *Nursery Rhymes* belong to children's literature in northern countries and they are based on imagination and fantasy. Mediterranean countries, on the other hand, showed greater obedience to religious Authority and they prefer moral, virtuous or religious stories. As Hazard (1946) points out quite accurately "For the latins, children have never been anything but future men. The Nordics have understood better this truer truth, that men are only grown-up children".

Another interesting role-play with the same didactic tone tries to prevent children from certain dangers:

THE BUNNIES ADVENTURE

This little play is designed to teach children how young rabbits have to learn the lessons which will make them able to escape from their enemies, just as children have to learn the lessons that will safeguard them from the dangers to which they will be exposed all their life.

Characters:

Mother Rabbit

The little bunnies: Bob-tail, Brownie, Scamp.

Long-legs, a hare

Buck, the farmer's dog

Farmer Adams

Another play used in the English class in the International School follows the same didactic principles and has the following title:

THE FAIRIES HOLD A SAFETY COURT

A play warning children against the danger of playing with fire whether at home or in a wood
And other dangers.

Place: in the forest

Characters:

Elf King

Fairy Queen

Dwarf

Boys

Girls

To sum up, all the activities used in the foreign language class in the International Spanish School were based on the Direct Method, with intuitive materials used profusely. This intuitive methodology and the materials used astonish the present reader because of their modern outlook. Before the Spanish Civil War, in 1936 the International School had 200 pupils from 4 to 18 years old.

Unluckily this innovative School was suppressed at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), when it was about to reap the first fruits.

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