An Investigation into the Roots of ELT, with a Particular Focus on the Career and Legacy of Harold E. Palmer (1877–1949)

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Bibliography
A comprehensive bibliography of Palmer’s writings

- A policy has been followed of consulting Palmer’s writings themselves, in their first edition, for all bibliographical information presented below. Where this has not been possible, an indication of the edition consulted (or other source) is clearly given;

- Since almost all of Palmer’s publications have been out of print for many years, I also provide details of where books and pamphlets can be consulted, indicating the name of a library or (where relevant) the volume number of The Selected Writings of Harold E. Palmer (IRLT 1995) (abbreviated to ‘Selected Writings’ below);

- Articles in or supplements to The Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching (abbreviated to ‘Bulletin’ below) may be consulted in IRLT 1985. Editorials in the Bulletin have been ascribed to Palmer (except during periods when he was absent from Japan or when another author is indicated), even though these editorials generally appeared anonymously;

- Details of reissues, subsequent translations, and editions subsequent to the first edition of a particular work are not provided. Palmer’s early journalistic writings (see Chapter 4) are omitted, as are the many gramophone recordings he made in Japan;

- Subtitles of books and pamphlets are printed in full, with no capitalization, following a full stop rather than a colon. Capitalization in main titles is standardized, and not necessarily that of the original;

- Throughout, as in the body of the thesis, Japanese names are written in Japanese rather than westernized order (family name appears first, followed by given name). The Romanization system adopted for Japanese names and words is a modified Hepburnian one (see ‘Note on Romanization’ at the beginning of the thesis), except when titles or names of publishers are Romanized using a different system in the original, in which cases the original Romanization is retained (e.g. for title and publisher of Palmer 1922c).

- Works by Palmer appear in chronological order of publication below, including, wherever precise dating is possible, in month-by-month order within each year. For each work, information is provided in the following order:

  Year of publication (month / day, if known). Any additional authors. Title. Name of Series. Translator / Illustrator. Name and place of publisher / Name of journal. No. of pages / page references. Where the work can be consulted, if a book or pamphlet.

- Square brackets contain information (for example, date, publisher, name of a series or location of the copy consulted) which is not indicated in the work itself.
• ‘H.E.P.’ = Harold Edward Palmer. Works are by Palmer alone unless otherwise stated. This abbreviation is employed in cases of joint authorship, or when a work is, for example, edited or adapted by Palmer.

[1904.] Méthode Palmer. La langue anglaise à l’usage des français. Conversation sans puérilité. Grammaire sans ennui. [Issued in five instalments.] Brussels: Castaigne, 5 x 16 pp. [In Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels.]¹


1906b. Méthode Palmer. La langue anglaise à l’usage des français. Brussels: Castaigne, 160 pp. [In Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels.]

[1906c.] Correspondance commerciale anglaise. De quoi la faire très rapidement et sans étude. Recueil des phrases, expressions, locutions, formules et mots les plus usités dans la correspondance anglaise. La disposition de son contenu permet, même à celui qui ne connaît pas l’anglais, d’écrire correctement une lettre dans cette langue et de se faire comprendre parfaitement. [Verviers: Lacroix], 49 pp. [In Bibliothèque publique principale, Verviers.³]


¹ Dated 1904 in Bibliographie de Belgique 1904: 497–98.

² All details according to Bongers (1947: 350), who appears to indicate that his own dating is uncertain. Not mentioned under ‘Du même auteur’ in Palmer 1907c, nor in Bibliographie de Belgique for any of the years Palmer was in Verviers. Presumably, then, self-published.

³ 1906 is indicated as date of publication, and A. Lacroix et fils, Verviers as publisher under ‘Du même auteur’ on inside cover of Palmer 1907c.

⁴ The same considerations apply to 1907a as to 1906a. See note 2.

⁵ Referred to by Bongers (1947: 351) and under the heading ‘Du même auteur’ on the inside cover of Palmer 1907c. ‘The Palmer Method’ is included in the title by Bongers but not in 1907c. For all other details (including date of publication and the fact that this was issued in instalments (‘par fascicule’)), I have used 1907c as a source, rather than Bongers.


1911a (Jan.–Feb.). ‘What is the English standard transcription?’. *Le maître phonétique* 26/1–2: 1–2.


1912. *Cours élémentaire de correspondance anglaise*. Verviers. [Not seen.]


1913g (Nov.–Dec.). Translated by H. B. Mudie; transcribed by H.E.P. ‘Esperanto’ (Specimen). *Le maître phonétique* 28/11–12: 140–41.

6 Details from a review by Noël-Armfield (1911). Palmer refers to similar-sounding materials in his 1910a article, hence my 1910 dating here (Noël-Armfield 1911 does not indicate a date of publication).

7 Details reproduced from Bongers (1947: 350). This work is not mentioned in *Bibliographie de Belgique* for any of the years Palmer was in Verviers. Perhaps, then, it was self-published and had only a limited circulation.

8 Printed by Léon Lacroix (indicated by Bongers (1947: 351) as publisher). A notice in the July–August 1913 issue of *Le maître phonétique* (p. 107) indicates that a review copy had been received, hence my chronological ordering here.
1915. What is Phonetics? An answer to this question in the form of 12 letters from a phonetician to a non-phonetic friend. [London?]: International Phonetic Association, 60 pp. [In British Library.]


1917a. A First Course of English Phonetics. Including an explanation of the scope of the science of phonetics, the theory of sounds, a catalogue of English sounds and a number of articulation, pronunciation and transcription exercises. Cambridge: Heffer, x + 89 pp. [Revised ed. (1922) in Selected Writings, vol. 7; 1st ed. in British Library.]

1917b (July). The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages. A review of the factors and problems connected with the learning and teaching of modern languages with an analysis of the various methods which may be adopted in order to attain satisfactory results. London: Harrap, 328 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 1.]

1921a (April). The Principles of Language-Study. London: Harrap, 186 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 1.]

1921b. The Oral Method of Teaching Languages. A monograph on conversational methods together with a full description and abundant examples of fifty appropriate forms of work. Cambridge: Heffer, ix + 134 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 1.]


1922c (28 Dec.). Why I Became Converted to the Japanese System of Romanization. An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Nippon Rômazikwai, Oct. 21st

9 Date of arrival in the British Museum (now Library): 9 August 1916.

10 Under the heading ‘A Brief List of Important Phonetic Books’ on the last page of 1917a, the publication year of 1917a itself is mistakenly entered as 1916. Hence my tentative chronological ordering of Palmer’s two 1917 publications here.


11 Photocopy (obtained through inter-library loan) consulted. The source of this photocopy is unknown, but it may have come from the U.S. Library of Congress, which has a copy of the book according to National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, vol. 438 (p. 38). Also published in Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 48/5 and 48/6, according to Ozasa (1995a: 113).

12 Bibliographical details on the final page of the first edition (consulted on a copy loaned by Imura Motomichi) indicate that this book was, or was intended to be published in April (a space is left blank where the day of publication would normally be filled in). However, according to Bulletin 1/1 (1 June 1923): 8, this work 'appeared from the press' along with 1923b and 1923c on 1 May. There were many subsequent revisions and impressions of this work, and later editions tend to be inaccurate with regard to the initial publication date.

13 In the 1925 reprinted edition of this work, 'The Palmer English Language Course' etc. (on the title page) is replaced with 'The Standard English Language Course. A course designed specifically for the forming of right speech-habits', while on the cover 'The Standard English Language Course. Oral contextual line of approach' is preferred. The same applies to 1923c.

14 Details from Bulletin 1/2 (1 July 1923): 6, where the articles are briefly summarized.

15 Details from a copy owned by Imura Motomichi.

16 Details from Bulletin 1/2 (1 July 1923): 6, where the articles are briefly summarized. A Bulletin supplement later appeared under the same title, and was perhaps based on these articles (Palmer 1928m).
1923g (1 July). 'The use of the sequential series in the teaching of conventional conversation'. *Bulletin 1/3: 4–5.*


1923i (15 Dec.). Editorial [untitled; on 'the problem of a standard pronunciation of English']. *Bulletin 2: 6–8.*


1924b (July). *A Grammar of Spoken English on a strictly phonetic basis.* Cambridge: Heffer, xxxvi + 293 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 5.]

1924c (8 July). Editorial [untitled; requesting feedback on 1924a]. *Bulletin 5: 1.*

1924d (20 July). *Systematic Exercises in English Sentence-Building. Stage 1.* 'This forming part of the "Grammar and Structure Line of Approach" of the Standard English Course in preparation by the Institute'. Tokyo: IRET, vii + [75] pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 5.]


1924g (Oct.–Nov.). 'The Director's address' [to the the First Annual IRET Convention]. *Bulletin 8: 3–4.*


1924i (Oct.–Nov.). 'Quotation from the Director's report to the Board of Administration, Sept. 26, 1924'. *Bulletin 8: 9–10.*


1924k (Dec.). 'Conversation or composition?'. *Bulletin 9: 1–2.*


1925b (7 March). *Palmer eigokaiwa jotatsuho* (*Conversational English and How to Learn it*). Translated by Omura Masura. Tokyo: Herarudosha, ii + 140 + 10 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 4.]

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17 Referred to in *Bulletin 1/2* (1 July 1923) as due to be published not later than 15 July, and to be sent free to all IRET members. However, all copies appear to have been destroyed in a fire resulting from the Great Kanto Earthquake on 1 September (*Bulletin* (New Series 1 (15 Oct. 1923): 4), with none having been sent out.


1925k (10 Aug.). Compiled and designed by J. V. Martin and H. E. P. *English Phonetic Diagrams*. Tokyo: IRET, 8 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 7.]


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19 Other volumes envisaged for the same series of teacher's handbooks at this stage were: *Concerning Phonetics, The Japanese Phonemic System, The Teaching of Speech, A Plea for Fluency, A Glossary of Phonetic Terminology, Linguistic Odds and Ends (Collection I.), Advice to Students of English Conversation, Concerning Grammar, The Principles of Course-Designing, The Foreign Teacher's Handbook, and Concerning Translation* (1925e: x). In fact, however, only one more volume was to be published: *Classroom Procedures and Devices* (1927u).

20 Reproduced in abridged form as 'Modern method of language study restated', *Bulletin 15* (June 1925): 2–4. Details of the original version are derived from there.

21 Mentioned in *Bulletin 16* (July 1925): 7 as being a 'small booklet' which has been issued "[w]hile awaiting the publication of "The Principles of English Phonetic Notation" [1925l]'. The booklet is said to contain 'portions of the various sections of the larger book'.

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1925u (Nov.–Dec.). ‘The six chief reform principles’ [containing ‘the substance of Mr. Palmer’s address to the Member’s Convention, Nov. 17th 1925’]. Bulletin 19: 4.


22 It may seem surprising that this was published prior to the issue of Book I (Part I) of The Standard English Readers (1926h). However, 1926h was itself to be based on (the first half of) 1925d, which had been issued in March.

23 A note in Bulletin 12 (March 1925): 7 indicates that a draft of this work has been completed, and that by the time it is published ‘Section I, called “The English Phones” will also be issued, so that we shall have, in the course of the next two or three months, new material dealing with the “Pronunciation Line of Approach”’. However, The English Phones does not appear to have in fact been published.
1926a (Jan.). Editorial [untitled; summing up three years of IRET work and looking to the future]. *Bulletin 20*: 1–2.


[1926c (Jan.).] *On What Day? 'Grammar and Semantics Supplement' [to Bulletin 20; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 1]. [Tokyo: IRET], 1p. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 1).]24

1926d (Feb.). Editorial [untitled; on what to and what not to 'mechanize']. *Bulletin 21*: 1.

1926e (Feb.). 'The "Reader System"'. *Bulletin 21*: 2–3.

[1926f (Feb.).] *The Theory of the English Article. 'Grammar and Semantics Supplement no. 2' [to Bulletin 21; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 2]. [Tokyo: IRET], 1p. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 2).]25


1926l (March). Editorial [untitled; on what is meant by 'the scientific teaching of languages']. *Bulletin 22*: 1.

24 Dated following IRLT 1985, vol. 7: [iii].

25 Dated following IRLT 1985, vol. 7: [iii]. A note in *Bulletin 22* (March 1926): 5 appears to confirm that 'Grammar and Semantics' Supplements had accompanied the previous two issues.


[1926o (April).] *The Right Word. A memorandum on the subject of word-values.* [Supplement to *Bulletin* 23; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 3.] [Tokyo: IRET], 8 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 3).]26


[1926r (July?).] *The Noun Complex.* [Supplement to *Bulletin* 26?; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 4, under the title *The Noun Complex with Diagram.*] [Tokyo: IRET], 4 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 5).]27


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26 Dated according to *Bulletin* 23 (April 1926): 3.

27 Dated following IRLT 1985, vol. 7: [iii].

28 Published in October according to a Preface to the 3rd edition of 1922b.

29 In fact the 1930 edition in IRLT Library indicates the original publication date as 17 October 1925, but I assume that this should be 1926 on the basis of a reference to this work in an announcement of recent publications in *Bulletin* 28 (Oct.–Nov. 1926): 1.

30 As with 1926u, the 1930 edition I have consulted indicates the original date of publication as 1925. I correct this to 1926 here on the basis of the Oct.–Nov. 1926 announcement of recent publications referred to in the preceding note.

[1926y (Dec.).] New Type Objective Examination for Proficiency in Teaching English. Special Subject: The 24 Anomalous Finites. Based on the Theory of the Anomalous Finites as set forth in a special paper on the subject. [Offered to members on demand in Bulletin 29; later issued as IRET leaflet no. 7. Tokyo: IRET, 12 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 6; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 8).]


[1927d (Jan.).] New Type Objective Examination for Proficiency in Teaching English. Special Subject: The Five Speech-Learning Habits. [Offered to members on demand in Bulletin 30; later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 18. Tokyo: IRET, 33 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 2.]


[1927f (Feb.?).] The Five Speech-Learning Habits. A series of correspondence-lessons arranged in the form of a comprehensive questionnaire based on the paper

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31 Tentatively dated according to these considerations: (i) a different Supplement (1926r) seems to have accompanied the July Bulletin; (ii) Palmer was absent from Japan at the time of the Aug.–Sept. issue of the Bulletin (although this does not wholly discount 1926x having been published then); and (iii) this Supplement is likely at the latest to have accompanied the Oct.–Nov. issue, according to Bulletin 29 (Dec. 1926): 7, which announces publication of a new-type examination paper (1926y) prepared on the basis of the theory of the anomalous finites, with which readers are assumed to be familiar.

32 Dated on the basis of the offer to members in Bulletin 29 (Dec. 1926).


34 Dated on the basis of the offer to members in Bulletin 30 (Jan. 1927): 3.
having the above title. [Institute Leaflet no. 9.] [Tokyo: IRET], 34 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 10); also, in British Library.]35


[1927i (March).] *The Reformed English Teaching in the Middle-grade Schools.* [Supplement to *Bulletin 32*; issued in April as Institute Leaflet no. 10.] [Tokyo: IRET], 17 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 10; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 11).]36


[1927n (April).] Synops* *is of a Book Now in the Press, entitled “Classroom Procedures and Devices”. [Institute Leaflet no. 11 (later withdrawn).] [Tokyo: IRET], 15 pp. [In British Library.]38

[1927o (April).] *A Glossary of Technical Terms used in connection with classroom procedures.* [Institute Leaflet no. 12.] [Tokyo: IRET], 29 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 2.]39

1927p (May). ‘We learn reading through speech’ (Editorial). *Bulletin 34*: 1.

1927q (May?). *The Reader System.* [Institute Leaflet no. 14.] Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]40

35 First announced (as Institute Leaflet no. 9) in *Bulletin 31* (Feb. 1927): 8. Possibly, first appeared as a Supplement (along with 1927c) to *Bulletin 30* (Jan. 1927), but is not referred to there.

36 Dated according to information in *Bulletin 33* (April 1927): 5.

37 The only subsequent addition to the series I have come across is *Graded Exercises in English Composition Book III (Part I)*, written by E.K. Venables and published on 20 June 1930, according to a first edition in the IRLT Library.

38 Dated according to an announcement in *Bulletin 33* (April 1927): 5.

39 Dated according to an announcement in *Bulletin 33* (April 1927): 5.
[1927r (May?).] Specimen of One Complete Unit in the "Reader System" designed by the Institute for Research in English Teaching. [Institute Leaflet no. 15.] [Tokyo: IRET], [40] pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 12); also, in British Library.] 40

[1927s (May).] The New-Type Examinations. To what extent and in what form may these tests be used in Japan in connection with English examinations? [Supplement to Bulletin 34; Institute Leaflet no. 16.] [Tokyo: IRET], 29 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 10; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 13).] 41


[1927y (July–Aug.).] What to Do, and What Not to Do. Advice and suggestions to those who are about to adopt modern methods of teaching English. [Supplement to Bulletin 36; Institute Leaflet no. 17.] [Tokyo: IRET], 11 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 14); also, in British Library.] 42

1927z (Sept.). 'What is the obstacle?' (Editorial). Bulletin 37: 1.


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40 Dated, and all other details according to a first advertisement in Bulletin 34 (May 1927): 6. This publication may have constituted a reissue in pamphlet form of 1926e, which has the same title.

41 Dated according to first advertisement in Bulletin 34 (May 1927): 6.


43 Dated according to Bulletin 36 (July–Aug. 1927): 5.

44 The 1931 edition referred to indicates 17 October as the date of initial publication, but the first edition may in fact have been issued earlier in 1927. It is promised 'in a month' in Bulletin 31 (Feb. 1927): 7, and shown to be for sale in an advertisement in Bulletin 32 (March 1927): 8. The only subsequent addition to the series I have come across is English Through Questions and Answers: Book III (Part I), written by A.S. Hornby and published on 15 May 1929, according to a first edition in the IRLT Library.


[1928c (Feb.).] English, Plain and Coloured. Supplement to Bulletin 41. [Institute Leaflet no. 22.] Tokyo: IRET, 6 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 18); also, in British Library.]


1928e (5 March). Key to Graded Exercises in English Composition Book 1. Tokyo: IRET, 30 pp. [In IRLT Library.]


45 Placed here chronologically because reviewed in Bulletin (March 1928) 42: 3–4.

46 Simply an answer key. Cf. 1930f.


[1928j (June).] *The Teaching of English in Japan. The failure of prevailing methods; reform is necessary, but in what direction? A lecture by Harold E. Palmer, Linguistic Adviser to the Department of Education* [based on a lecture given in 1927 at Karuizawa Summer School]. Supplement to *Bulletin* 45. [Institute Leaflet no. 23.] Tokyo: IRET, 7 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 10; also, in *IRLT* 1985, vol. 7 (no. 19).] 47

1928k (July). ‘“He has just started learning English”’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 46: 1–2.

1928l (July). ‘The reformed English teaching in the middle grade schools: Synopsis of lectures to be given at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, July 1928’. *Bulletin* 46: 3.

[1928m (July).] *The Clean Stroke*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 46. [Institute Leaflet no. 24.] Tokyo: IRET, 13 pp. [In *IRLT* 1985, vol. 7 (no. 20); also, in British Library.] 48


1928o (10 Oct.). *Kikoteki bumpo (Mechanism Grammar)*. Translated by Naganuma Naoe. Tokyo: IRET, 105 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.] [See Appendix.] 49


1928q (12 Oct.). *Kikoteki eibumpo kaisetsu (Explanation of English Mechanism Grammar)*. Translated by Naganuma Naoe. Tokyo: IRET, 72 pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 6.] [See Appendix.]


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47 *Bulletin* 45 (June 1928): 7 indicates that ‘The contents are based upon a lecture delivered last year at Karuizawa before the members of the Summer School’.

48 Perhaps based on the 1923f series of articles with the same title in *Osaka Mainichi* (English edition).

49 1928o–q all tend subsequently to be described as ‘Companion Books to Automatic Sentence Builder’ (i.e. 1928r) in lists of Institute publications (e.g. in *Bulletin* 100: [17]).

50 Dated tentatively according to the month of issue of its ‘Companion Books’ (1928o–q). This is a ‘machine’ (made of cardboard) for sentence production rather than a written publication. Referred to in 1928o; also advertised in *Bulletin* 50 (Jan. 1929): 17 (under English as well as Japanese name).
1928s (Dec.). 'Lexicology as a hobby' (Editorial). *Bulletin 49*: 1–2.

1928t (Dec.). 'Number fifty'. *Bulletin 49*: 1.


1928v (Oct.). 'Word-values'. *Psyche 34*: 13–25.


1929b (Feb.). 'Superfluous activities'. *Bulletin 51*: 3.

1929c (Feb.). 'The first week of English'. *Bulletin 51*: 4–5.51


[1929f (April.)] *Eigo no dai-isshu* (The First Week of English). Supplement to *Bulletin 53*. [Institute Leaflet no. 26.] [Tokyo: IRET], v + 27 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 23); also, in British Library.]

1929g (28 April). *Eigo no rokushukan* (The First Six Weeks of English). Translated by Naganuma Naoe. [Institute Leaflet no. 27.] Tokyo: IRET, xi + 110 + iii pp. [In *Selected Writings*, vol. 4.] [See Appendix.]52


1929i (May). 'What shall we call "a word"?'. *Bulletin 54*: 1–2.


1929m (July). 'What is an idiom?' (Editorial). *Bulletin 56*: 1–2.


52 The preface to this work is different from the introduction to 1929f, but the twenty-seven pages of that publication are incorporated unchanged. An English version was subsequently published in 1934.


1929r (Dec.). Report on Research Activities during the year 1928–9. [Supplement to Bulletin 59; Institute Leaflet no. 31.] Tokyo: IRET, 18 pp. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 27); also, in British Library.]

1929s. H.E.P. and collaborators. So This is Geneva! Three dramatic sketches illustrating opinions on, the spirit of, the workings of and providing discussions on the League of Nations. Tokyo: Kaitakusha (for the League of Nations Association of Japan), [v] + 55 pp. [In University of Chicago Library.]


1930f (5 May). Key to Graded Exercises in English Composition. Book 2. Tokyo: IRET, 36 pp. [In IRLT Library.]


53 This is designed to follow on from 1929g, as is indicated by a reference to its 'completing "The First Three Months of English"' in Bulletin 54 (May, 1929): 7.

54 Dated according to Bulletin 59 (Dec. 1929): 2.

55 Photocopy (obtained through inter-library loan) consulted. The source of this photocopy is unknown, but it may have come from the University of Chicago Library, which has a copy of the book according to National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, vol. 439: 38.

56 Cf. 1928e.

57 Books Two to Five were not produced until, probably, 1932 (cf. 1933t–w).


1931d (March). 'Some aspects of lexicology' [a paper read at the Kyoto meeting of the English Literary Society on 19 October, 1930.] Bulletin 72: 6–8.


1931h (April). The First 500 English Words of Most Frequent Occurrence (based on objective quantitative statistics). Supplement to Bulletin 73. [Institute Leaflet no. 35.] Tokyo: IRET, 11 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 9; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 31).]

58 This report includes an appendix entitled 'Synoptic Chart Showing the Various Functions and Uses of the Preposition AT', said to have been '[d]esigned by the Institute for Research in English Teaching, Department of Education, Tokyo, Japan, March, 1930'.


1931n (June). The Second 500 English Words of Most Frequent Occurrence (based on objective quantitative statistics). Supplement to Bulletin 75. [Institute Leaflet no. 35.] Tokyo: IRET, 10 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 9; also, in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 32).]

1931o (July). Extracts from a report on IRET activities 'recently prepared [but] which has not yet been published', in an anonymous article on 'Research work in English teaching in Japan'. Oversea Education 2/4: 183–87 (extracts by H.E.P. on pp. 186–87). 60

[1931p (July–Aug.).] The First 600 English Words for a Classroom Vocabulary (based on objective quantitative statistics supplemented by classroom requirements). [Supplement to Bulletin 76; IRLT Leaflet no. 36.] [Tokyo: IRET], 10 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 9.] 61


59 A response from Daniel Jones appears on the same page.

60 The full report was later published, probably with additions, as 1934r.

1932b (Feb.). 'The Oral and Direct methods as an initiation into reading' [Extracts from a lecture to modern language teachers of Los Angeles city schools, 7 January, 1932]. *Bulletin 81*: 3–5.62


1932l. H.E.P. and H. Vere Redman. *This Language-Learning Business*. A compilation containing a conversation, considerable correspondence, and still more considerable thought on questions of language and the learning thereof for the guidance of all those engaged in teaching or learning that unique subject in the curriculum a language. London: Harrap, 218 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 2.]65


62 What is probably a longer version (not seen) appeared subsequently under the same title in *Modern Languages Forum 17/2* (April 1932): 33–35, according to Coleman (1933: 99). The catalogue of the Bodleian Library (which does not have this issue) identifies this as a journal of the Modern Language Association of Southern California.

63 Reissued almost immediately, on 20 April, with a new title and sub-title: *The Gold Beetle. This being the simplified version by Harold E. Palmer of “The Goldbug” by Edgar Allan Poe.* [In IRLT Library.] This was complemented on 3 November in the same year with *The Gold Insect. The Story of "The Gold Bug" by Edgar Allan Poe put into BASIC ENGLISH* by P.M. Rossiter, BA, and A.P. Rossiter, MA. Tokyo: IRET. The latter volume was not included in the ‘Simplified English’ Series, but its publication by IRET showed Palmer’s willingness at this stage to engage in dialogue with supporters of Basic English.

64 1st ed. not seen. Title and dating are from *Bulletin 83* (April 1932): 5.

65 Placed here because mentioned as a 'recent volume' in 1932m (p. 39).

1932o (July). 'The "preliminary stage"'. *Bulletin* 86: 1.


1932t (Oct.). *SSSF Patterns*. Tokyo: IRET. [2nd (undated) edition in IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 35); also, in British Library.]\(^{67}\)

1932u (7 Nov.). Simplified by H.E.P. *Pandora and the Box* (Adapted from the original version of Hawthorne). 'Simplified ... within the vocabulary of 600 words now in preparation'. 'Simplified English for Side Reading' Series. Tokyo: IRET, 34 pp. [In IRLT Library.]\(^{68}\)


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67 SSSF = ‘Simple sentences containing a simple finite’. 1st ed. not seen. My dating of the 1st edition here is based on indications in the introduction to the 2nd ed. that the sheets were printed for use in experimental teaching by Palmer at Jiyu Gakuen, just prior to an IRET Convention (at which the sheets were also to be given out). The recent development of the notion of ‘construction-patterns’ is referred to in both 1933aa and 1933bb, while the recent use of Jiyu Gakuen is referred to in 1933bb (a summary of Palmer’s report to the Ninth Annual Convention (14–15 October)), hence my October dating. In *Bulletin* 90 (Jan. 1933): 9, *SSSF Patterns* (i.e. the 2nd ed.) is already advertised as Institute leaflet no. 38. The introduction states that it is a Supplement to the *Bulletin*. The 2nd (n.d.) ed., then, is a Supplement to *Bulletin* 89 or 90, and also Institute Leaflet no. 38. It was issued with the addition of a two page introduction entitled ‘Some notes on construction-patterns’.


69 Dated tentatively according to an announcement in *Bulletin* 88 (Oct.–Nov. 1932): 5 that the whole set of five books has been issued, and by analogy with the date of issue of Books Two–Five. An advertisement in *Bulletin* 101 (Feb. 1934): [22] indicates that Department of Education approval for the set of five volumes was gained on 1 March, 1933.


1933a (Jan.). Simplified by H.E.P. *The Gorgon’s Head* (Adapted from the original version of Hawthorne). ‘Simplified English for Side Reading’ Series. Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.]^70


1933d (Feb.). ‘Sentences worth memorizing’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 91: 1–2.

1933e (Feb.). ‘A correction’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 91: 2.


1933h (Jan.–March). ‘A new classification of English tones’. *Eigo no kenkyu to kyoju (The Study and Teaching of English)*, Jan.–March, 1933. [Reissued as IRET Leaflet no. 40 (June? 1933); this version is in Selected Writings, vol. 8.]^72


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70 Details from *Bulletin* 90 (Jan. 1933): 5, where this is said to be a companion to 1932u.

71 Book 1 (1934i) was not published until 25 May, 1934.

72 1st ed. not seen (details from Imura 1997: 269). The reissue (published by IRET as Institute Leaflet no. 40) is dated here on the basis of an announcement in *Bulletin* 95 (June 1933): 5.


1933m (18 July). Simplified by H. E. P. The Three Golden Apples (Adapted from the original version of Hawthorne). Simplified . . . within the vocabulary of 600 words now in preparation. 'Simplified English for Side Reading' Series. Tokyo: IRET, 40 pp. [In IRLT Library.]


1933s (1 Oct.). Letter to the editor (regarding I. A. Richards' attitude to the IRET scheme of vocabulary limitation). Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation), 1 Oct. 1933: 6.74


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73 1st ed. not seen. All details from 3rd ed., where the Second Report is described as a 'thoroughly revised and considerably updated edition' of a mimeographed (unpublished) 'tentative document containing the classified English irregular collocations' which was distributed 'to members of the Board [of Administration] and others for suggestions and supplements' (in October 1931, according to Bulletin 78 (Sept.–Oct., 1931): 9). In 1934cc (p. 20), Palmer notes that this mimeographed 'First Interim Report' consisted simply of the rough draft of a collection of collocations 'culled for the most part from Saito's Idiomological Dictionary'. As Bongers 1947: 222 notes, no copies of this 'First Report' appear to have survived.

74 Palmer refers to a letter from Richards to the editor of the Japan Chronicle, dated 20 March 1933, which had been reproduced in Eigo Seinen, 1 Sept. 1933: 374.

75 The bibliographical details in the edition consulted may be incorrect. It seems more likely that this was published between April 1932 (the month following a Bulletin 82: 8 list of Institute publications which fails to mention this work) and December 1932 (the month before an indication


1934b (Jan.). ‘The first thousand words’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 100: 2.


1934e (Feb.). ‘Ten axioms governing the main principles to be observed in the teaching and learning of foreign languages’. *Bulletin* 101: 4–8.


1934g (March). ‘“Because it is so”’ (Editorial). *Bulletin* 102: 8.


in *Bulletin* 90 (p. 5) that Books Two and Three had already been published, with Books Four and Five ‘in press’). The same considerations apply to 1933u.

76 Authorship is unstated. However, an introductory note contains the following acknowledgment: ‘We are indebted to Mr. A. S. Hornby for initiating the present list and for his large share in the compiling and perfecting of it’.

1934k (June). "We will give good rules to you now" (Editorial). *Bulletin* 105: 1–5.


1934q (July). Foreword to Iso, Tetsuo and Shimizu Sadasuke. 1934. *The Fukushima Plan of Teaching English in Schools of Middle Grade*. Supplement to *Bulletin* 106. [Institute Leaflet no. 41.] Tokyo: IRET, i–iii. [In IRLT 1985, vol. 7 (no. 37).]


1934y. *Introduction to English Composition Book 1*. Tokyo: IRET. [Not seen.] 78

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77 Extracts appearing earlier, in 1931o (unchanged in 1934r), suggest that at least some of this history was written before 1934.

78 Book 2 (1934x) was published in October, hence my tentative inclusion of this title here. A Book 1 was advertised later, for example in *Bulletin* 110 (Jan. 1935): [20.]
1934z (10 Oct.). *Introduction to English Composition Book 2.* 'For use with The Abridged Standard Readers'. [In IRLT Library], 103 pp.

1934aa (Oct.). *Specimens of English Construction Patterns. These being “sentence patterns” based on the General Synoptic Chart Showing the Syntax of the English Sentence. Submitted . . . as a report to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the I.R.E.T.* [later issued as Institute Leaflet no. 42.] Tokyo: IRET, 36 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 6.]


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80 Original not seen. Dated 1934 by Takanashi, Abe and others (1968), but references in the text to Palmer's meeting with Sawayanagi in London 'twelve years ago' and to current celebrations of the tenth anniversary of IRET suggest that it may have been written in 1933.


1935j (April). 'Allow me to define the word "Fish"' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 113: 1–6.


1935m (June). 'From the learner's end' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 115: 1–4.


1936a (Jan.). 'The grapes are sour . . . ?' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 120: 1–6.

1936b (Jan.). 'English article-usage. Twelve rules together with various indications and exceptions for the rapid initiation of those to whom the subject is a mystery'

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81 Attributed to Palmer because frequent use is made of IRET terminology and references are made to the contents of the editorial in the same issue (1935m). More conclusively, the final (December) instalment refers to experiences of the teaching of English in a Belgian manufacturing town. The same considerations apply to 1935p and 1935r.

82 Although Palmer was absent from the country, this is presumed to be by him (also, perhaps, the letter in the same issue to which this is a response).


1936e (Feb.). 'English article-usage' [Part 2, continued from 1936b]. Bulletin 121: 8–14. [1936 leaflet version consisting of Parts 1 and 2 in Selected Writings, vol. 6.]


1936g (Feb.). 'The history and present state of the movement towards vocabulary control. (Lecture at the teacher training course held at the Bunrika Daigaku, Jan. 17, 1936)' [Part 2, continued from 1936c]. Bulletin 121: 19–23.


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83 The leaflet reprint is dated according to Bulletin 125 (June–July 1936): 23. The same consideration applies to 1936e.

84 Transcript of a radio broadcast. Original place and date of publication are unknown.

85 Details from a copy made by Imura Motomichi. Fujin no Tomo was a magazine issued by Jiyu Gakuen, a school with which Palmer had maintained particularly strong links.


1937e (21 Aug.). 'Limiting the vocabulary'. Times Educational Supplement, 21 August.


1937g. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. Four Stories from Shakespeare. Thousand-word English Senior Series. Illustrated by T. H. Robinson. London: Harrap, 110 pp. [In British Library.]

1937h. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. Three Tales from Hawthorne. Thousand-word English Junior Series. Illustrated by T. H. Robinson. London: Harrap, 104 pp. [In British Library.]

1937i. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. 'within the thousand-word vocabulary'. Aesop's Fables. Thousand-word English Junior Series. London: Harrap, 107 pp. [In British Library.]


1938c (Jan.–March). 'The weak form of this'. Le maître phonétique, 3rd Series/16: 5.


1938f (Oct.–Dec.). 'Daniel Defoe on foreigners' mispronunciations'. Le maître phonétique 3rd Series/16: 60.

1938g (Oct.–Dec.). 'Une lacune?' Le maître phonétique 3rd Series/16: 73.

86 Placed here chronologically because reviewed (anonymously) in Oversea Education 8/4 (July 1937). This review was reprinted in Bulletin 137 (Aug.–Sept. 1937): 14–15.

87 Published anonymously (under the byline, 'from a correspondent'). Bongers (1947) attributes this article to Palmer, but misdates it 28 August.

1938h. A Grammar of English Words. One thousand English words and their pronunciation, together with information concerning the several meanings of each word, its inflections and derivatives, and the collocations and phrases into which it enters. London: Longmans, Green, xvi + 300 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 10.]

1938i. The New Method Grammar. London: Longmans, Green, vii + 215 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 6.]


1938o. Adapted and rewritten by H.E.P. A Journey to the Centre of the Earth by Jules Verne. Longmans' Simplified English Series. London: Longmans, Green, 159 pp. [In British Library.]


89 Daniel Jones responded in the same issue.

90 Referred to (along with 1938o) in a review of recently published simplified readers by Wakefield (1938: 20), hence my 1938 dating. These were to be Palmer's only contributions to the Longmans, Green Simplified English Series, although in a letter to his daughter of 23 January 1940 (in PFVA) he indicates that he had recently been asked by Longmans, Green to simplify another Jules Verne story, From the Earth to the Moon.


1939e. Premier livre de français. Première partie. London: Longmans, Green, 49 pp. [In British Library.]

1939f. A chart designed by W. Rougier Chapman and H.E.P. An Outline of A.R.P. Gases Used in Warfare: What they are and how to treat them. Tunbridge Wells: Stace, 37.5 x 25 cm. [In British Library.]


1940c. Premier livre de français. Deuxième partie. London: Longmans, Green, 64 pp. [In British Library.]

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91 An editorial note in Bulletin 147 (Sept.–Oct., 1938) indicates that 'Arrangements have been made for the [Harrap] "Thousand-Word English" texts to be reprinted in Japan by the Kaitakusha Publishing Co.'. Palmer 1939a may, then, have been originally published by (or intended for) Harrap, although there is no copy in the British Library and the title does not appear in the list of other works in the Harrap 'Thousand-word English' series in 1940a or 1940b. The cover of 1939a bears the same design as books in the Harrap series.

92 Cf. 1940c and 1949d. Bongers (1947: 351) implies that these volumes were accompanied by Teacher's Books, but there are no copies in the British or Bodleian Libraries (although there is a catalogue reference for a Livre du maître [sic] in the latter library).

93 Both 1939f and 1939g are dated following the British Library catalogue.

94 Cf. 1939e and 1949d. Bond (1953: 352) refers to a Deuxième livre [de français] as having been published in 1940. It seems likely that he is referring to this [1940c] publication, since there is no Deuxième livre in the British Library.
1940d. Speak and Understand French. A phrase-book containing over four hundred of the most useful questions, answers, greetings, comments and expressions, together with military terms and other material enabling British soldiers and others to speak and understand French. With pronunciation of all the sentences. Just What You Want to Say in French: Three Booklets for Beginners [no. 1]. Cambridge: Heffer, 32 pp. [In British Library.]


1940h. The Teaching of Oral English. London: Longmans, Green, 100 pp. [In Selected Writings, vol. 4.]

[1941?]. A Morse Memory Book. London: Memory Charts, 31 pp. [In British Library.]


1943a. Corso internazionale di lingua inglese. [Italian version of The International English Course]. Translated by J. B. Manighetti. London: Evans, x + 204 pp. [In British Library.]

1943b. Cours international d'anglais. [French version of The International English Course]. Translation reviewed and corrected by Émile Stéphan. London: Evans, xx + 210 pp. [In British Library.]


95 Dated according to the British Library catalogue.

96 Issued in pamphlet form (22 July 1944) as Foreign Language Teaching: Past, Present and Future. Buenos Aires: Mitchell's English Bookstore. [In University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections.]
1944b. *Curso Internacional de Inglés* [Spanish version of *The International English Course*]. Adapted and translated by J. V. Barragán. London: Evans, 223 pp. [In British Library.]


97 Details from a photocopy obtained by Ozasa Toshiaki.

98 Companion to 1949b and 1949c, hence my attribution of authorship.

99 Cf. 1939e and 1940c.


Notes: Since full bibliographical details of works by Harold E. Palmer are provided under 1. above, only details of works by other authors are presented here. For abbreviations (IPA, IRET, IRLT, etc.), see the 'List of Abbreviations' at the beginning of the thesis. *Bulletin* (on its own) stands for *The Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching*. Additionally here, 'Gogaku kyoiku' stands for *Gogaku kyoiku* (*Bulletin of the Institute for Research in LanguageTeaching*).

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——— 1963. ‘Conversation and spoken prose’. *English Language Teaching* 18/1: 10–16.


Benselin, O. 1913. 'Wallon de Verviers (Province de Liège)' (Specimen). Le maitre phonétique 28/3–4: 56.


Brebner, Mary. 1898. The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany. London: Clay.


Catford, J.C. 1950. ‘The background and origins of Basic English’. *English Language Teaching* 5/2.


Donato, F.X. 1827. A Parallel between the Hamiltonian System and that which Mr. Hamilton Calls the Old System; with an Examination of the Theory of the Italian Verbs, for the Use of the Hamiltonian Pupils. Bristol: The author.


—— 1929a. *Composition Correction Dictionary, etc*. Peiping [i.e., Beijing]: Yenching Institute for Research in English Teaching.


—— 1932. 'English word-values'. *Oversea Education* 3/4: 178–82.

—— 1933a. 'English word-values'. *Oversea Education* 4/2: 76–82.
— 1933b. The Oxford English Course. London: Oxford University Press. [See Appendix 6.4 for the different components of the course (some of which were published after 1933), and for information on subsequent adaptations and revisions.]


— 1933d. One Hundred Reading Cards. London: Oxford University Press.


and Shih Nai K'ang. 1927?. Fundamental Vocabulary Dictionary. Shanghai: Commercial Press. [As cited by Faucett 1927a: 88 (described as 'in press' there).]


——— 1829. The History, Principles, Practice, and Results of the Hamiltonian System, for the Last Twelve Years; with Answers to the Edinburgh and Westminster Reviews; and His Public Lecture in Liverpool, on the 18th of March, 1829; with Instructions for the Use of the Books Published on this System. Manchester: T. Sowler, Courier and Herald Office.


1931b. 'Some grammatical implications of doubt and negation'. *Bulletin* 79: 3-4.

1932a. *Fundamental Exercises in English Composition*. Tokyo: IRET.

1932b. 'Further notes on "some" and "any"'. *Bulletin* 81: 2-3.


1933a. 'What is a word?' *Bulletin* 95: 4-5.

1933b. 'Mr. Hornby comments'. *Bulletin* 97: 5-6.


1934b. 'The rationalization of grammar'. In Naganuma 1934.


1938a. 'Putting English to use' (Editorial). *Bulletin* 142: 1-5.


1946a. 'Linguistic research' (Editorial). English Language Teaching 1/1: 6.

1946b. 'Balance and proportion' (Editorial). English Language Teaching 1/2.


1946-7b. 'Sentence patterns and substitution tables' (Parts 1–4). English Language Teaching 1/1: 17–23; 1/2; 1/4; 1/5.


1952b. 'Situations: artificial or natural?'. English Language Teaching 6/4: 118–24.


1966. 'Looking back'. English Language Teaching 21/1: 3–6.

1968. 'Developments in the principles of English language teaching during the last fifty years'. Neusprachliche Mitteilungen aus Wissenschaft und Praxis 3: 168–78.
1970. 'Reflections after a visit to Japan'. English Language Teaching 25/1: 89–93.


and Harold E. Palmer. 1934. 'The IRET standard English vocabulary: The 1000-word radius'. Bulletin 100: 8–9


Hoshiyama, Saburo. 1968. ‘Palmer no eigokyoiku’ (English education according to Palmer). In Takanashi, Abe and others 1968.


—— 1824b. Enseignement universel. Musique. [Later, expanded editions were entitled Musique, dessin et peinture.] Leuven: Michel.


——— 1947. ‘Phonetic representation of the vowels in “cut” and “cat”’. *English Language Teaching* 1/7.


——— 1978. 'From Takashi Kuroda' (Greetings from friends and former colleagues). In Strevens 1978.


MacCarthy, P.A.D. 1949. 'Phonetic transcription and the teaching of pronunciation'. English Language Teaching 2/1.

——— 1950. 'Substitution table technique'. English Language Teaching 4/7.


——— 1994. 'Practical skills or mental training? The historical dilemma of foreign language methodology in nineteenth and twentieth century Germany'. Paradigm 14: 6–24.


——— 1853. Language as a Means of Mental Culture and International Communication; or, Manual of the Teacher and the Learner of Languages, 2 volumes [Referred to in the text as Marcel 1853: I and Marcel 1853: II, respectively]. London: Chapman & Hall.


Ogawa, Yoshio. 1958. ‘Dr. Palmer kara Dr. Fries e’ (From Dr. Palmer to Dr. Fries). Eigokyoiku 27/2: 63-67.


——— 1899. 'De la méthode directe dans l'enseignement des langues vivantes'. Paris: Colin. [Published as a special supplement to Le maître phonétique, May 1899.]


Pattison, Bruce. 1978. ‘From Bruce Pattison’ (Greetings from friends and former colleagues). In Strevens 1978.


——— 1956b. ‘Professor E.V. Gatenby’. (Obituary). *Gogaku kyoiku*.


1967. 'C.E. Eckersley, M.A.'. *English Language Teaching* 22/1: 2–3.


Santagnello, M. 1827 An Impartial Examination of the Hamilton System of Teaching Languages: To which are Annexed, a Few Hints Relative to the Real Method of Teaching Living Languages. London: Souter.


Smedley, T. 1913. 'Wallon de Verviers (Province de Liège)' (Specimen: 'communication de H. E. Palmer'). Le maître phonétique 28/5–6: 80–81.

Smith, D.A. 1962. 'The Madras "Snowball": an attempt to retrain 27,000 teachers of English to beginners'. English Language Teaching 17/1: 3–9.


Swan, Howard. 1892. Preface to Gouin 1892.


—— 1877b. ‘The characteristics of English work’. [Part of the programme relating to the Sixth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, 18 May 1877.] Transactions of the Philological Society 1877–79: 10–16.


Takanashi, Kenkichi. 1982. 'Palmer no keireki to eikyo o uketa hitobito' (Palmer's career and those who were influenced by him). *Eigokyoiku Journal* 2/11: 15–18.


van Herp, J. 1910. 'Die Reform des neusprachlichen Unterrichts in Belgien'. In a special supplement to *Die neueren Sprachen* (1910) entitled 'Festschrift Wilhelm Viëtor'.


—— 1882. *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren! Ein Beitrag zur Überbürdungsfrage.* Heilbronn: Henninger [Published under the pseudonym 'Quousque Tandem'.]


— 1928b. 'The "New Method" System of teaching the reading of foreign languages'. Modern Languages 10: 5–10.


— 1933b. Learn to Speak by Speaking. (The New Method Conversation Course), 4 volumes [Section 1: The Elements; Section 2: Guided Speech; Section 3: Beginning to Talk; Section 4: Free Speech.] London: Longmans, Green.

— 1933c. 'Speech vocabulary and reading vocabulary'. Oversea Education 5: 20–25.


1939. 'Inference in reading'. *Modern Languages* 20/4: 167–70.

1951. 'Catenizing'. *English Language Teaching* 5/6: 147-151.


Wrenn, C.L. 1946. 'Henry Sweet'. [Presidential address delivered to the Philological Society, 10 May 1946.] Transactions of the Philological Society 1945: 177-201.


1926. 'Intelligence in man and ape'. Psychological Review 22: 275-84.

1927. 'The recent anti-instinctivistic attitude in social psychology' Psychological Review 34: 126-32.


3. Publications derived from / otherwise relating to the present thesis


——— Forthcoming. *English Language Teaching for Speakers of Other Languages, 1900-1980: A Comprehensive Bibliography*. To be published online at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/celte/research/elt_archive/research_projects/


1 Biographical portraits (1): Nineteenth-century innovators

1.1 Joseph Jacotot and James Hamilton

Joseph Jacotot (1770-1840) and James Hamilton (1769-1829) both achieved a certain degree of fame, not to say notoriety in the 1820s, and they were frequently bracketed together by commentators in subsequent decades (in Germany, for example, by Wurm 1831 and Kröger 1833). The two men shared beliefs in the primacy of the written text and in the usefulness of translation as a means for ensuring comprehension of the target language, but such beliefs were commonplace at the time. What united them as innovators was their rejection of the teaching of grammar as a preliminary to the study of written passages. Instead, both emphasized the need for the learner to work with texts from the outset, comprehend them via the translation provided and use the text as a model for writing, with hardly any explicit grammatical instruction being provided. As a consequence of their attacks on established educational practices, both men found themselves embroiled in bitter controversies, Jacotot in Belgium and France (Missinne 1964: 57), Hamilton in the USA and (after 1823) in Britain.

Here, though, the resemblance ends: a brief comparison of the ideas and respective careers of the two men may serve to clarify the differences in approach between them. Hamilton's largely autobiographical (1829) History, Principles, Practice, and Results of the Hamiltonian System constitutes the major source with regard to his life and ideas. Since the biographical detail provided in Joseph Payne's (1830) Compendious Exposition of Jacotot's ideas is comparatively limited, I shall focus mainly on Jacotot below, basing my account largely on those by Guillard (1852) and Perez (1883).

Briefly stated, the fundamental principles of Jacotot's philosophy of 'universal education' (enseignement universel) were the following: 'All intellects are equal; Learn something thoroughly and refer everything else to it; All is in all; We can teach what we know not' (Marcel 1853, II: 220, italics in original). Although Jacotot was to claim that his overall approach dated from a particular
language teaching experience in Leuven in 1818 (described by Payne (1830: 337-38)), his ideas can, it seems, be traced back further.

Born in Dijon, Jacotot was the oldest of eleven children. Even at an early age he is said to have shown a strong desire for self-instruction, and his grandfather, a master carpenter, paid for a secondary education which his own father (a butcher, then book-keeper) would not have been able to afford. He was a rebellious but brilliant pupil, often refusing to submit to rote learning although willing to memorize passages from his favourite authors, which he would employ to good effect in academic debate. Early on, at the age of 19, he was appointed as a teacher of humanities in the school he had graduated from. By 1792 he had additionally qualified as a lawyer, and was beginning to immerse himself in the study of mathematics.

The encouragement of a spirit of independence was to be an important goal of Jacotot's educational philosophy, and his own independence was evident not only in his passion for self-instruction but also in his early revolutionary activities. As a 'fils du peuple', Jacotot had, in 1788, organised a revolutionary youth movement in Dijon, and from 1792 he fought with distinction in the Belgian campaign as captain of a local artillery battalion. Called to Paris, he was then delegated to train civilians in the production of gunpowder, for which work he was highly commended. On this basis he requested and was granted permission to return to academic teaching, and he was appointed Deputy Director of the École polytechnique in Paris on 1 December 1794 before returning the following year to Dijon, to take up duties at the newly established École centrale. There he was appointed to the chair of Scientific Method. His manner of teaching already took an original form: rather than lecturing, he began each lesson by stating the topic and areas to be covered; then, giving the floor to students, he encouraged them to present their own arguments. He concluded each session with a summary of the points raised. As Guillard (cited by Perez 1883: 4) states:
Ainsi il ne façonnait point à son gré l’esprit de ses élèves, mais il les poussait à la vie et à l’action, et les mettait en état de s’avancer par leur propre travail, et de s’affermir par l’exercice assidu de leurs propres forces.¹

Until the fall of the Empire, Jacotot showed his versatility and the breadth of his own learning by occupying chairs of mathematics and Roman law, and teaching oriental and classical languages in addition to scientific methods. Guillard (ibid.) notes that during law classes he liked to argue that every article of the Napoleonic Code contained the whole Code in microcosm. This seems to prefigure his later principle of universal analogy, ‘tout est dans tout’ (all is in all, in other words — in educational terms — everything that is already known contains the seeds of whatever else needs to be learned). A strong commitment to the principle of human equality, the legacy of his revolutionary past, led him to believe, also, that ‘all intellects are equal’ (see Jacotot 1824a: 240–41), in other words that all are, at root, equally capable of learning. A mixture of this belief and his actual teaching experience showed him, also, that memory and attention (rather than aptitude) were most often at fault among learners, and that daily repetition and verification of what has been learned were advisable as means of mental training.

Thus, even before Jacotot was forced into exile by the Bourbon restoration and compelled to take up the teaching of French as a foreign language at a university in Belgium, he had come to realize, on the basis of extensive educational experience, that ‘it is not necessary to explain in order to teach, or in other words, that the pupil may be made to discover for himself everything requisite to be known’ (Payne 1830: 337). For his French lessons at the University of Leuven Jacotot began by providing his Dutch-speaking students with the original of Fénélon’s Télémaque and a Dutch translation, and exhorted them to memorize the French text, gathering the meaning for themselves from the translation. Here, Jacotot was simply applying principles to foreign language learning which had developed, as we have seen, out of his previous educational experience. He proceeded to encourage frequent oral repetition of the memorized material, trusting that his learners would, on this basis of comprehension, memorization and repetition, become able to write

¹ ‘Thus, he did not attempt to fashion the minds of his pupils to suit his own taste but instead guided them towards vitality and action, enabling them to advance by their own efforts and to grow stronger through the diligent exercise of their own abilities’.
in French about what they had learned. Jacotot was evidently placing faith in his learners' abilities in a manner consistent with his previous beliefs and experience. The success which greeted this experiment does, however, appear to have surprised even Jacotot himself, leading him to attempt subsequently to systematize his views on education, not only with respect to foreign languages (Jacotot 1824a) but also mother tongue education (Jacotot 1823) and other subjects including music (1824b) and mathematics (1828).

In the course of this systematization, Jacotot paid greater attention than is evident from reports of his Leuven experiment to the cognitive processes which relate memorization to language production. Noting that learners need constantly to relate new information to previously memorized material, Jacotot developed intensive questioning procedures (which Payne (1830: 363-74) describes in detail) by means of which the teacher can help learners make memorized matter available 'for the operations of the mind' (Payne 1830: 361). In brief, Jacotot's advice to learners may be resumed as follows: 'Sachez quelque chose, répétez-le sans cesse pour ne pas l'oublier, et rapportez-y tout le reste' (1824a: 145, italics in original), or, even more succinctly: 'répétez et verifiez, voilà toute notre méthode' (1824a: 217). In Payne's (1830: 354) paraphrase, 'the practical part of [Jacotot's] system is embraced in the words, Learn something thoroughly, and refer everything else to it' (italics in original). Adapted to the study of languages, whether the mother tongue or foreign languages, Jacotot's 'method', then, assumes the following form: 'Learn one book in the language (whatever this may be) thoroughly, refer all the rest to it by your own reflection, and verify the observations of others by what you know yourself' (ibid., italics in original).

Jacotot's son, in his long foreword to the fourth (1830) edition of Jacotot 1823 is at great pains to claim, however, that Jacotot's ideas constitute not simply a method but an overall educational philosophy. Indeed, Jacotot appears to have conceived of his approach as a way of freeing the mind's innate faculties, in other words enabling pupils to discover their own method(s). It should be noted, also, that Jacotot's publications themselves are resistant to reductionism, being written in a somewhat rough and anti-intellectual style. Jacotot makes no apologies for this, explaining as follows:
Il est très-vrai, mes chers élèves, que cet ouvrage (si c'est un ouvrage) a une forme bizarre et tout-à-fait irrégulière; mais jugez de mon embarras; l'Enseignement universel n'est rien. Deux mots suffisent pour expliquer notre méthode; or, imprimer deux mots serait tout aussi bizarre.  

(Jacotot 1824a: 94–95)

Jacotot wished to offer his discoveries as a gift to humanity, and believed that they were useful primarily as a means of emancipating the masses who were denied access to formal education (hence his emphases on ‘Universal Education’ and the importance of ‘Intellectual Emancipation’). He intended his works to be read by parents rather than by scholars, and to be used primarily for purposes of home education, since, on the basis of his confidence in human beings' innate learning faculties, he believed that it is not necessary to know oneself what one teaches:

ce n'est point à la nation savante que je parle, c'est aux pauvres, c'est aux ignorans [sic]; voilà le véritable public à mes yeux.  

(Jacotot 1824b, fourth edition: xix)

Ultimately, then, Jacotot’s ‘system’ addresses the nature of learning rather than providing prescriptions for teaching. He was above all concerned that the innate capabilities of learners should be drawn out, and reluctant to give advice on teaching beyond generalities such as ‘il ne faut pas lutter avec vos élèves; il suffit de les conduire sur le bord du chemin, c'est à eux à marcher seuls’ (Jacotot 1824a: 113).

James Hamilton, by contrast, expounded a number of principles to be applied primarily to the teaching of languages (including materials preparation). The first of these — the necessity of providing instruction as opposed to ‘ordering to learn’ (Hamilton 1829: 6) — seems to contrast both with Jacotot’s commitment

2 ‘It is quite true, my dear pupils, that this work (if it can be called a ‘work’) has a strange and very unconventional form; but please sympathise with the position I find myself in: ‘Universal Education’ is nothing. Two words are sufficient to explain our method — but to print just two words would be equally strange’.

3 ‘I am not addressing the academic community but the poor, the uninformed: from my point of view that is the real public’.

4 ‘You must not struggle with your pupils; it is enough to guide them to the edge of the road, then it is up to them to walk unaided’.
to the liberation of the student's own capacities to reflect and learn and with the more traditional belief that learners must master the grammar and lexicon of the language largely on their own. Hamilton was particularly scathing about the way in which grammars and dictionaries tended to be used in contemporary educational practice 'for the iniquitous purpose [. . .] of throwing the whole burden of education upon the student himself, while the pretended teacher becomes a task-master, with whip in hand, to enforce not instruction, but command' (Hamilton 1825b: 23). Instead, he proposed (as a second principle) that the learner's burden could be greatly eased by encouraging pupils 'to translate at once, instead of making them get a grammar by heart' (1829: 6–7). As we have seen, this view was shared by Jacotot, but rather than placing emphasis on pupils memorizing whole texts, referring to a translation themselves and engaging in various forms of reflection, Hamilton proposed that the teacher (and textbook materials) should give a word-by-word translation into the mother tongue, and that pupils should memorize primarily the word-to-word correspondences provided. Hamilton's theorisation of this procedure gave rise to his third and fourth principles, which constitute, perhaps, his most original contributions, relating to the discovery (in 1817–18) that in translating he in fact 'analyzed, and consequently taught the grammar of the language with every word I taught my pupil' (Hamilton 1829: 8).

From the interlinear materials which Hamilton published in Britain in the 1820s (including, for example, Hamilton 1824), it is clear that his particular concept of literal, 'analytical' translation was different from that of predecessors such as Milton, Locke, or Dumarsais (Hartnoll (1823: 21) additionally cites l'Abbe d'Olivet and l'Abbe de Radonvilliers as predecessors), who, Hamilton claimed, did not suggest or provide sufficiently literal translations. Thus, Hamilton's third principle — that an 'analytical' translation should be provided which highlights the grammatical construction of the sentence (Hamilton 1825a: 12) — combines with his fourth principle, 'that all the words of all languages [. . .] should be translated generally by the same word, which should stand for its representative at all times, and in all places' (Hamilton 1829: 10). Together, these principles make for an extremely literal form of translation intended to ease the burden of comprehension and memorization of lexis, and to enhance understanding of the grammatical structure of the target language. Hamilton boasted that he gave the pupil 'instead of
a Grammar and Dictionary on the common plan, a Dictionary for every Book he reads' (Hamilton 1829: 44), and that the pupil would 'not only be able to translate his book with infallible certainty in the tenth part of the time hitherto requisite, but be able, at the same time, to parse it, that is, to have a perfect knowledge of its Grammar also' (ibid.).

As is clear even from this brief quotation, Hamilton was a consummate self-publicist and salesman, although perhaps not so much of a charlatan as he was frequently made out to be by his (many) critics. His publicity campaigns were evidently successful, but they won him as many enemies as supporters, due to the strident tone of his advertising and the strong claims advanced in the lectures he gave in numerous cities and towns (contemporary critics of Hamilton included Hartnoll (1823), 'Cantabrigiensis' (1825), Donato (1827) and Santagnello (1827)). For example:

he has insulted those modes of education, which all true scholars have been accustomed to venerate, by representing them as founded in absurdity and supported by cruelty, and has therefore given every one who feels attached to them, a right to retaliate on him and his system. He has also advanced opinions and principles which appear subversive of all true taste, sound learning, and rational criticism.

('Cantabrigiensis' 1825: 44)

Hamilton attempted to answer his critics with his (1829) autobiographical account, but he died in its year of publication, at the height of his notoriety.

Whereas Hamilton had been exclusively concerned with propagating a rather limited set of techniques (and, increasingly, promoting his own materials) for the teaching of modern and classical languages, Jacotot's ideas on language teaching, as we have seen, formed part of a much broader educational philosophy which he promoted relatively selflessly, despite the polemical tone of his writings. Jacotot consistently promised to take no profit from his ideas, and he is said to have kept this promise scrupulously until the end of his life. After the revolution of 1830 he hurried to return to France, and settled in Valenciennes, where he turned his energies to the publication of a newspaper intended to spread his message, the Journal de l'émancipation intellectuelle. By now his ideas had already generated a great deal of interest, not only in Belgium and France (de Lasteyrie 1829, Boutmy
1830) but also in neighbouring European countries including England (Tourrier 1830, Cornelius 1830, Payne 1830). Many of the pamphlets and textbooks which purported to explicate or exemplify Jacotot’s system were more or less blatant attempts to make a profit from his growing reputation; however, Quick (1880: 3) describes how Joseph Payne (1808–76), at the time a very young man, but later one of England’s most eminent educationalists, was genuinely inspired by Jacotot’s new principles, which ‘entirely changed his notion of the teacher’s office, and turned routine into a course of never-ending experiment and discovery’. Payne’s (1830) Compendious Exposition appears to have found favour with Jacotot, who wrote in 1831 to approve of his disciple’s ‘efforts […] pour répandre en Angleterre le bienfait de l’Emancipation intellectuelle, dans les familles pauvres’ (the manuscript of this letter is reproduced in Payne 1892: 159). In the 1830s Jacotot only appears to have published one further work, on the study of law and philosophy (Jacotot 1835). In 1838 he moved to Paris, and died there on 30 July, 1840.

1.2 Claude Marcel

Claude Victor André Marcel (1793–1876) was born and educated in Paris. As a young man he served in Napoleon’s army but was wounded in 1814. After the war he entered the French consular service and was posted to Cork in Ireland (at that time part of the United Kingdom). He remained there for the rest of his professional life, apart from a short interruption occasioned by the revolution that brought Louis-Philippe to the throne in 1830. His relationship with the local community seems to have been very warm, due in no small measure to his success as a teacher of French and his mastery of the English language. However, despite his ability to attract important dignitaries to his lessons (including two local bishops), his pedagogic

5 ‘Efforts to spread the benefits of Intellectual Emancipation in England, among poor families’

6 For details of Marcel’s career I have relied mostly on information provided by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (archives and documentation section) in response to an enquiry by A.P.R. Howatt in the early 1980s. I am grateful to him for letting me use this information. Additional details come from Marcel’s works themselves.
activities met with disapproval in Paris and he had to promise to stop teaching before he could be considered for consular promotion.

His desire to keep his two careers apart (as well as his liberal political views) may help to explain the fact that Marcel published very little before his major work in 1853 and that what he did publish appeared in London in English rather than at home in his mother tongue. It may also explain his early tendency to use versions of his name which were not immediately recognizable. His first work (Marcel 1820), for example, was published in London under the name ‘C.V.A. Marcel’, and a later text (Marcel 1833) was privately printed for limited distribution and appeared under the pseudonym ‘Annibal Marcel’.\footnote{The dedication to ‘diplomatists’ (p. [i]) and reference to its author’s connections with Cork (p. xxiv) support the attribution of this neglected work to Claude Marcel. In this connection I should emphasize that the 1820 and 1853 works are by one and the same author, despite the length of the time between their dates of publication (I add this clarification since Tickoo (1982b, 1984) has attributed them to different Marcels).} After the 1848 revolution he felt secure enough to publish his magnum opus, *Language as a Means of Mental Culture and International Communication* (1853), but he still chose a London publisher and wrote in English (he never prepared a full French translation). His professional life also flourished after 1848; the new Louis-Napoleon regime recognized Cork as a consulate in its own right (not merely a sub-section of Dublin) and made Marcel a Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur. His salary was doubled and he later received a special 1000-franc bonus.

Little of Marcel’s early work suggests the scale of his later achievement. His short 1820 essay, while more balanced in tone than the slightly later works by Hamilton and Jacotot, simply sketches out arguments in favour of the teaching of French (as an alternative to Latin) in schools, and presents ideas specifically for classroom teaching which were to be treated much more systematically in Marcel 1853. It is significant, however, that in his first (1820) work he emphasized the importance of the spoken language, expressing his support for ‘natural’ methods of teaching. In Marcel 1833, which was not intended for a wide readership, but which contains several interesting comments on the (by then) well-known ideas of Hamilton and Jacotot, there are further flashes of originality. Drawing on his observations of children learning their mother tongue, Marcel recognized, for example, the central role of phrases, which ‘though detached from one another still
retain some family connection' (1833: xvii). Marcel built his oral method around these items, claiming to differ in this respect from Hamilton: 'according to Mr Hamilton, a language is composed of words; according to us, a language is formed of phrases' (1833: xxiii).

Marcel divided his major (1853) work into two parts, the first dealing with language as a branch of education, the second exploring the first part's implications for language teaching methodology. In his 'preliminary discourse' he summarizes his aims for the work (or 'essay' as he calls it) in the following manner:

in the First Part of this essay, [we] lay down the principles which should guide in the teaching and acquiring of languages; and in the Second, we deduce from these principles precepts and processes which will, we trust, be found both rational and practicable. Recent improvements are combined with what has proved successful in long practice; and, throughout, we take for our guide the natural process by which all so unfailingly acquire the native tongue. Thus reason, experience and nature concur in laying a solid foundation on which the study of languages may rest.

(Marcel 1853, I: viii)

The whole rests on his first 'axiomatic truth' that: 'the method of nature is the archetype of all methods, and especially of the method of learning languages' (1853, I: 216). Part I offers a series of interlocking arguments, beginning with a definition of education in terms relating to the human condition — body, mind and spirit — as reflected in a three-way distinction between physical, intellectual and moral education (1853, I: 1–95). A more detailed analysis concerns how to develop the mental faculties systematically in accordance with the growing capacities of the child, through four 'educational periods' (1853, I: 11): infancy (pre-school), childhood (primary school), adolescence (secondary school) and puberty (professional education). Marcel then moves on to language (1853, I: 97–155), in a section that culminates in a critique of existing practice in language education. After a detour to introduce another taxonomy, namely the 'three great agents of education' — parents, teachers and method (1853, I: 157–218) — he closes this section of the book with a summary in the form of twenty 'axiomatic truths of methodology' (1853, I: 216–18), on which all rational methods of teaching (not only language teaching) should be based. A key principle is No. 8: 'the mind should
be impressed with the idea before it takes cognizance of the sign that represents it' (1853, I: 217). This relates clearly to the Comenius-Rousseau-Pestalozzi-Froebel tradition wherein the experience of meaning must precede its linguistic expression ('things before words'). Taken together, the 'truths' combine to depict an educational world in which the learner is viewed as central and the responsibility of the teacher consists in guiding him or her to appropriate goals.

In Book 4 of Part I Marcel offers a detailed curriculum for mother tongue elementary school education (1853, I: 219-321) in which the notion of learning through talking is of particular interest (1853, I: 233-36). There is also an interesting chapter on the teaching of reading (1853, I: 312-21). Then, in Book 5, he moves on to the teaching of foreign languages, introducing his four 'branches of language'. On the crucial question of their inter-relationship he adopts the following position: 'although there is great affinity between these four branches, yet they are so far distinct, that the knowledge of one, or of two, does not necessarily imply a knowledge of the others' (1853, I: 323-24).

Marcel's next task is to relate his model to learners of different ages, needs and opportunities for learning. True to his 'principles of nature' he begins with a detailed account of how languages should be taught in a naturalistic way, particularly to young learners (1853, I: 323-32). In almost every detail he foreshadows the ideas Heness, Sauveur and Berlitz which came to prominence twenty or so years later. Learning should be oral (hearing and speaking first, reading and writing later, if at all) and the teaching of meaning should occur via pictures, objects, actions and so on rather than translation. As he had previously emphasized (Marcel 1833: xvii), the language to be taught should consist of phrases rather than isolated words (1853, I: 328-31), and there should be plenty of practice. Marcel recognized, however, that naturalistic methods of this kind depended on the availability of teachers who were fluent speakers of the foreign language. They would suit families with live-in foreign tutors, families living abroad, and so on, better than orthodox classrooms. Although such methods were more likely to be used with young children than with older learners, '[they] would prove equally useful to all those who learn from a foreigner unacquainted with their language' (1853, I: 331). Later in the century it became the business of the Berlitz schools to provide such foreigners to teach adult learners.
However, Marcel accepted that his natural methods were only possible with appropriate teachers and that most language teaching had to take place without such assets. There was also a growing population of self-taught learners. His solution to the problem was to restructure his model and promote reading into the first position, giving the new order: reading, hearing, speaking and writing.

The full title of the work includes both ‘mental culture’ (that is, cognitive development) and ‘international communication’. Although precedence tended to be given to the former, particularly in schools, Marcel never loses sight of the growing need for a practical everyday knowledge of foreign languages: ‘let a rational method of learning languages bring men of all nations into communion as steam has brought them into contact’ (1853, I: 200). And he has a very modern vision of a Europe in which people learn to understand each other’s languages, so that everyone can write (or speak) in their mother tongue (1853, I: 338–39).

Marcel returned to France in the late 1850s and during his retirement years issued a number of publications which tended to restate or exemplify ideas already expressed in 1853, although often in a somewhat simplified form. His (1867) L’Étude des langues is largely a summary of certain parts of Marcel 1853 but with an even greater emphasis on the need for a ‘reading first’ approach. An English version — The Study of Languages Brought Back to Its True Principles — was issued in New York in 1869. Around 1875 Marcel issued a small pamphlet in which he made a final attempt to popularize his ‘rational’ natural method for a wider audience. In the 1870s, he had also brought out a number of learning materials, including synoptic tables for the learning of English grammar, and various reading texts. When he died (on 17 January 1876) he appears to have been working on a comparative grammar of French and English (Marcel 1875[?]: inside front cover), a project which recalls the opening pages of his 1820 essay, where he criticized the pedagogical grammars available at the time.

1.3 Thomas Prendergast

Like Marcel, Thomas Prendergast (1806–86) was an expatriate whose own experiences abroad had convinced him of the need for foreign language learning.
Prendergast had no experience of actually teaching languages, however, and, unlike Marcel, had little interest, apparently, in the reform of foreign language instruction in schools. Instead, his 'Mastery System' was specially designed for self-instruction (Prendergast 1864: ix). In a comparable manner to Marcel, and at a roughly equivalent time (in the 1860s and early 1870s), Prendergast devoted his retirement years to the elaboration of this system which, while far narrower and more utilitarian than Marcel's, lent itself more readily to the production of innovative textbook materials, and which accordingly gained him wider contemporary renown.

Prendergast, an Englishman, had spent many years in the service of the East India Company. His father, Sir Jeffery Prendergast, had also been in the service of the Company, becoming colonel of the 39th native infantry in 1825. Thomas Prendergast was himself nominated a writer in the East India Company's service on 23 June 1826, and became assistant to the (tax) collector of Tanjore, Madras presidency in 1828. He then gained further experience as collector and (from 1831) magistrate and assistant judge in a variety of South Indian towns. Most of his time in India was spent as collector and magistrate in Rajahmundry (from around 1838) until he retired in his early fifties on the East India Company's annuity fund, in 1858 or 1859. By this time Prendergast had gained some proficiency in the Madras vernacular languages, Tamil and Telugu.

On his return to England he settled in Cheltenham but soon became totally blind. Despite this misfortune, he devoted himself to the popularization and improvement of what he called the 'Mastery' system of learning languages, which he claimed to have himself applied in his own language learning. Prendergast's system is expounded mainly in two books, his 1864 theoretical work, The Mastery of Languages, and his (1868a) Handbook to the Mastery Series. For further details of the Mastery System, see 2.1 in the body of the thesis.

8 My sources for biographical information relating to Thomas Prendergast are Anon. 1886 and Boase 1896.
1.4 The 'Natural Method group'

The ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), whose importance for the teaching of children had already been acknowledged by Marcel (1853), appear to have made a lasting impact on adult language teaching largely as a result of the efforts of the four European emigrants to the United States who constitute what might be termed the 'Natural Method group'. Two of them were German (Gottfried Heness and Maximilian Delphinus Berlitz, and two of them French (Lambert Sauveur and Nicolas Joly).

Heness was a devotee of Pestalozzi and his object lessons, which had originally been developed to extend the use of the mother tongue. In 1865, while Heness was explaining to a friend the advantages of object teaching as used in Southern Germany to help children in 'overcoming' their dialects, the thought occurred to him that this means might also be employed in foreign language teaching ('this is a book', 'it is big', 'it is blue', and so on). In 1866–67 he started a private German school in New Haven, Connecticut, and promised to teach the sons of several Yale College professors to speak German fluently in one school year. The experiment appears to have been successful, and two years later he added French to his curriculum and Lambert Sauveur to his staff.

Lambert Sauveur (1826–1907) had himself arrived in America as an immigrant in the late 1860s. He settled in New Haven, where he met Heness. Sauveur clearly had the necessary enthusiasm and panache Heness's 'conversational' style of teaching required and he ran a French course along the lines suggested by Heness for faculty members at Yale. By 1869, Heness and Sauveur had moved to Boston and jointly opened their own 'School of Modern Languages'. The school prospered, and they held summer courses for teachers to spread the word about their new method. They also began to publish reports of and texts relating to their teaching experiences. Sauveur was particularly active, and it was his name that became most associated with the 'Natural Method' (as it came to be known), due to his enthusiastic propagation of it at summer schools and to the

9 My sources for biographical information on Gottfried Heness and Lambert Sauveur are Kroeh 1887 and Larudee (1964: 123–26).
popularity of his *Introduction to the Teaching of Living Languages Without Grammar or Dictionary* (Sauveur 1874a). This work is an extended introduction to the conversation skeletons which constitute *Causeries avec mes élèves* (Sauveur 1874b). For more on the 'Natural Method' itself, see 2.1 in the body of the thesis.

Maximilian Berlitz (1852–1921), born in southern Germany into a family of teachers, emigrated to the United States in the early 1870s and opened a language school in Providence, Rhode Island in 1878. There he employed a recent immigrant from France, Nicolas Joly, who could not speak English. When Berlitz fell ill due to the work involved in getting his school going, Joly is said to have succeeded quite well with wholly monolingual teaching procedures, and this, according to the Berlitz organisation, is what led to the 'discovery' of the Berlitz Method.\(^\text{10}\)

However, there is really very little overall difference between Berlitz's approach and that proposed by Heness and Sauveur, and it seems more than likely that either Berlitz or Joly had been exposed to the ideas of their near-neighbours. Further information on Berlitz's career and the Berlitz Method itself is provided in 2.1 in the body of the thesis.

1.5 François Gouin

François Gouin (1831–96) was born and educated in Normandy, France.\(^\text{11}\) He became a teacher in Caen while continuing his own studies at the university there (he was later to dedicate his major (1880) *Essai* to one of his professors of Philosophy, Antoine Charma). He was then advised by his professors to pursue his philosophical interests by studying in Berlin.

Thus, in the early 1850s, Gouin set out for Germany, stopping off in Hamburg to attempt to learn German, and so beginning the saga of disaster which takes up much of the first part of his (1880) *Essai*. Gouin describes here how he attempted at first to learn by the traditional scholastic procedures which he had

\(^{10}\) My sources for biographical information on Maximilian Berlitz and Nicolas Joly are Berlitz Organization 1978 and Pakscher 1895.

\(^{11}\) Biographical information relating to François Gouin is derived from his own 1880 and 1886 works, Swan 1892 and Maréchal 1972.
previously employed both to study and to teach Latin. Abashed by the failure of this method to develop in him any proficiency in the spoken language, he then turns to more innovative procedures, following the methods of Ollendorff, Robertson (a successor to Hamilton in the interlinear, word-for-word translation mould) and a text attributed to Jacotot. Gouin finds failings in all three approaches, and it is at this point, perhaps, that we begin to understand the true intentions of his 'autobiography' — to prepare the ground and build suspense for an exposition of his own suggestions by means of a comprehensive attack on inappropriate alternatives. Indeed, some of Gouin's reported experiences are rather difficult to believe, in particular perhaps his account of how, having failed with 'modern' methods, he returns to scholastic procedures and makes a self-styled 'heroic' attempt to memorize the whole of a German-French dictionary, not just once but three times over. Gouin lapses as a result into temporary blindness, and, as Swan (1892: xii) comments, the story by now 'is almost as interesting as a novel'.

Returning disappointed to Normandy, Gouin describes how he finally gained revelation by closely observing his nephew, who, during Gouin's own ten months of Herculean labours, has learnt to talk fluently via, of course, far more natural means (Gouin 1880: 56-64). Gouin concludes that memorization by sight rather than sound had been a major source of failure in all of his own attempts to master German (in this his perceptions resemble those of the 'Natural Method group'). Additionally, he elaborates a theory of second language acquisition which places priority on the importance of 'seeing in the mind's eye' the phenomena which language represents. This insight was derived primarily from observation of his nephew's reactions to and subsequent attempts to describe a visit to a local mill, an experience which led him to develop his 'Series Method' (see 2.1 in the body of the thesis).

After returning to Germany, Gouin confirmed the success of his new language learning approach and completed his philosophical studies. He then stayed on in Berlin as a teacher of French, eventually holding what Swan (1892: xiii) describes as 'the position practically equivalent to that of Professor of French to the Berlin Court'. In 1864 he received a request from the Rumanian Government to act as an official adviser in organising the system of public instruction in that country. However, political instability there forced him to leave. These experiences formed
the basis for several publications unrelated to language teaching (as indicated under ‘Autres ouvrages de l’auteur’ in Gouin 1880), and he eventually settled in Geneva, where he established a school. There he composed and published privately the work which was to gain a wider circulation following its publication in Paris, as Gouin 1880 (L’art d’enseigner et d’étudier les langues).

In this Essai (for example, in the second half of Part IV), Gouin shows, rather like Jacotot, that he saw applications for his system not only in the teaching of languages but also in the teaching of history, physical and natural sciences and mathematics. His thinking on this issue is captured in the following slogan, which seems to prefigure modern ideas on content-based instruction:

Par les langues on apprend les sciences  
Par les sciences on apprend les langues.12

(Gouin 1880: 458)

Around 1880 Gouin moved back to France to become the first Director of the École supérieure in Elbeuf, then left for a German teaching post at the École supérieure Arago in Paris.13 In his private time, he taught Latin and Greek and published further works dealing with the practical part of his method as applied to language learning. Although a list of works in preparation at the head of his 1880 Essai indicates ambitions to develop the Series Method ‘across the curriculum’, this was not achieved (perhaps he had had more freedom to do so in his own school in Geneva). He did, however, publish some learning materials based on historical readings (as indicated under ‘Ouvrages de l’auteur’, at the back of Gouin 1886).

Following his move to Paris, then, Gouin mainly devoted his energies to the propagation of his method as it related to language and literature teaching. In 1885 he was sponsored by a certain M. Tempié, a man of some wealth, to carry out experimental classes for the teaching of German at the École Normale des Instituteurs de Paris. In the meantime Gouin had issued the following two reports,

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12 'By means of languages one can acquire sciences; by means of sciences, languages'.

13 The fact that Gouin was actively lecturing and publishing in Paris in the 1880s contradicts Darian’s (1972: 50) claim (repeated by Germain 1993: 122) that he ‘emigrated to America in 1881’.
both focusing on language instruction in the public education system: *Rapport à Mr. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique sur un Projet d'enseignement pratique des langues* and *Plan organique d'un Cours normal pour l'Enseignement pratique des langues modernes* (both mentioned under ‘Ouvrages de l'auteur’, at the back of Gouin 1886). Gouin’s 1885 demonstration classes appear to have met with success, and he was invited also to give lectures at the École normale d'Auteuil. These were followed by three lectures to former pupils of the École normale de la Seine (that is, currently practising teachers), on ‘The art of teaching languages’ (Gouin 1886: inside front cover). The last of these lectures took the form of a demonstration lesson for beginners in German which is reproduced ‘verbatim’ in Gouin 1886 (subsequently an English translation (adapted to the teaching of French) was published by Harold Swan and Victor Bétis (Gouin 1893)).

By this time Gouin was devoting his energies to preparing and issuing books of various types of series for use in language learning, working to an ambitious plan of work which is outlined at the back of Gouin 1886 (his intention, never completely fulfilled, was to issue a whole range of domestic, rural, technical, scientific and industrial/commercial series, plus grammatical series and auxiliary series for the learning of language via scientific education).

In his final years (he died in 1896), Gouin’s efforts to bring about change within the French school system began to meet with some reward. In 1888 the Minister of Education indirectly expressed his support, and in 1893 further official approval came with the creation (under Gouin’s direction) of the École Pratique de Langues Vivantes in Paris (Maréchal 1972: 284).

Mysteriously, Titone (1968: 33) makes a very similar (unsubstantiated) claim in relation to Claude Marcel.
1882 Wilhem Viëtor's *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* (Language Teaching Must Change Direction!) published under the pseudonym 'Quousque Tandem'.


1884 Felix Franke's *Die praktische Spracherlernung auf Grund der Psychologie und der Physiologie der Sprache dargestellt* (Practical Language Learning, described on the Basis of the Psychology and Physiology of Language). Jespersen's Danish translation appears in the same year.

Henry Sweet's 'The practical study of language'. Paper delivered to the Philological Society in London, 16 May.

Wilhelm Viëtor becomes professor of English at University of Marburg.

1885 Henry Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (Primer of Spoken English).

Philological Congress in Giessen, Germany: Modern Languages Section, chaired by Viëtor, votes in favour of Reform principles.

1886 Foundation in Paris of the Phonetic Teachers' Association, 2 January, under leadership of Paul Passy.

Death of Felix Franke.

First issue of *The Phonetic Teacher*, May.
Third Nordic Philological Congress in Stockholm, 10–13 August. Meeting of Pedagogy Section, chaired by J.A. Lundell, votes in favour of Reform principles.

Foundation of Scandinavian Quousque Tandem Society, under leadership of Otto Jespersen, J.A. Lundell and August Western.

First Conference of ‘Deutschen Neuphilologen Verband’ (German Association of Modern Language Teachers), in Hannover, 4–6 October.

Second edition of Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren, with Viëtor's authorship acknowledged.

1887 Paul Passy’s Les sons du français (The Sounds of French).

1888 W.H. Widgery’s The Teaching of Languages in Schools.

Hermann Klinghardt’s Ein Jahr Erfahrungen mit der neuen Methode (One Year’s Experience with the New Method).

Max Walter’s Der französische Klassenunterricht (Class Teaching of French).

Foundation of the journal Phonetische Studien, under editorship of Wilhelm Viëtor.

1889 Phonetic Teachers’ Association changes name to ‘L’Association Phonétique des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes’. Foundation of the journal Le maître phonétique (replacing The Phonetic Teacher), under editorship of Paul Passy.

1890 Conference on the teaching of modern languages, Cheltenham, organised by W. Stuart MacGowan and W.H. Widgery, 11–12 April.
1891 Death of W.H. Widgery, August.

Prussian Ministry of Education draws up regulations recommending main Reform principles.

1892 Hermann Klinghardt’s *Drei weitere Jahre Erfahrungen mit der imitativen Methode* (Three Further Years’ Experience with the Imitative Method).

Foundation of Modern Language Association of Great Britain, under leadership of W. Stuart MacGowan, December.

Fourth Nordic Philological Congress in Copenhagen, 18–21 June. August Western and Otto Jespersen defend Reform principles against attacks of traditionalists.

1893 Foundation of the journal *Die neueren Sprachen* (incorporating *Phonetische Studien*), under editorship of Wilhelm Viëtor.

Otto Jespersen becomes professor of English at University of Copenhagen.

1894 Paul Passy becomes professor of general and comparative phonetics at École des Hautes Études, Paris.

1895 Belgian government decrees that spoken language should be basis of all elementary language instruction and be taught through natural and intuitive teaching techniques.

1897 L’Association Phonétique des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes changes name to ‘Association Phonétique Internationale’ (API), or (in English) ‘International Phonetic Association’ (IPA), January.

Belgian ministerial circular recommends Reform principles.
1898 International congress of modern language teachers in Vienna accepts principle of increasing oral work.

1899 Henry Sweet's *The Practical Study of Languages: A Guide for Teachers and Learners*.

Paul Passy's *De la méthode directe dans l'enseignement des langues vivantes* (On the Direct Method in Modern Language Teaching).

Wilhelm Viëtor gives lectures on 'Die Methodik des neusprachlichen Unterrichts' (Modern Language Teaching Methodology) at the Marburg Summer School, repeated in 1900 and 1901, and published in book form in 1902.

1901 Henry Sweet becomes reader in phonetics at University of Oxford.

Circular of French Ministry of Public Instruction mentions 'Direct Method', recommending Reform principles.

Prussian Ministry of Education course of study incorporates all the main Reform principles.

Otto Jespersen's *Sprogundervisning* (issued in an English translation as *How to Teach a Foreign Language* in 1904).
Biographical portraits (2): Reform Movement theorists

3.1 Henry Sweet

General linguistic scholarship was undergoing rapid development towards the end of the nineteenth century, serving to create a climate of academic opinion favourable to a focus on spoken language, although not directly leading to suggestions for the reform of language teaching. By the 1880s, when the Reform Movement was launched, much progress had already been made in scientific descriptive and articulatory phonetics, as represented in particular by Henry Sweet’s (1877a) *Handbook of Phonetics*. It was, then, phonetic work, especially as developed in the United Kingdom, which was to have the most direct, practical bearing on Reform Movement proposals.

The new science of phonetics may be said to have emerged in Britain from about the middle of the nineteenth century (see Collins and Mees (1998: 455–62), however, for a succinct summary of antecedents to the ‘English School’). Three men were primarily responsible for its development: Alexander J. Ellis (1814–90), Alexander Melville Bell (1819–1905) and Henry Sweet.

Henry Sweet (1845–1912) was a pupil and admirer of Bell, but his own work was to have a much more decisive impact on the development of phonetics in Britain and abroad (it was not until the publication of Sweet’s (1877a) *Handbook of Phonetics*, for example, that Sievers, in the second (1881) edition of his *Grundzüge*, adopted Bell’s articulatory emphasis (Kemp 1995a: 386)). As Kemp (1995b: 385) has pointed out, ‘The essentially pragmatic approach which [Sweet] shared with Bell and Ellis contrasted with the more theoretical approach of continental scholars’, and it was this practical, descriptive phonetic orientation which appealed to language teaching reformers such as Viëtor (q.v.). Just as important in establishing Sweet’s influence within the Reform Movement, however, was the interest he had himself shown, from an early stage in his career, in practical *applications* of phonetics beyond language description. Apart from sharing his predecessors’ interests in spelling reform (cf. the subtitle of his 1877 *Handbook*), Sweet consistently emphasized the relevance of phonetics to the practical study and
teaching of languages. Indeed, he was an accomplished ‘practical linguist’ himself, with (by the late 1870s) a good spoken command of German, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic and Irish Gaelic and (in later years) Welsh, Portuguese, Norwegian and Arabic (as well as a reading knowledge of Chinese and Sanskrit) (MacMahon 1994: 92). Thus, in the preface to his *Handbook* Sweet describes phonetics (i.e. articulatory phonetics), in a memorable phrase, as the ‘indispensable foundation’ of all study of language, whether theoretical or practical, and follows this up with the following rallying call (cited with approval by Vietor (1882/1886: 27)): ‘if our present wretched system of studying modern languages is ever to be reformed, it must be on the basis of a preliminary training in general phonetics’ (Sweet 1877a: v).

By 1877, when Henry Sweet published his *Handbook of Phonetics*, he could already lay claim to being the leading philologist in England. The *Handbook* further established his reputation on the Continent, although he had just suffered the first in a series of major setbacks in his academic career in Britain, having been rejected in the previous year for the chair of comparative philology at University College, London. By the time of his death, Sweet had still failed to gain an academic status commensurate with his achievements, although the scale and breadth of these achievements, as phonologist, Anglicist, grammarian and comparative philologist, were beyond question.

As Wrenn (1946: 197) has stated, ‘Sweet founded the modern science of phonetics, made it the basis of all linguistic studies, while at the same time becoming the best practising phonetician of his age’. This he did through pioneering hand-books on phonetics, and the first really accurate and scientific recording of the sounds of living languages, including treatments of English pronunciation and orthography which represented significant advances on those of his predecessors. He is generally acknowledged as co-discoverer of the concept of the phoneme (with Baudouin de Courtenay), and his influence can be seen in the extent to which phonetics dominated scientific language studies in Britain right up until the Second World War.

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1 Details of Sweet’s career here are based mainly on Wrenn (1946). Also, on Onions (1921), MacMahon (1991, 1994), and Collins and Mees (1998: 42–48).
It is important to remember, however, that Sweet ‘combined his passion for phonology with [...] other aspects of linguistic science which phoneticians often neglect’ (Wrenn 1946: 198). While focusing on his phonetic work and contributions to language teaching theory here, I shall attempt to give at least some idea of the extent of his other achievements (Wrenn 1946 also provides a useful overall assessment).

Sweet was largely self-taught in the subjects of which he later became a master. He developed early interests in alphabets and speech sounds, and, after leaving school, went to the University of Heidelberg, where he gained experience of new developments in German philological method. He then took an office job in London, and appears to have developed interests in Old English (by studying Rask’s Anglo-Saxon Grammar), in spelling reform (partly, via another of Rask’s works), and in phonetics (in particular, by reading A.M. Bell’s (1867) Visible Speech). Thus, his interests in phonetics and English, Germanic and comparative philology were already well-defined when, in 1869, he finally embarked on an undergraduate degree course at Balliol College, Oxford. Rather than studying for his degree in ‘Greats’ (Latin and Greek), he continued to devote his attention to Germanic languages, graduating in 1873 with only a fourth class degree which, ‘combined with his almost violent candour, made any hope of recognition or advancement in Oxford vanish away’ (Wrenn 1946: 182). During his undergraduate years at Oxford, he had, however, begun to make some of the academic contributions which were to establish his greatness in his own chosen fields. He first contributed to the Transactions of the Philological Society in 1869, with a ‘History of the “th” in English’, and in 1871–72 published a two-volume edition of King Alfred’s translation of the Cura Pastoralis of Gregory the Great, in which he laid entirely new foundations for the study of Anglo-Saxon grammar and dialectology. In particular, a ground-breaking appendix clarified a new phonetic approach to Old English in the light of the observed facts of living languages: indeed, as Wrenn (1946: 181) has emphasized, ‘the linking of the past with the living present was to be Sweet’s dominant attitude throughout his life’.

After graduation, Sweet returned to London, and became even more active in the Philological Society. His (1874) A History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period was another ground-breaking work, which set forth for the first time
the historical facts of English phonology in the light of scientifically observed aspects of the living language. Clearly, the phonology of living languages was becoming more and more of a dominant concern in Sweet's work. In 1873 he had begun a series of studies, all published in the *Transactions*, on the phonology and phonetics of a variety of living languages. For the first time, in this work, the pronunciation of foreign languages was being studied and presented with full scientific phonetic descriptions and on the basis of data obtained from real contact with native speakers: indeed, Sweet was to remain contemptuous throughout his life of what he called 'paper phonetics' (Collins and Mees 1998: 46).

Sweet was not neglecting his Old English studies, however, and in 1876 he brought out the *Anglo-Saxon Reader* which, along with his (1882) *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, has furnished undergraduate students with their first introduction to Old English for many years since. In 1876, too, he became President of the Philological Society, serving until 1878 (MacMahon 1994: 92). Despite the disappointing failure to gain the Chair at University College, London in the same year, Sweet was clearly a respected figure in the philological establishment by the time the *Handbook of Phonetics* appeared in 1877. This status lent particular credibility to his propositions on the need for a proper phonetic study of *living* languages. Interestingly, too, given his later significance within the Reform Movement, he used his position as President of the Philological Society to argue (Sweet 1877b: 15–16) for reforms in the *teaching* of modern languages which he was later to expand upon in 'The practical study of language' (1884a) and *The Practical Study of Languages* (1899).

The *Handbook* appears to have been written in response to a request from his friend Johan Storm for an 'exposition of the main results of Bell's investigations, with such additions and alterations as would be required to bring the book up to the present state of knowledge' (Sweet 1877a: ix). However, in a major departure from Bell and a return to Ellis's alphabets, Sweet used a notation system in his *Handbook* which he called 'Romic' (i.e. based on an augmented Roman alphabet). This took two forms, a Broad version for general public use, and a Narrow one for phoneticians (see Kelly and Local (1984) and Collins and Mees (1998: 42–45) for further analysis of the significance to phonetics of this and other innovations in the *Handbook*).
From a practical point of view, the rejection of novel transcription systems was one of the most valuable contributions of the Handbook (even though Sweet returned to an ‘organic’ alphabet in later work). With idiosyncratic alphabets out of the way, the teaching profession was able to move fairly easily, if rather slowly, towards the Broad Romic-based system eventually adopted by the IPA in the late 1880s and 1890s (see Appendix 4). Generous exemplification is provided in the Handbook, with phonetically transcribed texts in several languages. Such texts were to form an important component of Reform Movement innovations in later years (although Sweet’s own preference for omitting word breaks was not greeted with as much enthusiasm by teachers and students as he would, perhaps, have liked).

On the Continent, Sweet’s Handbook was particularly well-received (MacMahon 1991: 15). As Collins and Mees (1998: 43) have indicated, ‘it can fairly be said that [with this book] Henry Sweet awakened the minds of many people — in Britain, continental Europe and elsewhere — to the very existence of phonetics’.

Following the publication of the Handbook, Sweet engaged single-mindedly over a seven-year period in work which was to distinguish him as ‘the greatest philologist that [Britain] has produced’ (Onions (1921: 519), an assessment repeated later by Wrenn (1946: 177). This work bore final fruit in The Oldest English Texts (1885a), completing the project to lay the foundations of Old English dialectology which he had begun with his 1871–72 Cura Pastoralis.

The mid-1880s saw a major turning-point in Sweet’s career (Wrenn 1946: 183). Following his Second Anglo-Saxon Reader of 1887, he more or less abandoned publication in Anglo-Saxon studies, and began to focus on wider linguistic issues, notably the theory and practice of grammar, and comparative philology. The outward event which may have occasioned this change of direction was Sweet’s ‘astonishing failure’ (Wrenn 1946: 184) to be awarded the newly-established Merton Professorship of English Language and Literature at Oxford. Thenceforth he ceased to take an active role in the Philological Society and, although he is said to have ‘longed for’ practical experience as a university teacher (ibid.), he continued for many more years to work alone and without formal academic recognition or ties.
This lack of recognition in his own country (unmitigated by his undoubted fame on the Continent) may have led to his becoming dissatisfied with one great piece of work after another in which he had been a brilliant pioneer, turning his attention instead to other fields of study. This may be one explanation of the fact that, although in his (1884a) address to the Philological Society Sweet mentions that he had, in 1876, written a complete treatise on the 'Practical Study of Language' which he was hoping to revise and bring out shortly (pp. 577–78), this was not in fact published until 1899 (as The Practical Study of Languages).

The 1884 paper, one of Sweet's last contributions to the Transactions, takes up and greatly expands upon some thoughts on the 'practical study of language' which he had offered in 1877 in the course of his own Presidential Address to the Society (1877b: 15–16). ('Practical study', he was later to clarify, involves 'learning to understand, read, speak, write a language', as distinct from 'theoretical study' which, for him, as for most nineteenth-century philologists, still meant above all 'studying its history and etymology' (Sweet 1899: 1)). By 1884, J.A.H. Murray (1837–1915), chief editor of the Oxford English Dictionary (whose first volume was to appear later in the same year), had served as President of the Philological Society for some time, and Sweet's contribution is just one of several papers on philological matters which were presented following Murray's own address.

The contents and style of this (1884a) paper are quite polemical in comparison with the more restrained, conventionally scholarly tone of other contributions at the same meeting, and in comparison with Sweet's own later (1899) treatise. Evidently, he held particularly strong views on the subject, and this had been apparent also in his earlier (1877b) contribution, where he poured scorn, in a famous footnote, on the way he had himself been taught Greek by means of sentences for translation including 'The philosopher pulled the lower jaw of the hen' (Sweet 1877b: 15): as this led him to say then, 'The present practice of making the classics of a language the vehicle of elementary linguistic instruction is a most detestable one, and deserves the severest condemnation' (Sweet 1877b: 16). Sweet's 'activism' is apparent also in his decision to support contemporary agitation for orthographic reform by printing the paper in a 'reformed spelling' which is, however, much easier on the untrained eye than the systems proposed in the Appendix to the (1877a) Handbook.
The following quotation from the paper perhaps best sums up Sweet’s overall position:

The general result we have arrived at is the recognition of a science of living, as opposed to dead, or antiquarian philology, based on phonology and psychology. This science in its practical application is the indispensable foundation of the study of our own and foreign languages, of dialectology, and of historical and comparative philology.

(Sweet 1884a: 593)

As later in his more polished (1899) work, Sweet took a very broad view of the ‘practical study’ of languages, by no means confining himself to the reform of teaching in schools. In the above quotation, as in his later work, he clearly states the need for various kinds of linguistic practice to be grounded firmly in scientific theory, and thus prefigures ‘applied linguistics’ as conceived of in the second half of the twentieth century.

As Sweet notes in his 1884 paper, his (1885b) *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (‘Primer of Spoken English’) was conceived as a ‘practical exemplification of the [teaching/learning] methods I advocate’ (Sweet 1884a: 578). Among the principles suggested in that paper, two stand out as having been of particular importance in Sweet’s mind when he came to prepare the texts which were the *Elementarbuch*’s most innovative and, for teachers and students alike, perhaps most useful feature: (1) the need to ‘discard the ordinary spelling entirely in teaching pronunciation, and substitute a purely fonetic [sic] one’ (Sweet 1884a: 582), and (2) the need to employ ‘connected texts, written in the simplest and directest colloquial style, and containing as few rare words and phrases as possible’ (Sweet 1884a: 587, emphasis in original). Additionally, Sweet’s strong belief in the integrity of the spoken language, seen as consisting of groups of sounds, independently of conventional written symbols, is evident in the following quotation: ‘each sentence should be analysed and mastered phonetically before its grammatical analysis is attempted’ (Sweet 1884a: 584). This principle informed his decision (a controversial one as it turned out) to substitute stress-division for word-division in the transcribed texts of the *Elementarbuch*. 

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Sweet was already both skilled and commercially successful as a writer of materials for relative beginners, having produced an *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (in 1876) and an *Anglo-Saxon Primer* (in 1882), both of which were to go through numerous editions and be used by students for generations to come. He had recently (in 1884) published a *First Middle English Primer*, and in 1885–87 he was to be particularly productive in terms of textbook production: alongside the *Elementarbuch*, these years saw the publication of his *Second Middle English Primer* (1886a), *An Icelandic Primer* (1886b) and *Second Anglo-Saxon Reader* (1887).

Wrenn (1946: 182) has noted that these textbooks demonstrate that Sweet 'was a born teacher of the highest quality', but they seem to have been designed for self-study purposes rather than, specifically, classroom teaching, a field in which he lacked experience due to his unfortunate failure to gain a university position (he did, though, work as a private tutor). Wrenn also implies (ibid.) that Sweet may have *needed* to produce manuals for financial reasons, and Atherton (1996b: 2) comments that the use of a phonetic script for the texts to be studied in the *Elementarbuch*, combined with its abandonment of conventional word-boundaries, was a 'daring innovation, which might have proved disastrous to sales'.

Nevertheless, sales of the *Elementarbuch* in Germany were to be brisk (a second edition was called for very soon afterwards, in 1886), and an English version was produced in 1890 under the title *Primer of Spoken English*. Although this included an entirely new selection of texts, the contents of the initial Grammar section were left largely unchanged. The foreword to the *Primer* is of interest for the light it throws on Sweet's (avowed) original intentions in writing the *Elementarbuch*. He stresses, for example, that he had conceived of the book as 'in the first place a contribution to English dialectology' and only secondly as a 'contribution to the practical study of English both for natives and foreigners' (Sweet 1890: ix–x). He reports criticisms (which he terms 'nonsense') about his 'plain statement of facts being a blow aimed at correctness of speech' (p. ix), noting that some British critics had mistakenly thought the *Elementarbuch* represented broad Cockney (a similar battle between descriptivism and prescriptivism was later to characterize criticisms of Daniel Jones in 1910 by the future Poet Laureate Robert Bridges: see Collins and Mees 1998: 104–11). Sweet further clarifies his intentions in the following manner:
The object of this book is to give a faithful picture — a phonetic photograph — of educated spoken English as distinguished from vulgar and provincial English on the one hand, and literary English on the other hand. At the same time I must disclaim any intention of setting up a standard of spoken English. All I can do is to record those facts which are accessible to me — to describe a variety of English of which I have a personal knowledge, that is, the educated speech of London and the district round it.

(Sweet 1890: v)

He also asks his critics to focus on the innovations introduced in the Primer and the Elementarbuch, noting that they are the only books ‘in any language’ that ‘give adequate phonetic texts with the sentence-stress and the intonation marked throughout’ (Sweet 1890: ix).

Sweet’s need to justify republication of the Elementarbuch in an English version, as well as to respond to his British critics, perhaps led him to place such emphasis in this (1890) foreword on the Primer’s usefulness as a scholarly contribution, and for ‘practical study’ by native speakers of English. (On the latter point, note Sweet’s strong belief in the ‘advisability of basing all study of foreign languages on a thorough knowledge of our own in its relation to the laws of general grammar’ (Sweet 1884a: 591).)

The foreword to the first edition of the Elementarbuch probably presents a truer picture of Sweet’s original intentions: he states that it is an introduction (Einleitung) to the linguistic as well as (’sowohl als’) purely practical study of spoken English (p. iii). Little justification for publication was required by his expectant Continental readership, and the book had a major role to play in ‘making genuine spoken English accessible to foreigners’ (Sweet 1885b: viii).

As noted above, publication of the Elementarbuch had been eagerly awaited on the Continent. In the academic year 1887–88, Klinghardt began to use it as a classroom text, and reported on his experiences in an influential (1888) account. Feedback from practitioners such as Klinghardt and critics such as Passy and Jespersen may have led to Sweet’s decision in his (1890) Primer to substitute word- for the stress-division of the Elementarbuch, though in the third (1891) edition of the latter work no such modification was made. As Sweet (1890: x) stated, ‘I am still unable to decide which method is preferable’. The addition of transliterations
into conventional orthography in the second and third editions (placed opposite individual texts, and following the body of all the texts, respectively) may have represented an attempt on Sweet's part to simplify matters for teachers and students, in the light of feedback.

Finally, the importance of the *Elementarbuch* in influencing the provision of connected texts according to Reform principles should not be underestimated. Sweet provided a 'strong version' of scientific phonetic transcription which could be built on and modified by other reformers (including textbook writers) in the light of practical pedagogic experience. Apart from that, the nature and contents of the texts he chose, combined with the hints he provided on text selection in his 1884a paper (which were expanded upon in a magisterial chapter in his (1899) *Practical Study*), can be said to have strongly influenced the design of later German textbooks for English (such as Viëtor and Dörr's very successful (1895) *Englisches Lesebuch*) and for other languages such as Beyer and Passy's (1893) *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch* ('Primer of Spoken French').

Although the work of Henry Sweet was a major inspiration within the overall Reform Movement, he was not a 'leader' of Reform in Britain in the same way as Viëtor, Passy and Jespersen were in Germany, France and Denmark, respectively. For example, he played no role at the (1890) Cheltenham Conference or within the Modern Language Association, with the leadership role being taken on instead by Widgery, then MacGowan, of the younger generation. Above all, Sweet was an academic philologist with a genuine interest in 'practical' language learning, but without a strong commitment to classroom teaching himself. It is interesting to speculate how things might have turned out differently in Britain if he had gained academic influence sooner and been able to engage in classroom teaching at university level earlier in his career.

As noted above, from around 1885 Sweet's work appears to have undergone a general shift away from previous concerns, which may have been linked to his failure to be awarded the newly-established Professorship of English Language and Literature at Merton College, Oxford in that year (Wrenn 1946: 184). Thus, Wrenn (ibid.) emphasizes the way Sweet left behind his pioneering work in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, and turned his attention instead to the theory and practice of grammar, and comparative philology, publishing major works in these fields which
included *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical* (Part I, 1892; Part II, 1898) and *The History of Language* (1900). This general shift in interests may be one explanation for the apparent delay in the publication of *The Practical Study of Languages* (1899), which had existed as a 'complete treatise' in draft form as early as 1876 or 1877 (see the book's Preface, p. viii, and Sweet 1884a: 577). In his 1884 paper for the Philological Society on 'The practical study of language', Sweet had implied that he would soon be getting down to revising and publishing the treatise (Sweet 1884a: 577-78). When it finally appeared, however, the book was 'not merely an expansion of these earlier efforts, but [...] the result of more matured thought and wider experience' (Sweet 1899: viii).

*The Practical Study* is unique in the Reform literature for presenting a wide view which extends beyond school teaching and applies general principles 'to different circumstances and different classes of learner' (p. v). Among these learners Sweet includes travellers, missionaries, and dialectologists, and he places special emphasis on self-study (p. vi). He also defines the 'practical study' of languages broadly, taking in not only the learning of modern European languages but also the study of dead and Oriental languages, and the relatively 'philological' pursuits of deciphering writings in unknown languages and dealing with unwritten forms of speech, 'for although such investigations have not always a directly practical aim, their methods are wholly practical' (pp. v-vi).

The book is innovative, also, in constituting an attempt 'first, to determine the general principles on which a rational method of learning languages should be based' (p. v), and only then to suggest particular procedures which might be followed in different circumstances. The same kind of approach was to characterise Harold E. Palmer's (1917b) *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages* and (1921a) *The Principles of Language-Study*, both of which built on Sweet's (1899) work to further establish the study of language learning and teaching on a firm theoretical footing. Sweet's own contribution certainly prefigured post-World War II 'applied linguistics' by almost fifty years (cf. Véronique 1992).

In 1901, soon after the publication of *The Practical Study* (1899) and *The History of Language* (1900), came 'the most incredible of all [Sweet's] academic defeats' (Wrenn 1946: 193), his failure to be appointed to the Professorship of Comparative Philology at Oxford. His achievements were finally acknowledged in
the same year, with his appointment to the newly established Readership in Phonetics, but as MacMahon (1994: 99–100) remarks, ‘This was small recompense for [. . .] the injustices he claimed to have suffered over the years at the hands of less-able academic colleagues’. The key to his lack of conventional academic success, according to many of his contemporaries, even his small circle of friends, had been ‘quite simply, his personality’ (MacMahon 1994: 101): ‘In a nutshell, Sweet was exceedingly sharp with his tongue (and pen) to colleagues whose views he did not agree with; diplomacy and tact were rarely in evidence’ (ibid.). Sweet’s particular love–hate relationship with Oxford was another factor: he had moved back there with his wife in 1894, and refused to consider working for other universities, in Britain and abroad, which had offered him academic positions (MacMahon 1991: 15–16).

Sweet’s main publications after 1901 were a revised (1906) version of the Primer of Phonetics (originally published in 1890) and his last word on the subject, The Sounds of English: An Introduction to Phonetics (1908). He died in Oxford in 1912.

3.2 Wilhelm Viëtor

Wilhelm Viëtor (1850–1918) was the main initiator of the Reform Movement, although it benefitted from work by a wide range of writers. The son of a pastor, in 1869 he began to pursue studies in theology and philosophy which took him to the Universities of Leipzig, Berlin and Marburg. In 1872–73 he spent a short time teaching German in England before returning to begin English studies at the University of Marburg (in 1874). From 1876 he spent a six-year period as a teacher of English and, to a lesser extent, French in schools in Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden and Friedrichsdorf, first as probationary teacher, then as a full-time member of staff, and finally (in 1882, for a short period) as headmaster (Viëtor 1882/1886: v). Drawing on a combination of his formal academic studies and practical teaching experience, he also began to contribute articles to journals, notably ‘Die wissenschaftliche

2 Details of Viëtor’s career here are based mainly on Anon. 1999 and the Foreword to Viëtor 1882/1886.
Grammatik und der englische Unterricht' (1880a) for Englische Studien, and another (1880b) article containing pedagogical advice on the teaching of French pronunciation in which he argues strongly that spoken rather than written exercises should follow class-reading of texts. He was, however, in favour of English as the first foreign language for German Realschule pupils (Viëtor 1882/1886: 27), and his (1879) Englische Schulgrammatik ('English School Grammar') was later to gain high praise from Sweet (1884a: 582), who described it as the first ever attempt to apply phonetics to the teaching of English. Viëtor followed this up with the 1880a article for Englische Studien, in which he not only provides a scholarly treatment of issues in the description of contemporary standard English but also recommends that the teaching of morphology should be carried out on the basis of the spoken rather than the written language (indeed, he claims (Viëtor 1882/1886: 28) to have carried this out in practice in Englische Schulgrammatik by restricting himself to only the most important features, in other words limiting the number of 'exceptions' to be memorized). Viëtor was to refer approvingly to all of these previous works (including this particular paper) in his 1882 pamphlet, making use of the third person to refer to himself as their author.

Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren! provided the spark that ignited the Reform Movement in foreign language teaching in Europe and the speed at which its ideas spread thereafter is testimony to the strength of dissatisfaction felt within the language teaching profession of the time. In Germany, the foreign-language controversy was only part of a more general reaction against 'formal' education and 'faculty' training (Gilbert 1953: 9), as the pamphlet's dedication to Friedrich Wilhelm Fricke (1810–91) shows (Fricke was a well-known German educationalist whose (1881) book on the burdens imposed by schools on young people inspired this dedication).

A debate on the poor state of language teaching was also well under way when Der Sprachunterricht was published in 1882 (see the author's own citations of previous work, the details Breymann (1895) provides of 'Reform literature' from 1876 onwards, and Bahlsen's (1903/1905: 13–17) historical overview). Although Der Sprachunterricht was by no means the first contemporary criticism of the state of foreign language teaching in German schools, it did serve a very special purpose
as an unparalleled 'trumpet-blast' (*Trompetenstoss*) for Reform (Viëtor 1902: 29; Breymann 1895: 18).

For the first edition of *Der Sprachunterricht*, Viëtor used the pseudonym ‘Quousque Tandem’, drawn from a quotation from Cicero which, freely translated, means ‘how much longer must the present abuse continue?’ For the second (1886) edition of this work, Viëtor revealed his identity, partly because everyone had guessed it anyway, as he says in the final sentence of the Foreword.

The pamphlet is short (only 32 pages), but it is justifiably famous. It was mentioned and discussed by most if not all of Viëtor’s contemporaries in the Reform Movement. The earliest British reference to its importance, however, came even before the pseudonym had been revealed. The occasion was Henry Sweet’s contribution to the proceedings surrounding the Presidential Address to the Philological Society in 1884, when he referred to it as ‘The teaching of languages must start afresh!’ (Sweet 1884a: 581). This title was borrowed by Howatt and Abercrombie in an English version included as an appendix to Howatt (1984).

Following the publication of *Der Sprachunterricht* in 1882, Bahlsen (1903/1905: 23) describes how ‘In the clash of opinions [this] modest, earnest man continued quietly in his course, conscious of his purpose’. Appointed professor of English at the University of Marburg in 1884, Viëtor used this base to further the cause of reform, founding the journal *Phonetische Studien* in 1888 and incorporating this from 1893 within *Die neueren Sprachen*, which he also founded and edited (Bahlsen (1903/1905: 24) terms the latter, with just cause, ‘the authoritative organ of the German reform movement’).

His publications in the field of phonetics were popular and widely respected, with his (1884) *Elemente der Phonetik* (‘Elements of Phonetics’) going through seven editions by 1923 (this was abridged as *Kleine Phonetik* in 1897), and his (1895) *Die Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen* (‘The Pronunciation of Written German’) reaching its eleventh edition in 1925 (Anon. 1999). With his interests in German and French as well as English, he was, according to Kohler (1981: 170), ‘the most outstanding figure in the field of descriptive and practical phonetics of individual languages in Germany at the turn of the century’.

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3 ‘Quousque tandem abutere, Catalina, patientia nostra’ (lit., ‘How long will you abuse our patience, Catalina?’)
In addition, Viëtor's materials for modern language learning were widely used in Germany, notably his phonetic charts (Viëtor 1893) — Brebner (1898: 10) provides an account of their use in teaching by Max Walter — and his (1895) *Englisches Lesebuch*, co-authored with F. Dörr. Finally, as professor of English at Marburg, he developed, like Jespersen (q.v.) in Copenhagen, 'a corps of capable modern-language teachers to whom he gave a thorough training in phonetics' (Bahlsen 1903/1905: 24).

Viëtor also took an interest in the teaching of German to foreigners (he published, according to Bahlsen (ibid.) a pamphlet entitled *Wie ist die Aussprache des Deutschen zu lehren?* ('How should German pronunciation be learnt?') and a book with the title *German Pronunciation, Practice and Theory*). His interests in this area were further developed in the context of a series of summer schools held in Marburg at the turn of the century, which were attended by teachers from all over Europe. Van Herp (1910: 147), for example, describes how in 1899–1900 Belgian teachers were encouraged and given scholarships by the government to visit England (Cambridge) or Germany (Jena or Marburg) on vacation courses, and he remarks further that in 1901 the Ministry of Education chose Marburg as the favoured destination. In this manner, van Herp claims (ibid.), Viëtor strongly influenced Belgian teachers.

The 1899 summer school was announced, with a full programme, in a special supplement to the June-July 1899 issue of *Le maître phonétique*). Paul Passy and the Englishman William Tilley (1860–1935) were featured speakers alongside Viëtor (see Collins and Mees (1998: 12–17) for details of the formative influence Tilley was to exert on Daniel Jones (1881–1967) during the latter’s own period of German language study at Tilley’s school in Marburg during the winter vacation, 1900–01). According to the programme for the first session (17–29 July), a variety of lectures and practical classes were given in German, French and English, with Viëtor, Passy and Tilley, respectively, taking responsibility for teaching the phonetics of these three languages. During the main summer session (between 2 and 15 August) Viëtor additionally gave lectures in German on 'Methodik des neusprachlichen Unterrichts', and these were to form the basis for his 1902 book with the same title (as he notes in his Foreword to this, the lectures were repeated in 1900 and 1901).
Otto Jespersen (1860–1943) was almost the same age as Felix Franke and Paul Passy (q.v.), with both of whom he entered into an early correspondence following the publication of Franke’s (1884) pamphlet. He developed a particularly strong friendship with Passy, and he had felt similarly close to Franke before the latter’s premature death in 1886, despite never having been able to meet him (Kabell 2000).

Jespersen was born in Jutland, but after his father died in 1870 the family moved to Northern Zealand. He chose the language ‘stream’ in school, with its heavy emphasis on Latin and Greek, and took the entrance examination to Copenhagen University in 1877. At first he studied law, following in his father’s, grandfather’s and great-grandfather’s footsteps, but in his spare time he pursued interests in French, Italian, Spanish and English literature. To make ends meet, he also worked part-time as a lower secondary school teacher and as a shorthand reporter in the Danish parliament.

In 1881 came a major turning-point: he decided to give up law and devote himself instead entirely to the study of languages. In autumn 1881 he began attending lectures on phonetics given by Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927), and he also took classes in Old and Modern French, aiming for a degree in French and other Romance languages. At the same time, though, he was developing interests in English and German, as his early (1885) grammar of English and even earlier translation of Franke (1884) were to show, and becoming inspired by the work of Sweet (1877a), Storm (1879) and Viétor (1882).

His first publication while still an undergraduate was a review in the Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi (1883–84), but it was his (1884) translation into Danish of Franke’s pamphlet, itself published earlier in the same year, and his (1885) Kortfattet engelsk Grammatik (‘Brief English Grammar’) which first brought him fame. Jespersen was later to describe the friendship with Franke and the genesis of these early works in a ‘Farewell lecture’ cited by Haislund (1943/1966: 149–50; see also Kabell 2000):

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Our correspondence began in 1884, and quickly became very extensive, as we had many interests in common. Letters passed every week from his side and mine till he died in 1886 [. . .]. The reason of my first letter to him was the wish to obtain permission to translate his little book *Die praktische Spracherlernung* [. . .] Franke's *Phrases de tous les jours*, which he managed to finish just before his death, and my own [. . .] *Kortfattet engelsk Grammatik for tale- og skriftproget* (1885), both with phonetic spelling throughout, were the fruits of our common work.

The 1885 work mentioned here is a 'Brief English Grammar of the Spoken and Written Language', whose influence on subsequent grammars of English published in Denmark has been profound (Kabell (2000: 33)). Along with Viëtor's (1879) *Englische Schulgrammatik*, Franke's (1886) *Phrases de tous les jours*, Passy's (1886a) *Le français parlé* and, of course, Sweet's (1885b) *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, this was one of the earliest examples in Europe of learning material produced according to phonetic principles (Passy 1887b: 8). By 1886 the book had been translated into Swedish, and it was in this year that he met J.A. Lundell and August Western at the 3rd Nordic Philological Congress and, together with them, formed the Quousque Tandem Society (as reported on by Passy 1887b). This was also the year in which he joined the Phonetic Teachers' Association and met Passy, with whom he had only corresponded previously.

In 1887 he at last obtained his undergraduate degree in French (with a minor in English and Latin, though he had led agitation at the university against the compulsory inclusion of this language). In the same year he contributed an article to *Englische Studien*, 'Der neue Sprachunterricht'.

At the end of his (1887) article in *Englische Studien* (p. 437), Jespersen presents a summary of the four basic principles of language teaching reform which had been agreed at the 1886 Stockholm Conference and which were built in to the constitution of the Scandinavian 'Quousque Tandem' Society, signed by Jespersen as the Danish representative (see Passy 1887b: 32-33), namely (1) the use of ordinary everyday spoken language presented through the medium of phonetically transcribed texts; (2) the use of connected foreign language texts in the classroom, not disconnected sentences; (3) the inductive teaching of grammar (i.e. after the intensive study of the texts, not before); and (4) the replacement of translation exercises by re-tells, free composition and extended reading. The paper itself is
Jespersen's account of these principles and his interpretation of them in the context of language teaching in Denmark.

After graduating from the University of Copenhagen in 1887, Jespersen spent almost one year abroad, visiting England (where he met Sweet, Ellis, Viëtor and Sayce), Germany (meeting the phoneticians in Leipzig, Sievers in Halle, and Klinghardt in Reichenbach), and France (where he stayed for two months at the Passys' in Neuilly-sur-Seine). During this period Vilhelm Thomsen, who had taught him phonetics at the University of Copenhagen, wrote to advise him to develop a specialism in English language and literature, since an academic post in that field was likely fall vacant in the future. Jespersen took his mentor's advice, and, following a short period in Berlin (where he attended lectures on Old and Middle English), returned to Copenhagen in August 1888. He then started work on a doctoral thesis on the English case system which he was to defend successfully in 1891. To support himself while writing his thesis he taught English and French part-time, and published a *Fransk Læsebog efter Lydskriftsmethode* ('French Primer in Accordance with the Transcription Method', 1889a). This was later (in 1895) to be followed up with the *Engelsk Begynderbog* ('English Primer'), co-authored by Christian Sarauw, which was the most widely-used introductory textbook for English in Denmark until well into the twentieth century.

Having gained his doctorate, Jespersen took up his automatic right to work as an (unpaid) 'Privatdocent' at the University, giving classes in Old English and Chaucer in order to prove his worth beyond 'merely' phonetics. This paid off when a Professorship of English language and literature was advertised in 1893. Despite being only thirty-three at the time, Jespersen was judged the most suitable candidate, and he was appointed to the Chair on 1 May 1893.

During the 1890s, Jespersen continued to be best-known as a language teaching reformer and as a phonetician, although he is now remembered among linguists primarily for his (mostly later) pioneering in the fields of syntax and language development. His contributions to phonetics in the 1890s included his (1889b) *The Articulations of Speech Sounds*, in which he presented a new analalphabetic system for scientific transcription (in other words, a system, like Bell's 'Visible Speech', which does not employ Roman letters). This was in spite of his support for the standardising of Sweet's Broad Romic for more practical purposes.
which was to characterise developments within the IPA at around the same time. Jespersen's (1897–99) *Fonetik* was also a major contribution, and was translated into German in 1904.

Although Jespersen's pioneering treatments of (English) syntax and the history of language were mostly published in the twentieth century, two fundamental principles on which this work was to be based had already emerged in his early academic work (see Haislund 1943/1966: 151–52), namely (1) his assertion of the close connection between sound and sense (or, as this was later to be expressed, form and function) in language, and (2) his strong belief in the idea that languages tend to 'progress' rather than 'decay', as they adapt to meet new communicative needs.

In both of these areas, Jespersen's emphasis on the importance of 'meaning' or 'function' as fundamental to 'form' continued to represent a refreshingly humane alternative to the predominantly form-focused views which dominated linguistics in the twentieth century (Saussure, Bloomfield, Chomsky, etc.); it is tempting to view this emphasis as a development out of his early work as a language teaching reformer, including his reaction against the sterility of grammar-translation, and the emphasis he placed on the integrity of connected texts as instruments of communication (as Hjelmslev (1942–43/1966: 171) has suggested, 'les seules influences qu'il a vraiment subies sont celles de sa première jeunesse. Jespersen est toujours resté ce qu'il était d'abord'). On the surface, though, Jespersen's ideas were developed against a backdrop of linguistic theory: he opposed the German neo-grammarians' 'mechanistic philosophy, according to which sound laws operate blindly [in the history of a language] like the laws of natural science' (Christophersen 1989: 10), asserting instead that many sound-changes are due to semantic, not to internal phonetic factors. In line with this view, Jespersen expressed his opposition to Romantic notions of the 'decay' or 'degeneration' of languages from purer primitive forms: instead, languages make progress, attaining greater clarity, regularity, ease and pliancy as they adapt to convey new meanings.

These developing views were first expounded in early articles, in the introduction to his doctoral thesis, and in his (1894) *Progress in Language with Special Reference to English*. They also found practical expression later on in Jespersen's support for the development of an effective international auxiliary
language, with this project engaging his internationalist, progressivist and rationalist leanings. He was a leading member of the committee that worked out 'Ido', a reformed version of Esperanto (see Forster 1982: 126–27). Later, in 1928 and 1930 works, he presented his own, alternative, system, Novial (NOV = new, I = International, A = Auxiliari, L = Lingue).

The linguistic work for which Jespersen is best remembered, though, was carried out in two or three main areas, mostly in the first three decades of the twentieth century: (1) linguistic evolution, most fully treated in his (1922) masterpiece, Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin, and reconsidered in his last book, Efficiency in Linguistic Change (1941); (2) syntax, with his points of view being summarized in two main works, The Philosophy of Grammar (1924) and Analytic Syntax (1937): syntax, according to Jespersen, must start with meaning and investigate how particular grammatical notions are expressed, as distinct from morphology, which starts from the form and asks what it stands for. Grammatical categories such as negation and tense are, then, seen in a completely new way. Earlier, Jespersen had brought together his interests in syntax and the history of language in another original work, The Growth and Structure of English and Other Languages (1905); finally (3), he had also begun putting his syntactic principles into practice in his monumental A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles (7 vols., 1909–49) (the last volume was published posthumously). Everywhere in this work he distinguishes carefully between form and function (for example, in considering 'tense' and 'time' separately). His (1933) Essentials of Grammar provides a succinct summary of the main body of this work.

As with Sweet's Practical Study (and as I hope the above notes have made clear), Jespersen's (1901/1904) How to Teach a Language can only be seen as one major contribution among many in the context of a brilliant linguistic career. However, Jespersen, unlike Sweet, had begun this career as a language teaching reformer, had been a school teacher himself, and was to remain not only committed to the reform of school teaching but able to promote it in practice throughout his career, by reason of the prestigious academic status he had gained early on in his life (in this sense, his role in the 1890s and beyond was closer to Viëtor's than that of Sweet, who had little contact with (future) school teachers). Thus, during the thirty-two years between his appointment in 1893 and his retirement from the
University of Copenhagen in 1925 Jespersen was to make 'an outstanding contribution towards raising the professional level of numerous future teachers of English' (Sørensen 1989: 38), indeed, for a generation, all future secondary school teachers of English are said to have been taught by him at the University of Copenhagen (ibid.). Jespersen's own prior experience as a (part-time) secondary school teacher made him, like Vietor in Marburg, particularly well-suited to the responsibility of preparing future teachers, and his familiarity with the practical problems of secondary school teaching is clear throughout Sprogundervisning (How to Teach a Foreign Language), which provides a necessary counterweight in this respect to Sweet's Practical Study.

From the beginning Otto Jespersen had been at the forefront of the Reform Movement in Scandinavia, as Palmgren's (1887) report makes clear (see also Jespersen's own early (1887) article on 'Der neue Sprachunterricht'), and he was to encapsulate his experience of the previous fifteen years in the book Sprogundervisning. In this book, Jespersen advances basically the same principles which he had stated in his 1887 article for Englische Studien, though in greater detail: (1) the importance of spoken language and phonetic transcription as a basis, (2) the importance of connected texts with sensible content and limited vocabulary, and (3) the need for grammatical observation in close connection with the study of texts, though this should be limited to a minimum in the initial stages of learning. In this connection, Jespersen reaffirms his support for the analytic(al) method, or, as he terms it, 'inventional grammar' (not approved of by Sweet), which, in his conception, involves students going treasure-hunting in the text for examples on the basis of which they can form grammatical rules for themselves. The text can also be used as a basis for transformational exercises (whereby simple present sentences are transformed to simple past, for example). Jespersen is not against the use of systematic grammatical study, though, especially at later stages. Finally, (4) the role of translation should be severely limited, particularly translation into the foreign language. Instead, students should be engaged in more creative exercises, for example retelling the contents of the text, in their own words.

During his career Jespersen received many honours, including honorary doctor's degrees from three universities abroad, was a member of many academies and scientific associations, and was Rector of his university for a year (1920–21),
but he never ignored the importance of modern language teaching in schools. The effects of this commitment are made clear in the following overall assessment by his close collaborator, Niels Haislund, written in 1943:

His revolutionary work for the improvement of the teaching of modern languages has had great effects far beyond the boundary of his own country. [...] In his opinion scientific work should be done for the sake of mankind, and he has tried to do his share. [...] He has always been a friend of progress and peace and advocated international collaboration. It is to be hoped that he will live to see a world at peace, a world in which collaboration between nations is again possible.

(Haislund 1943/1966: 157)

Although this wish was not to be realized — Jespersen died in the same year, 1943 — his example and teachings live on, not least in his *Sprogundervisning*.

### 3.4 Paul Passy

Paul Passy (1859–1940) was, like Otto Jespersen, in his early twenties when the Reform Movement ‘broke out’ in 1882, but, again like Jespersen, rapidly took on a leading role in extending its influence beyond Germany.⁵

Passy was born into a ‘family of unusual distinction’ (Jones 1941: 30): his father was a noted economist and politician and first recipient of the Nobel Peace prize. Growing up in privileged surroundings, he received instruction at home and mastered three foreign languages (English, German and Italian) in childhood. He also developed an early interest in the observation and classification of speech sounds, even inventing his own rudimentary phonetic alphabet. Rather like Sweet, he initially found university uninspiring, though he eventually began to work on subjects more to his liking such as Sanskrit and Gothic Latin at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. Graduating at the early age of nineteen he embarked on a career as a teacher of languages, contracting to teach in public institutions for ten years as an

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⁵ Passy's own (1930–32) autobiography, *Souvenirs d'un socialiste chrétien*, is one source for the details of his career presented here; also, Collins and Mees 1998; Galazzi 1992; Jones 1941; and Passy 1887b.
alternative to military service (he had recently become a committed Christian, and both evangelism and pacifism were to be life-long concerns). During this period he taught English and some German, mostly at the Ecoles normales of Courbevoie (1878–79) and Auteuil (for the following ten years).

Although (or perhaps because) he had not himself learned languages in a classroom, he soon came to the conclusion that the methods then in common use needed radical reform. From a practical perspective, he placed his hopes in the idea that language teaching could be carried out on a phonetic basis. From the first he laid stress on the proper articulation of foreign sounds, and soon introduced a system of noting them phonetically. He provided his students with texts in a phonetic transcription which he later admitted was crude and in some respects faulty; however, he found that he still got better results in terms of improving his pupils’ pronunciation. At this time he had still not studied the work of foreign phoneticians, and he followed the classical method in everything except his use of phonetic transcription. Indeed, he was not to change his basic methods of teaching until 1886, under the influence primarily of the German and Scandinavian reformers. However, he began to learn that phonetics was a whole science, not just a way of representing pronunciation (that is, a means of transcription). As he read more in the field, pushed by practical necessity and his own curiosity, he became more excited about the possible discoveries and applications to be made in the phonetic field. This period of self-instruction in phonetics seems to have lasted from 1879 to about 1885 (Galazzi 1992: 119). His inspirations were Sweet, Viëtor, Sievers, Storm, and Lundell, and he acknowledges having been guided in these difficult beginnings by a few friends such as Franke, Jespersen, and the Norwegian Western. Well-prepared by his own practical knowledge of several languages, he quite rapidly gained a certain mastery.

The August 1886 issue of The Phonetic Teacher contains the following announcement: ‘M. Passy has left Paris for Stockholm, whither he is commissioned by the Government, to report on the proceedings of the third philological Congress of the North’ (p. 3). Passy gave a brief account of his visit in the September 1886 issue, but the official report, published the following year, is much more detailed, and provides a riveting narrative of Reform activities prior to, at and immediately following this important Congress.
Passy, it should be remembered, was largely self-taught in phonetics, and claimed he had gained his first introduction to the study of foreign phoneticians via correspondence with Franke and Jespersen (it seems possible that, having read Franke’s 1884 pamphlet, Passy wrote to him and Franke put him in touch with Jespersen). In 1886, the correspondence with Jespersen was continued, and he was told about the forthcoming congress in Stockholm. It was therefore Passy himself who asked to be sent to Stockholm as an official representative of the French government: he had heard from Jespersen that there would be an attempt to promote Reform ideas similar to that at the previous year’s Giessen Congress in Germany, and he was eager to collaborate in this venture, aside from wishing to strengthen ties with the Scandinavian phoneticians, who already appeared to be among the most active reformers.

This was not Passy’s first official visit; he had previously been sent on a mission to the USA to study the organisation of primary education in that country, and in 1885 he had been to Iceland to study its institutions and language and literature (pp. 1–2). His report on the Stockholm Congress (Passy 1887b) is not a complete one but is limited to the part of the proceedings which had motivated him to attend the Congress, hence the title of his report, *Le Phonetisme au Congrès de Stockholm* (‘Phonetism [a neologism of Passy’s invention?] at the Stockholm Congress’).

Although his main interest always remained the practical possibilities of phonetics for language teaching (in 1886 he founded the Phonetic Teachers’ Association which was later to become the International Phonetic Association (IPA): see below), he also realised that the phonetics of French was a rich field for further investigation. Indeed, he had already begun to issue textbooks in phonetic script for French schoolchildren learning to read (*Premier livre de lecture*, 1884) and for learners of French as a foreign language (*Le français parlé. Morceaux choisis à l’usage des étrangers avec la prononciation figurée*, 1886a), these in addition to his (1886b) *Les éléments d’anglais parlé* and an earlier textbook for the learning of English published in London.

The fruits of his studies in the phonetics of French over this period are contained in his (1887a) *Les sons du français*. In this work, all the qualities are apparent which made Passy such a persuasive and influential advocate for
phonetics. As Jones (1941: 39) remarked, 'He succeeded in establishing phonetics as a "living" science — thus making it stand out sharply from various other academic subjects pursued in many modern universities'. Similarly, Collins and Mees (1998: 23-24) have defined his overall contribution as being related to his 'ability to refine and simplify the complexity of phonetic and phonological information so as to produce an easily learnt framework which can be widely utilised'. They suggest that his Christian Socialist beliefs may have influenced his deliberate clarity of exposition, in which the elaborate theory of some of his sources is honed down to the essentials in a manner understandable to the non-specialist reader (including, of course, many teachers of languages). According to Collins and Mees (1998: 174), Passy

considered phonetics to be in great measure a useful tool in language teaching — a means by which human beings could establish better understanding with each other — and, consequently, found much in the directness and empiricism of Bell, Ellis and Sweet to attract him. [...] The essentially practical linguistic approach of the British school had more appeal for Passy than the more objective, experimentally-based researches of his fellow countryman, Rousselot, or 'the 'misplaced striving for physiological accuracy' which coloured the work of certain German phoneticians in the late nineteenth century (Kohler 1981).

Thus, in Les sons du français, Passy does not overload the reader with excessive detail or transcriptional complication in the way Bell, Ellis and Sweet were at times prone to do.

This book was to be followed up by further academic work in the field of phonetics. In an article of 1888 in the newly-founded Phonetische Studien (Passy 1888) and in a doctoral thesis submitted three years later (published as Passy 1891a), he built on work by Bell and Sweet in investigating the articulation of vowel sounds, and this work was later to form an important inspiration for Daniel Jones's Cardinal Vowel system (Collins and Mees 1998: 175). The second thesis he submitted to gain his Doctorat-ès-Lettres was a phonetic account of modern Icelandic (Passy 1891b).

Although these relatively academic studies increased his standing in the field of phonetics (and were later to gain him a university position), Passy's chief interest was always in the applications of phonetics to teaching children to read, and
to modern language teaching. In 1893 he published a further pedagogic work, his *Elemente der gesprochenen Französisch*, and, in 1897, a jointly compiled *Dictionnaire phonétique de la langue française* (Michaelis and Passy 1897), the first attempt at a pronouncing dictionary of any European language to make use of IPA symbols.

As Jones (1941: 37–38) remarks, when still a young man Passy had realised that his qualifications were such as to assure to him a brilliant academic career should he choose to devote all his energies to phonetic science. However, his interests were wider, and he decided only to devote to phonetics energies which he considered ‘necessary to discharge conscientiously his professional obligations and to earn his living in an honorable manner’. Like Sweet, then, Passy could have had a more distinguished ‘academic’ career, but he deliberately rejected university academic prestige in favour of other, more ‘practical’ activities.

Passy’s work was clearly significant internationally (see above), but it also played an important role in bringing about the developments in France which led to the official recognition and approval of ‘Méthode directe’ at the beginning of the twentieth century (Galazzi 1992: 117).

Apart from his intensive work on behalf of the Association phonétique, Passy both gave and organised private lessons in phonetics and French pronunciation at his home in Bourg-la-Reine, Neuilly-sur-Seine. These attracted many participants, with a large number of them coming from abroad (Daniel Jones was to be one such visitor, in the early years of the twentieth century). He was often invited to give lectures and courses in different universities, both in France and abroad. For him, teaching was a kind of mission, and he gladly devoted more time to it than to purely academic research. Even so, he became a university teacher, almost in spite of himself (‘presque malgré lui’, as Galazzi (1992: 123) puts it). In 1892 Bréal invited him to lecture at the Sorbonne on the contributions phonetics could make to language teaching, and in January 1894 a new Chair in General and Comparative Phonetics was created for him in Bréal’s department in the École des Hautes Études. By 1897 he had risen to become an assistant director (‘directeur adjoint’) of the School.

6 The details of Passy’s later life and career here are mostly derived from Jones (1941) and Galazzi (1992). See also Collins and Mees (1998).
In 1896 he began to give the lectures and practical classes in phonetics at the Sorbonne whose significance Daniel Jones (1941: 33) was later to describe in the following terms: 'It's no exaggeration to say that the success which has attended practical phonetics all over the world is to be attributed largely to Passy's precept and practice there'. The classes seem to have always been full, sometimes to overflowing. Incidentally, Passy was the first teacher at the Sorbonne to insist that women should be allowed to attend his classes, and a similar attitude later characterised the appointments his pupil Daniel Jones made in the Department of Phonetics, University College, London (Collins and Mees 1998: 256).

In 1897 the Société pour la propagation des langues étrangères en France (Society for the Promotion of Foreign Languages in France) launched an essay competition for the year 1898 on the theme 'De la méthode directe dans l'enseignement des langues vivantes' (On the direct method in modern language teaching). Passy contributed an essay with the same title which was published in pamphlet form the following year under the auspices of the IPA (Passy 1899).

In this essay, Passy is careful to distinguish his own suggested method at once from a purely natural method (his is based on and appeals to reason (raisonnée, p. 9) and from the work of Gouin, which seems to him to over-emphasize comprehension over production. He is also at pains to stress that in his conception the mother tongue does not need to be banished entirely from the classroom (thus distinguishing himself from Berlitz). The contributions of translation and grammar are given their due place. All in all, then, the essay presents a reasoned and balanced argument in favour of a 'direct methodology' (in Puren's (1988) sense) which is well-attuned to the realities of school-based language teaching at an elementary level. Perhaps surprisingly, the essay was only awarded second prize in the competition for which it had entered, but its contents were to be diffused widely, via the IPA.

Passy was to remain in his position at the École des Hautes Études until his retirement in 1926, apart from four years from 1913 when he was dismissed on political grounds (as a result of his publicly opposing an extension in the period of compulsory military service). This is just one example of the many-sided nature of Passy's career. Aside from his pacifist and Christian evangelical activities (the latter reflected in his editorship of the journal L'Espoir du monde), in the late 1890s he
had become a committed socialist, and he promoted a variety of causes via lectures, meetings and various practical enterprises with the same zeal he had devoted to spelling reform and the establishment of the IPA. Indeed, despite his practical linguistic achievements, they only occupied a secondary place in his life, and his autobiography, *Souvenirs d'un socialiste chrétien* (Passy 1930–32), devotes relatively few pages to them. First and foremost he was a militant Christian Socialist, and when he retired from his academic post it was to found a cooperative agricultural community which he named Liéfra (Li = Liberté, é = égalité, fra = fraternité). There, with others, he attempted to put into practice his ideal of a life lived close to nature which would combine fundamental Christianity, socialism and language teaching and learning (Collins and Mees 1998: 23).
Among the longest-lasting contributions of the Reform Movement were the teacher’s associations it gave rise to. While in Germany the activities of reformers at the 1885 Giessen Philological Congress appear to have been significant early on in attracting attention to their ideas, in France a similarly important event occurred early in 1886 when Paul Passy (1859–1940) gathered together a few French teachers of English who shared his views on the need to improve methods of teaching. They formed themselves (in January 1886) into a ‘fonètic ûñcerz’ asòciécon’ (Phonetic Teachers’ Association) with Paul Passy as President. At a meeting on 1 April 1886 they decided to start a newsletter, Dhi Fonètik Titcer (The Phonetic Teacher).

Paul Passy had been appointed editor, and the first number appeared in May 1886. At this date there were twelve members, eleven in France, and one in Belgium. Felix Franke had also been included as a member at the beginning, but he died before the first issue of the journal came to press (see ‘Notes’ on the fourth page of the first issue). It is noteworthy that the majority of members at this time were teachers in so-called ‘popular’ or primary schools, not in secondary schools (lycées and collèges) with their classical curriculum; on p. 3 of the first issue Passy, who was to become even more committed to socialism later in his career, makes the point strongly that:

It is for us, the teachers of the people, to show by our work, first, that a high general culture may be attained as well and better by the study of modern tongues; second, that the best manner of learning a living speech is to study, not the dead signs that are arbitrarily used to represent it, but the living sounds of which it is really made up, made accessible by means of a truthful and accurate, in other words, a phonetic, alphabet.\(^1\)

As was the case in Germany, support for the (phonetically based) teaching of modern languages was thus seen as a particularly important aspect of overall reform

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\(^1\) While this and other quotations from *The Phonetic Teacher* (as I shall henceforth transcribe the title) were written originally in phonetic notation, I adopt the conventions of normal spelling in reporting them.
of the education system, in the context of an assault on elitist classics-based curricula.

The editorial 'Who we are' on pp. 1-2 of the first issue provides further details about the Phonetic Teachers' Association and its intentions. Passy stresses that the Association's main purpose is not to promote spelling reform (this was, at the time, a much-debated topic in France as in Britain, being an area in which phonetics had already made its mark). Rather, the Association's aim is to build on successful previous experiments with the use of phonetic script in teaching children to read their own language, and in teaching them a foreign language (Passy refers here to his own teaching of boys from the Paris Normal School), and to promote the further spread of what Passy terms the 'phonetic method' among 'the younger and more progressive generation' of teachers. The journal, it is hoped, will 'help educate the public mind and pave the way for the general adoption of the phonetic method in teaching'. Passy concludes by noting the dearth of suitable materials for teaching by this method, and expresses the hope that the newsletter (Passy calls it a 'paper') can help to remedy the situation. This is evidently one reason behind the decision to print the newsletter entirely in English, and in phonetic script (the alphabet used is based on that of Isaac Pitman (1813–97); see Collins and Mees 1998: 462–63). The 'riddle' printed on p. 3 of the first issue is the first such attempt to provide supplementary materials; later, a dedicated 'Learners' Corner' was to cater for this kind of material.

The membership of the Association showed a rapid increase (to 66 by April 1887), but more important was the change in its composition: as the list of members on p. 1 of the February 1887 issue shows, the association had become an international one, with members in Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, the USA, Canada and England, as well as France. Henry Sweet had agreed to become Honorary President, and the list of honorary members included Lundell, Sievers, Storm and Viëtor; school teachers in Germany and Scandinavia whose names were at the time (or were later to become) particularly associated with the Reform Movement had also joined early on: among these, Brekke, Dörr, Klinghart, Kühl, Quiehl, Walter and Western.

This internationalization process may be explained briefly as follows: when Passy's friend by correspondence Otto Jespersen joined the Association in June
1886, he suggested that it would be better to have an organization for promoting phonetic methods in connection with all languages, not only English (see his letter on p.1 of the June 1886 issue, and Passy’s positive response: ‘nothing would please us more’, he says, ‘than to see a great international phonetic Association spring into life’, although at this stage he felt that ‘some more authorised name than ours [he suggests Jespersen himself, Viëtor, Storm or Sweet] should take the lead’). It turned out, though, that new arrangements were not required for the suggestion to be carried out: the Phonetic Teachers’ Association developed into an international organization spontaneously within a very short time (see Passy’s reflections on p. 1 of the August 1886 issue; Sweet’s on p. 2 of the September issue are also of interest). Applications for membership were received from many foreign countries, in particular from Scandinavia following Passy’s attendance at the Stockholm Congress of August 1886, although this visit does not explain the rise in applications from Germany. As promised in the March 1887 issue (p. 1), in May 1887 the first texts appeared in languages other than English (only French and German, though, at this stage), and another form of internationalization (and legitimization) had been instituted deliberately by Passy when he invited Sweet, Max Müller (Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Oxford), Isaac Pitman, Viëtor, Lundell, Storm and others to become ‘honorary members’ (November 1886 issue, p. 4), with Sweet being elected ‘honorary president’ at the annual meeting of the Association in January 1887 (December 1886 issue, p. 1). At the same January 1887 meeting, Passy advanced the following principles for language teaching: ‘1) elementary phonetic training; 2) exclusive use of a phonetic notation during the beginning; 3) use of easy connected texts and dialogues; 4) grammar studied inductively; and 5) reduction of translation to a minimum’ (ibid.). While principles (1) and (2) clearly reflect Passy’s own previous commitment to ‘phonetic method’, the following three seem to derive more clearly from the German and Scandinavian reformers and the close contacts Passy had established with them during 1886, particularly during his Stockholm visit (see below). The Principles of the Association, as agreed at the January 1887 meeting, were sent out together with other rules as a supplement to The Phonetic Teacher of the same month. Passy 1887b (pp. 35–36) also presents the Principles in their agreed-upon form.
In 1887 there was a shift away from a focus solely on English and towards catering for the teaching of a wider range of foreign languages, as initially proposed by Jespersen. Specimens of French and German appeared for the first time in the May 1887 issue of *The Phonetic Teacher*, and in the May 1888 issue Passy proposed that the journal could include transcriptions of yet more languages. The first 'specimens' of such languages (Danish and Italian) actually appeared in the August 1888 issue.

The Association was rapidly becoming more international also in the composition of its membership, and on 5 January 1888 the first international council was elected (until then the administration of the Association had been solely in the hands of Passy and his colleagues in Paris). At this point Passy withdrew as President in favour of Wilhelm Viëtor, although he retained his leading role as a member of the executive committee and editor of *The Phonetic Teacher*. In 1890 he took over from his younger brother Jean as Secretary of the Association and was to hold this office until 1927, when he again became President, following Viëtor's death.

French had by now been adopted as the official language of the association, and in 1889 its bulletin appeared for the first time with the new title *Le maître phonétique*, which it retained for many years thereafter. The journal continued to be printed in phonetic transcription, but the alphabet was changed to one which Passy had devised himself, based largely on Sweet's Broad Romic. Eventually, this was to evolve into the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Another significant development, then, had been the gradual bringing to fruition of a project to develop a phonetic alphabet which could be used for the transcription of all languages. The idea had first been suggested by Jespersen in 1886 and it was further discussed over the ensuing two years. A provisional set of suggestions for such an alphabet was published in the August 1889 issue of *The Phonetic Teacher*, as follows:

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Anon. (1949) gives January 1889 as the date the 'Phonetic Teachers' Association' became the 'Association Phonétique Internationale des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes' and changed its official language to French. However, Passy (1887b: 35) appears to suggest that the name 'Association fonétique [sic] des professeurs de langues vivantes' was current already in January 1887.

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1. There should be a separate letter for each distinctive sound; that is, for each sound which, being used instead of another, in the same language, can change the meaning of a word.
2. When any sound is found in several languages, the same sign should be used in all. This applies also to very similar shades of sound.
3. The alphabet should consist as much as possible of the ordinary letters of the Roman alphabet, as few new letters as possible being used.
4. In assigning values to the Roman letters, international usage should decide.
5. The new letters should be suggestive of the sounds they represent, by their resemblance to the old ones.
6. Diacritic marks should be avoided, being trying for the eyes and troublesome to write.  

In January 1897 the name of the Association was changed once more, to 'L'Association Phonétique Internationale' (or, in English, the International Phonetic Association: IPA).

In this same month of change (January 1897), a special issue of Le maître phonétique was issued which was intended to publicize the achievements of the Association to date, being distributed more widely than normal and written in conventional orthography in order to further understanding (see Passy's editorial, 'Numéro de propagande', on pp. 1-2). This particular issue is of interest mainly for the reflections it contains on the IPA principles ('Coup d’œil sur nos principes', pp. 3-10), written by Paul Passy's younger brother Jean, together with Adolphe Rambeau. This is an extract from the introduction (on 'phonetic method') to a collection of French texts in phonetic transcription entitled Chrestomathie Française (Passy, J. and Rambeau 1897/1901). The extract provides a useful commentary on the IPA principles, which had not changed since their original establishment at the annual meeting in January 1887 (cf. Passy 1887b: 35-36).

Below are the six IPA Principles commented on by Passy and Rambeau, as translated from the original French by Stern (1983: 89):

Article 1: Foreign language study should begin with the spoken language of everyday life, and not with the relatively archaic language of literature.

Article 2: The teacher's first aim should be to thoroughly familiarise his pupils with the sounds of the foreign language. Towards this end he should use a phonetic transcription which will be employed exclusively in the early stages of the course without reference to conventional spelling.

3 For more on the development of the IPA alphabet see Albright (1958).
Article 3: The teacher's second aim should be to introduce his pupils to the most common sentences and idiomatic phrases of the foreign language. With this end in view, his pupils should study consecutive texts — dialogues, descriptions and narratives — which should be as easy, natural, and interesting as possible.

Article 4: In the early stages grammar should be taught inductively, complementing and generalising language facts observed during reading. A more systematic study of grammar should be postponed to the advanced stages of the course.

Article 5: As far as possible expressions in the foreign language should be related by the teacher directly to ideas and other expressions in the foreign language, and not to the native language. The teacher should take every opportunity to replace translation by references to real objects or pictures or by explanations given in the foreign language.

Article 6: At a later stage, when writing is introduced, such written work should be arranged in the following sequence: first, reproduction of thoroughly familiar reading texts; second, reproduction of narratives orally presented by the teacher; and third, free composition. Written translations from and into the foreign language are considered to be appropriate only at the most advanced stage of the course.

As Collins and Mees (1998: 22) remark, the Association which Passy had founded in 1886 had, overall, an 'enormous influence' in the history of phonetics in the pre-World War I period. Its most lasting legacy was the creation of the IPA alphabet and its wide acceptance by linguists up to the present day; and, as MacMahon (1986: 37) has suggested, 'it was [Passy's] unswerving belief in phonetics, which at times had almost a religious fervour to it, coupled with his prodigious energy and enthusiasm, that really laid the firm foundations for our present-day IPA'. At the same time, we should not underestimate the significance of the IPA's role in enabling teachers and teacher educators from all over Europe (and, latterly, elsewhere) to form an alliance for the reform of modern language teaching. The succinct list of IPA Principles was influential in focusing reform efforts in various European countries, and, partly via the work of Harold Palmer, in Japan and other non-European contexts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>H.E. Palmer (b. 1877)</th>
<th>M.P. West (b. 1888)</th>
<th>L.W. Faucett (b. 1892)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>English teacher in Verviers, Belgium.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Sets up own language school in Verviers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Joins IPA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>Begins work in Indian Education Service, Bengal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Part-time work at UCL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td><em>The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Additional part-time work at SOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
<td>Engaged in survey of primary education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
<td>Principal of Dacca Teachers' Training College.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td><em>The Principles of Language-Study; The Oral Method of Teaching Languages;</em> Full-time lecturer at UCL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>'Linguistic Adviser' to Japanese government.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Assistant Professor of English, St. John’s University, near Shangai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Establishes and becomes Director of Institute for Research in English Teaching, Tokyo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>H.E. Palmer (b. 1877)</td>
<td>M.P. West (b. 1888)</td>
<td>L.W. Faucett (b. 1892)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Memorandum on Problems of English Teaching; A Grammar of Spoken English.</td>
<td>Study leave in the UK (June 1925 – April 1926).</td>
<td>Returns to USA for PhD studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>English through Actions (with D. Palmer)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gains PhD, University of Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Begins publication of The Standard English Readers (for Japan).</td>
<td>Bilingualism; Learning to Read a Foreign Language; Begins publication of The New Method Readers.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>The Construction of Reading Material; gains D.Phil, University of Oxford.</td>
<td>The Teaching of English in the Far East; A First English Reader on the Craigie System (with W.A. Craigie); Teaches in Philippines; Visits India, meeting West; Begins teaching at Yenching University, Beijing.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
<td>New Method Composition.</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
<td>Language in Education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection.</td>
<td></td>
<td>English Composition Made Easy; Begins teaching at Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo; Member of IRET Board of Administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Second Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Returns to USA, then UK?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>The Grading and Simplifying of Literary Material; This Language-Learning Business (with H.V. Redman).</td>
<td>Resigns from Dacca Teachers’ Training College; Returns to UK.</td>
<td>A Study of English Word-Values (with I. Maki); Begins studies at Yale as a Carnegie Research Fellow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
H.E. Palmer (b. 1877)  |  M.P. West (b. 1888)  |  L.W. Faucett (b. 1892)

1933  Second Interim Report on English Collocations.  |  On Learning to Speak a Foreign Language; New Method Conversation Course; Lecturer, Ontario College of Education, Toronto.  |  The Oxford English Course; Adviser to Turkish Government, based at Robert College, Istanbul


1936  Resigns as Director of IRET; Returns to UK.  |  Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection (with E.L. Thorndike) ———>
Percival Christopher Wren (1875–1941) was a prolific author, at first of educational materials for India and later of adventure stories, his best known novel being Beau Geste, a tale of the French Foreign Legion published in 1924. In 1898 he graduated with a BA from the Delegacy of Non-Collegiate Students (later, St. Catherine’s College), Oxford, where he had spent much of his time engaged in sports (cricket, football, boxing and golf). Before joining the Indian Educational Service in 1903 he spent five years in a variety of adventurous pursuits, possibly serving in (and deserting from) the French Foreign Legion at some stage:

After graduating, he travelled in many parts of the world, working in various employments, such as those of a schoolmaster, journalist, sailor, navvy, farm labourer, explorer, hunter, and costermonger. He served as a trooper in a British Cavalry regiment and spent some time as a member of the French Foreign Legion. Then he settled down in India for 10 years.

(Obituary in The Times, 24 November 1941)

Soon after arriving in India Wren was appointed Headmaster of Karachi High School and he also served as an educational inspector in Sind (1904–06). He later (in 1910) became Assistant Director of public instruction in the Bombay Presidency, and between then and the outbreak of the First World War was

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1 Details of Wren’s life and career are based on Oxley (1993) and an unattributed obituary in The Times, 24 November 1941, unless otherwise stated. I am grateful to John Venmore for his help in shedding light on certain aspects.

2 Oxley’s (1993) entry for the Dictionary of National Biography lists his occupations in this period rather prosaically as ‘schoolmaster and other jobs’, apparently preferring to stick to well-sourced facts. Indeed, the French Foreign Legion ‘deny that he was ever enlisted in its ranks’ (Stableford 1993: 366). But Wren’s own explanation was as follows: ‘I contracted to serve France for five years [. . .]. I was seeking a short holiday, experience, change, rest and romance; and, though I was not fleeing from justice, I took a name that wasn’t my own purely in the spirit of make-believe’ (cited in Anon. 1994: [ii]). The story passed down in his family is that he enlisted but then deserted and travelled south from North Africa to Nigeria after a ‘fracas’ with a senior officer (John Venmore, personal communication, 18/2/03).
prolific as a writer and editor for a variety of educational publishers including Longmans, Macmillan, Frowde, Oxford University Press and a Bombay firm, K. & J. Cooper. Two series he both edited overall and contributed to for Longmans (which had a branch office in Bombay) were its Science Series for Indian High Schools, and the Practical Indian Education Series. He began the latter series with his own *The Indian Teacher's Guide to the Theory and Practice of Mental, Moral, and Physical Education* (1910), and also wrote a Guide for Headmasters entitled *Indian School Organization* (1911a). For Macmillan he contributed a Teachers' Handbook to a *Short History of the British Empire* (1912b), and, for the Bombay branch of Oxford University Press, adapted a work entitled *The World and India* for use in Indian schools (1914a).

Thus, English teaching was just one of several educational activities Wren was interested in at this time, but in this area he was equally prolific. In 1912 he published an abridged and simplified version of *Ivanhoe* (Wren 1912c) for Frowde (this was the first volume in its 'Stories Retold for Indian Students' series), while for the Bombay publishers K. & J. Cooper he compiled a successful textbook on oral and written English composition (1911b), a book on English grammar (1914b), two selections of English verse and a selection of story poems for translation, all prior to the outbreak of the First World War. An advertisement for *The Simpler Parts of Speech* (1914b) indicates that this is 'an introductory and preliminary book of Grammar and Composition for Beginners in English' which 'contains 1500 easy sentences bearing on matters of everyday life and the child's common experience' (underlining in original). It thus '[a]ffords ample material for drill to junior classes learning English by the Direct Method, progressively, and conversationally'.

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3 To this series he contributed Teachers' Handbooks for at least two textbooks: on Chemistry and First Aid; and Physics and Mechanics, in 1913 and 1914 respectively.

4 Details of Wren's books for K. & J. Cooper are all derived from a notice at the back of Wren [1915], the only one of these books in the British Library. This announces the 11th edition of *Progressive English Composition: Oral and Written*, indicating its original publication date as 1912, and calls it 'the best selling book of English Composition for Indian school-boys'. It also announces the 3rd edition of *The Simpler Parts of Speech and How to Distinguish Them*, indicating its original publication date as 1914. 'New editions' of two other books by Wren for the same publisher are additionally announced, with no indication of original publication date: *Poetical Selections, with Notes*; and *Story Poems for Composition*.

5 Advertisement at the back of Wren [1915].
Wren's (1912a) *The "Direct" Teaching of English in Indian Schools*, issued as Volume 3 in the Longmans' Practical Indian Education Series of which he was overall editor, clearly represents an attempt to introduce into India ideas developed in the course of the European Reform Movement. In this book Wren notes the heavy hand which classics-based models of teaching still exerted on English instruction both in England and in India (p. xii), and pleads for 'the teaching of English for practical purposes and as key to further study' (ibid.). Overall, Wren argues in favour of a very active version of Direct Method teaching which seems at times to owe as much to Berlitz and Gouin as to the more restrained and 'scholarly' procedures recommended by, for example, Jespersen (1901/1904). Indeed, unlike many of the leading Reform Movement theorists and practitioners (see Appendix 3), Wren is sceptical, from a position of ignorance, it seems, about the claims of phonetics (p. xiv), although clearly anxious to ensure that Indian pupils (and teachers) use a 'correct' pronunciation (Chapter VI). Nevertheless, Wren shows a relatively benign tolerance for use of the students' mother tongue in the early stages of instruction (Chapter IV) which allies him clearly with Reform Movement writers such as Passy (1899), rather, that is, than with the more 'radical' Berlitz advocacy of exclusively monolingual teaching. Overall, Wren's book offers a down-to-earth and very practical interpretation of the French school reforms, showing that he was not as directly inspired as Harold Palmer was to be by ideas developed originally for contexts of adult language learning. It is also notable that, in keeping with his wider educational interests, Wren proceeds (in Chapter II) from general educational principles to the particular problems of teaching English as a foreign language. Palmer was to be much more narrowly focused on the technicalities of language teaching, viewing this as a domain largely unaffected by wider educational concerns.

In the period 1910 to 1914, Wren had also been writing fiction, and this was to take over from education as his main field of activity after the war. His first published efforts, a collection of a loosely-linked ('semi-detached') stories entitled *Dew and Mildew* (1912d) and his first novel, *Father Gregory* (1913), both derived their inspiration from his Indian experience, and these, together with *Snake and Sword* (1914c), were issued by Longmans, the publisher he had been working so hard for in the educational arena. During the war itself Wren served in East Africa.
as a captain in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers, with a period of sick leave from February to October 1915 during which he served as principal of Elphinstone School, Bombay. 1916 saw the publication by John Murray of *The Wages of Virtue*, his first novel to be based on the French Foreign Legion, and this was followed by a collection of stories on the same topic, *Stepsons of France* (1917). In 1917 he was seriously wounded, then caught either typhoid fever or cholera and was invalided home to England, apparently having risen to the rank of major.6 By force of circumstances, then, he retired from the Indian Education Service in November 1917, and he lived out the remainder of his life in England, settling in London and concentrating on his literary career. *Beau Geste* (1924) was his first notable success, in the USA as well as the UK, both as a novel and as the basis for three Hollywood films (the most famous starring Gary Cooper and Ray Milland, in 1939). The follow-up stories, *Beau Sabreur* (1926) and *Beau Ideal* (1928) were also successful, and were filmed in 1928 and 1931 respectively. In total, Wren published more than 30 novels between 1912 and 1941, mostly adventure stories set in Indian or African contexts. Ill health in his later years caused him to lead a retired life in Gloucestershire, where he died in 1941.

6.2 Horace Wyatt

Horace Graham Wyatt was born in 1878 in Chichester, England.7 He graduated from Oxford in 1901 and then joined the Indian Education Service. From 1905 until his retirement in 1924 he served as principal of various schools, rising to the position of principal of the Central Training College of Secondary Teachers in Lahore in 1918. He also gained ‘long experience as an inspector of schools’ (Wyatt 1944: [i]), and in 1917 published a survey of inspection methods which introduced ‘good practice’ in England. This was followed in 1923 by a further survey (Wyatt 1923b), this time of teacher education for rural school teachers based on a study trip

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6 According to Anon. 1994: [iii].

7 Details relating to Wyatt’s life and career are based on McKeen Cattell, Cattell and Ross 1941, unless otherwise stated.
to the USA. In the same year he published *The Teaching of English in India* (1923a).

In this book Wyatt emphasizes more than Wren (1912a) the specificities of Indian circumstances and the need for 'appropriate methodology' (Holliday 1994) in that context. At the same time he enters an overall plea similar to Wren's for the teaching of English as a foreign language to be recognized as different from mother tongue instruction in England. For example:

The Indian school tradition of paraphrase is an instance of an unthinking transference to the teaching of English in India of methods once approved for the teaching of English in England, without remembering that English in India is a foreign language.

(Wyatt 1923a: 125)

Given contemporary (and continuing) associations of the Direct Method with exclusive use of the target language in the classroom and present-day associations of the Direct Method with impositions in colonial contexts (e.g. Pennycook 1998: 158), Wyatt provides a particularly noteworthy and in-depth treatment of the place of the 'vernacular', both within a broadly Direct Method influenced framework of EFL teaching (see Chapter IV) and with regard to the relation of the latter to teaching of the vernacular as a separate subject (see in particular Chapter IX). As he writes on p. 165:

If there is one thing that previous chapters in this book have tried to show, it is that of the vernacular and English neither the learning (by the pupil) nor the teaching (by the teacher) can be treated separately without hampering or distorting the pupil's progress in both.

Wyatt, like Wren before him, argues that the vernacular should have a role in the initial teaching of English in India, and his exposition of principles which might guide the teacher in this area is a model of sensible discussion which still has relevance today (Chapter IV). This discussion was both influenced by and approved of by Palmer, who reprinted excerpts from it several times in the IRET Bulletin in ensuing years (see also Palmer 1927i: 11). Wyatt goes even further than Palmer, however, in arguing that contrastive teaching, bringing learners from their 'known'
Urdu (in his context) to the 'unknowns' of English, is an effective means of developing new language 'habits' throughout their learning career (p. 104). Thus, while Wyatt was, like Palmer at around this time, beginning to be influenced by contemporary psychological theories of habit-formation, he believed, rather more than Palmer, in the value of cognitively 'confronting contrasts' (ibid.), rather, that is, than overcoming them through repetitive practice. In this, as in other areas, Wyatt showed considerable originality of thought, while acknowledging his debt to Palmer and to other authorities. To take just one further example, Wyatt's discussion in Chapter VIII of cursory (i.e. extensive) reading, combined with his treatment of the difference between 'recognition' (i.e. receptive) and 'application' (i.e. productive) vocabularies, seems to serve as an original foundation for, or at least a precursor of West's slightly later work.

In 1924 Wyatt retired from the Indian Education Service, and his Indian experience was 'followed by a decade of life as a graduate student and instructor in Psychology in Western United States Universities' (Wyatt 1944: [i])]. He gained employment as a 'Professorial lecturer' in Oregon in 1927, then (from 1928) in California. Between 1926 and 1928 he published several articles in the journal of the American Psychological Association, Psychological Review (Wyatt 1926, 1927, 1928), and 1930 saw the publication of his major contribution to educational psychology, The Psychology of Intelligence and Will, in the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method series edited by C.K. Ogden. This was followed in 1932 by another book on psychology, The Art of Feeling (Wyatt 1932a). At this time Wyatt was living in Palo Alto and based at Stanford University⁸ but he later moved to Canada, where he remained for the rest of his life. As chairman of the Victoria branch of the John Howard Society, he spent a year in England visiting prisons and Borstal institutions (Wyatt 1944: [i]), and in 1944 published the results of his survey, together with a plea for wiser and more humane methods of treating criminals, under the title Crime in Canada and the War.

⁸ Harold Palmer met Wyatt, for the first time, in February 1932, at his home in Palo Alto (unpublished handwritten 'newsletter' in Personal Files of Victoria Angela), and Wyatt sent a letter dated 5 August 1933 from Stanford University to congratulate the Institute for Research in English Teaching, of which he had been a member since its foundation, on its tenth anniversary (in Naganuma 1934: 9).
As this brief summary of his career has shown, Wyatt's interests, like Wren's, extended considerably beyond the teaching of English as a foreign language, but he did, to some extent, continue to be involved in this area after his retirement from colonial service. *The Teaching of English in India* was brought out in a second edition in 1929, and, in 1935, in a third edition principally authored by M.S.H. Thompson (Thompson and Wyatt 1935). Wyatt's *Stories from Shakespeare* and *More Stories from Shakespeare*, retold for foreign learners with exercises, were published by Oxford University Press in 1932 and 1933 respectively. There was also a retold *Tale of the "Bounty"* which was reissued in OUP's 'Oxford in Asia' series as late as 1973.

6.3 Michael West

As a colonial educator in Bengal for a period of twenty years, Michael Philip West (1888–1973) developed many original insights into problems of teaching English 'in difficult circumstances' and, on this basis, became a prolific writer of textbooks for Longmans during the late 1920s and 1930s. His emphasis on the importance of reading chimed in well with pre-war preferences in the US modern language teaching establishment for the 'Reading Method', although it was the kind of oral methodology advocated by Harold Palmer which came to predominate in mainstream British and American language teaching approaches in the post-war years.9

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9 Howatt (1984), Tickoo (1988), Cowie (1999) and Stein (2002) have all provided overall assessments of West's career which both inform and complement the account presented here. The present account aims to add supplementary details from primary sources not previously referred to. I am particularly grateful to Michael West's son and grandson, Adam and John West, for their help in sharing with me information related to Michael West's life and career. During a visit to Bangladesh in April 2000 my research into West's work was greatly facilitated by Tahmina Ahmed, Fakrul Alam and Shahela Hamid of the University of Dhaka English Department; I thank them for their help and hospitality. I am grateful also for their agreement to be interviewed to Professor Abdul Momin Chowdury of the University of Dhaka, Dr. Sharif Uddin Ahmed, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Bangladesh, Dr. Muhammad Ferdouse Khan, former Director of Public Instruction, Bangladesh, and Dr. Muhammad Nurul Haq, former Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Dhaka. Finally, I very much appreciate the assistance of the Principal, Vice Principal and Librarian of Dhaka Teachers' Training College during the same visit.
West was born at Ascham School in Bournemouth, Hampshire, where his father, a Church of England Minister, was headmaster. He was educated at Marlborough College, then Oxford. As a student at Christ Church College, he studied English, although with mixed success and little apparent enthusiasm. In 1912, having joined the Indian Education Service, he was posted to Bengal, and, from the first, he seems to have taken his duties as a colonial educator very seriously, beginning with an attempt to learn written Bengali prior to his departure. In 1914 he published a textbook on educational psychology for Longmans, Green, apparently having taught himself in this area also.

On arriving in India, West was first assigned to David Hare [Teachers'] Training College, Calcutta, but was soon (in 1913) transferred to the Teachers' Training College in Dacca, East Bengal (now Bangladesh). Following war service, he was reassigned to a large-scale survey of primary education in Bengal, and appears to have inspected numerous schools in Calcutta and Chittagong in 1919. This work involved the investigation of teaching in all subjects; indeed, one characteristic of West's ideas overall, as with P.C. Wren and Horace Wyatt, his seniors in the Indian Education Service, was the way he viewed English teaching within a broad educational perspective. (This kind of perspective was to be largely superseded in the post-World War II years by more narrowly linguistic emphases.)

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10 Personal communication, John West, 2/6/03. Michael West's father was the Reverend George Herbert West (1845-1927), a qualified architect, Church of England Minister and owner as well as Headmaster of Ascham School. The year after Michael West's birth, his father was awarded a doctorate of divinity from Christ Church College, Oxford (ibid.).

11 Personal communication, Adam West, 14/5/03; Anon. 1973.

12 'I had a Second in Honour Mods, but a third in English Lit. (although I was top in English language — Anglo-Saxon and all that. I despised the subject and so just treated it as a thing to be crammed'). Unpublished typescript by Michael West entitled 'The origin of the New Method series', n.d. [1971, according to reference in text], in personal files of Adam West.

13 'When I learnt of my appointment to Bengal, I proceeded to learn to read Bengali' (West 1960: 19).

14 According to Anon. 1973, West first taught at David Hare College, but he himself recalled that he 'came to the [Dacca Teachers' Training] college in 1913 or 1914'. (West 1968: [9]). Since the preface to West 1914 is dated 'Dacca, Jan 1, 1914' it seems safe to assume that he began work in Dacca in 1913.

15 In an official report of the time he is described as 'Officer [of the Indian Education Service] on deputation, Survey of Primary Education, Bengal, Calcutta' (Calcutta University Commission 1919: xxxi). According to Anon. 1973 he was Inspector of Schools in Calcutta and Chittagong.
With regard to problems of English learning in Bengal, West’s conclusions were at this time broadly as follows:

The pupils were spending about ten hours a week on English study and the results were extremely poor. Owing to early elimination from school for reasons of health or finance only a small minority reached the Matriculation class [i.e. the final class of secondary school] and the time which they had spent on the language was more or less wasted. The problem was how to give those who never reached the Matriculation standard something worthwhile. Even in the Matriculation class the results were unsatisfactory: few of the pupils had real reading ability in English, nor were they able to speak more than disjointed sentences, and they could write only very slowly and laboriously.

(West 1960: 16)

Similar concerns regarding the inefficiency of the existing system were expressed by numerous respondents to a Calcutta University Commission survey of 1919. All subjects were taught in English at the university and its affiliated colleges but most respondents were concerned that matriculating students had insufficient English for academic purposes. While the majority of Indian respondents argued in favour of expanding Bengali-medium instruction, both at school and university levels, some, mostly British voices were in favour rather of retaining English-medium instruction and improving the efficiency of English teaching. West, in his own responses to the Commission’s questions on the issue of medium of instruction (Calcutta University Commission 1919: 502–04), argued against the idea of concentrating on English to the detriment of mother tongue instruction. Instead, he stated that he was in favour of making English ‘the mere second language, in this case not so much a colloquial language as one for reading’, thus dooming it, he admitted, to disappearance as a colloquial language. The reasons he gave included the future needs of the country, the present poor state of English teaching, and the fact that increasingly the staff of universities as well as schools were likely to be Indian. From this point of view he was also implicitly critical of the ‘English-only’ attitudes of some of his peers and colleagues:

In so far as English men are needed I consider that it is cheaper to pay an English-man his salary for two years while he learns the language of the country than to pay for a whole educational system for two years while the
pupils learn oral English. There is no reason why an Englishman should not lecture in Bengali as understandable as the English of a foreign professor. The missionaries give two years' language teaching to their new recruits, and they do their propaganda in Bengali — and they know more of the country and its ways than the whole education service put together.

(Calcutta University Commission 1919: 502-03)

Given that West was in favour at this stage of a reduction in the amount of attention devoted to English at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, it should already be clear that he was not in favour of the propagation of English at the expense of education in the vernacular. The above quotations show, at the same time, that he was keen to improve English instruction in schools for all pupils, not only the relatively privileged elite who could afford to continue at school until matriculation level. To solve this problem he was later to emphasize the importance of developing reading to the exclusion of other skills; this emphasis was not yet clear in his thinking in 1919, but what was clear was his concern to base proposals on a careful analysis of the existing situation, and his assessment that the Direct Method (as promoted in India by Percival Wren) was doomed to failure. The following 'short note' on the causes which, he believed, accounted for the weakness in English of the matriculate are instructive in these respects:

The ordinary method followed in teaching English is as follows:

The boy is set a certain passage of the English reader to "prepare". Preparation means that he must be able to read the passage, translate it into Bengali, and, occasionally, give English synonyms. The preparation is done with the help of an "aid" or an elder brother. But the teacher sometimes goes through a new passage giving the Bengali equivalents. These are noted in the text-books. The preparation is usually very easy for during two-thirds of the year the boy is revising. The school calculates to get through most of the passages fixed for the term in the first half of the term. The rest of the time is spent in repeated revisions. The third term is all revision.

In the class-room the teacher calls on a boy to read. The boy goes on reading for a long time. There is no rapid change of reader so as to keep the class awake. The teacher very often stands opposite the boy reading and pays little attention to the rest of the class. He never interrupts with a question. When the reading is finished the teacher calls on the same boy usually (sometimes the better teachers ask another boy) to "expound" the passage.

[. . .] [Here, West explains that 'expounding' means word-by-word translation into Bengali, combined with parsing and paraphrasing of individual words.]
Translation from Bengali into English is taught only once or twice a week. A passage of Bengali is dictated in class and boys have to bring an English version next morning. The passage is short and difficult. Sometimes it is "gone through" in class. In any case, the translation is laboured out word by word with a dictionary or a brother, and it is all in writing. This is practically all the writing of English that a boy has to do.

The result is that:

(A) Boys can read English into Bengali, but they cannot read Bengali into English. They cannot translate at sight the simplest fairy tale into correct spoken English.

(B) They cannot understand spoken English (for half the lesson is in Bengali).

(C) They cannot write fluent English any more than a public schoolboy can write fluent Latin. They can only compose "proses."

The direct method is a complete failure in Bengali schools. It asks too much of the teacher; it is useless for the upper classes, where complicated ideas or abstract words are needed. But, if only English were taught from Bengali into English, instead of as at present from English into Bengali, the matriculate pupil could be fifty per cent better in half the time. (It is to be noticed that all the text-books are in English, usually containing no Bengali at all, at most very little.)

(Calcutta University Commission 1919: 503)

At the end of 1920 West returned to Dacca to become Principal of the Teachers' Training College, a position he remained in until he left India in 1932.\(^{16}\) It was from this base, and with the access to schools it offered him, that he was to carry out the experiments with methods which are reported most fully in *Bilingualism* (1926a) and which formed the basis for the *New Method* series of textbooks published from 1926 onwards. Under West, the College 'rapidly grew into eminence', becoming 'the most widely known training college in the Sub-continent' (Chowdhury 1969: [168]): in 1921 it became a constituent College of the new University of Dacca (Huq 1969: [199]), and although it was mainly intended to serve the three eastern Divisions of Bengal and the Province of Assam, additionally 'every year students from central and western Indian states used to come to receive their training' (Chowdhury 1969: [168]). West had a 'learner-centred' view of education combined, however, with a sceptical attitude about the abilities of

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\(^{16}\) The dates of his tenure as Principal of the college (18 December 1920 to 30 April 1932) are recorded on a wooden plaque in the Principal's office of the current Teachers' Training College, and are confirmed by Rahman [1995?]).
teachers to focus on learning. Hence, his emphasis on the need for good textbook materials which would, in a sense, bypass the teacher’s intervention:

Our great principle in those days was that school was a place where pupils were helped to learn and the danger of a training college is that it tends to produce too much teaching. The teacher is thinking too much of what he does so as to impress the Supervisor rather than of what the pupils are doing, and the commonest note in the student teachers’ record book was T.T.M (talks too much). It follows from this that successful learning in many subjects depends on the availability of good text books which enable pupils to learn.

(West 1968: 9)

As emphasized above, West was concerned with the majority of schoolchildren, not only the relatively small numbers who managed to complete secondary education. He borrowed the idea of ‘surrender value’ from the financial world to convey the idea that English teaching in the Bengali context needed to provide something which would be of value at whatever stage pupils left school. For West, the spoken language focus of the Direct Method was wasteful in this respect, whereas a focus on reading, he claimed, could provide pupils with an immediate pay-off and the potential to develop their abilities through self-learning should they drop out of the system. West saw his role as that of a technician, offering suggestions which would suit existing circumstances, rather, that is, than that of a social critic (nowhere does he delve deeply into the reasons why so many pupils were forced to leave school early, for example). His emphasis on reading derived from his conclusions about the wastage he saw in the existing system, and these conclusions formed the basis for the series of experiments with reading which he engaged in during the 1920s.

West adopted an experimental ‘action research’ type of approach in relation to the teaching of reading ability in a foreign language. His experiments in this area started in or around 1921, with the main study extending over two years (probably summer 1923 to summer 1925, when he returned to the UK for an extended period of leave, presumably to write up his experiments for his PhD thesis, published in April 1926 as Bilingualism (West 1926a)). The experimentation involved the use of

17 The Preface to West 1926b indicates that he had carried out ‘a series of experiments (extending over four years) in regard to the teaching of reading ability in a foreign language’ (p. vii), while in West 1928b he writes that ‘Three experimental classes were used for the main work extending over two years’ (p. 5).
of thirteen different tests of reading applied to various groups of children from a few hundreds in number up to four thousand (West 1928b: 5). In brief, his research work over this period can be summarized as follows:

I measured the speed of different sorts of reading, — aloud, muttering, rapid, skimming, scanning. I found that reading could be speeded up by the use of Before Questions and cultivation of a searching attitude. I found that speed of reading improved in Bengali transferred to English and vice versa. It is a technique applicable to any language by training in another.

Reading must be taught by reading and that requires reading books, — books which would gradually build up a reading vocabulary. Reading means getting ideas from print, — not just making noises.¹⁸

During his period of study leave (from June 1925 to April 1926),¹⁹ West wrote up his research and submitted it for a D.Phil at Oxford, hoping thereby to increase his chances of getting a job in England (he was afraid, he later admitted, of being left alone when his children were at school there).²⁰ At first the thesis was rejected by two examiners with, according to West, little idea of educational measurement and statistical techniques. Depressed and rather angry, he proceeded nevertheless to publish it in the form of a Government of India Occasional Report (Bilingualism, 1926a). He also prepared a shorter non-technical summary (Learning to Read a Foreign Language, 1926b) of aspects of the work which he felt would be of general interest in other countries. Encouraged by Sir Philip Hartog, Vice Chancellor of Dacca University, he then resubmitted his thesis with no changes at Oxford, and was awarded his D.Phil in 1927 by different examiners. Bilingualism and Learning to Read a Foreign Language attracted significant attention in the UK and, more particularly, the USA, where a trend towards focusing on reading at the expense of other skills was gaining ground. Algernon Coleman, the principal advocate of this focus in the USA, commented on Bilingualism as follows: ‘This is the most comprehensive and the most significant contribution that has so far been made

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¹⁸ 'The origin of the New Method series'.

¹⁹ As announced in the Calcutta Gazette, 23 April 1925, p. 602

²⁰ 'The origin of the New Method series'.
available on the problems of teaching young persons to read a foreign language' (Coleman 1929: 155).

As part of the studies carried out for his D.Phil, West had produced a series of textbooks which had been extensively piloted with Bengali pupils. He later described the process as follows:

The first attempt was hectographed (copied from jelly). It was a failure. The next was printed locally. It was a failure. The third was the original 'Asses and Ants' book — good except for some mistakes. Then followed Readers 1, 2, 3.\(^{21}\)

Overall about a hundred classes were used in trying out the various printed versions, prior to their republication as the ‘New Series’ of *New Method Readers* in 1926–27 (West 1928b: 5). In their gestation, then, the *New Method Readers* were ‘explicitly experimental’ (Bond 1953: 123). As West writes in *Bilingualism* (p. 305), ‘A textbook is never finished, because the teaching of every new class reveals new respects in which the book might be improved’, and he concurs with a suggestion made twenty years previously by H.G. Wells that school textbooks should be kept always standing in type, and no edition should exceed a year’s demand (ibid.).

The overall *New Method (New Series)* scheme, as published in India over a period of fifteen months in 1926–27, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Readers</th>
<th>Companions</th>
<th>Supplementary Readers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reader 1A</td>
<td>Companion 1A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader 1B</td>
<td>Companion 1B</td>
<td>Supplementary Reader I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader II</td>
<td>Companion II</td>
<td>Supplementary Reader II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader III</td>
<td>Companion III</td>
<td>Supplementary Reader III</td>
</tr>
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Original features of the *New Method* system included: the way it incorporated deliberate vocabulary limitation, graded by stage; the systematic presentation of new vocabulary through highlighting in bold type and deliberate

\(^{21}\) 'The origin of the New Method series'.
recycling of words; and its provision of supplementary, or, as West sometimes called them, 'plateau' readers. Although he was not the first to offer simplified supplementary readers, West was innovative in his association of these with particular vocabulary 'radii' governing a core course. He was later imitated in this by Faucett in his (1933b) *Oxford English Course*, and Palmer, too, incorporated this idea into his 'Reader System' in Japan from 1932 onwards. West explained the relatively late genesis of the idea of plateau readers as follows:

The difficulty [with the original set of readers] was that students tended to forget words. I noticed also that meanings were remembered in reference to their context and tended to have too narrow a meaning, e.g. Ring — finger ring, but not other related meanings, e.g. ring of people.

So, at Abingdon, I thought 'Can I write a book within the vocabulary learnt so far?' — so as to revive and stretch the meanings of that vocabulary. So I did Robinson Crusoe (Grade 3).

[. . .] Having done that I thought, 'Can I do it at Grade 2? — even at Grade 1, and certainly at higher grades."

The original 'Grade 1' supplementary reader 'begins with fables, goes on with short animal stories, and ends with longer and more complex fairy tales' (West [1927?]: 22), the 'Grade 2' reader 'supplies two of the very beautiful stories of Mary de Morgan', and West planned to later add Ruskin's *King of the Golden River* (ibid.). Although it is quite true, then, that West began by rewriting *Robinson Crusoe* (for 'Grade 3') — a choice of text both Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1998) have deemed symbolic even though West was not an advocate of the Oral Direct Method — this was not strictly speaking the first in the series. Later West was to add further elements to the New Method system, specifically Readers and associated companions and supplementary readers for higher levels (to cover the whole Bengali curriculum), and 'Composition' books (in 1928).

The New Method system proved to be a commercial success outside Bengal, although this had perhaps not been West's original intention. Indeed, there are suggestions that the New Method may have saved Longmans from severe financial difficulty. What is beyond doubt is that it established Longmans as the major player in an English as a foreign language market which was only just beginning to be

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22 'The origin of the New Method series'.

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identified. By 1928, according to Bond (1953: 118), the readers were in use in India, Ceylon, Palestine, Persia, Nigeria, Kenya, and Uganda. After a while the original New Method (New Series) course had to be revised ‘because schools got tired of the original books’, and from 1935 onwards an ‘Alternative Edition’ began to be published. In ensuing years West added considerably to the number of supplementary readers, and these began to take on a life of their own; in other words, even after the demise of the course they had been associated with, what West called ‘the potted books’ continued to ‘go on and on’.

In the meantime, West’s interest in other aspects of education had not abated. In 1929 he brought out a further book for Longmans based on parts of his D.Phil. thesis, *Language in Education*. At the same time, he engaged in adapting the New Method system to the teaching of other languages, partly for non-commercial purposes in the Bengali context, and engaged in other textbook-related experiments:

> We made a book for teaching the reading of Bengali by building up the letters as I did in the New Method Primer. [...] There was also a course for teaching pupils to read Sanskrit without the burden of too much grammar, and lastly there was a course for Primary schools which would enable one class to be occupied in learning while the teacher taught the other class. In most primary schools at that time, a teacher had to deal with two classes simultaneously. At an Imperial Education Conference in London, I said innocently that all Inspectors of schools ought to spend some time teaching in primary schools and have some experience of dealing with two classes at once. There was a gust of laughter from the whole audience at the idea of Inspectors of schools being made to do this, but we did this in Dacca.

(West 1968: 9-10)

In a pamphlet published in Dacca, *The Construction of Reading Material for Teaching a Foreign Language* (West [1927?]), West presented detailed technical reflections on how to construct course books, discussing illustrations, pronunciation signs and types of appropriate text among other matters. He indicates here how the

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23 West later recalled that ‘The books spread all over India and to Egypt and parts of Africa. Longmans was in great trouble then, and these books saved it.’ (‘The origin of the New Method series’).

24 ‘The origin of the New Method series’.

25 ‘The origin of the New Method series’.

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Bengali reader mentioned in the quotation above was piloted with Zenana (i.e., ‘secluded’) women, but that the lack of a Bengali word-frequency list had hindered its development (p. 3). At the same time, he indicates how he had been attempting to adapt the New Method system to the teaching of modern languages in western contexts: by the time he wrote this pamphlet, a series in French was ‘under construction’, and suggestions were being considered for adapting the series to Welsh, German, Spanish, Italian and other languages (ibid.). Articles written for the British journal Modern Languages (West 1928b) and, later for the American Modern Language Journal (West 1930, 1931) also indicate that he had become interested by this time in spreading his ideas into the teaching of modern foreign languages in western contexts. Indeed, the New Method system for teaching reading had an almost immediate impact as a model for the construction of texts for French and German in the USA, and by the end of the 1920s West had developed important contacts there.

However, the success of the New Method series was a double-edged sword for West. As he later recalled:

I produced various books in English which were far too successful so that I fell into the trap of getting too much money from them. That is a great problem. The teacher trainer who produces a successful book tends to be accused of working for profit.

(West 1968: 9–10)

On 30 April 1932 he resigned as Principal of Dacca Teachers’ Training College, apparently in protest against a proposed transfer to Islamia College, Calcutta. According to West’s own account, he had been ‘had up on the mat’ by the colonial education authorities, who were unhappy at what they saw as his ‘getting a lot of money for books and using the Training College to train teachers to use them’. This discontent related to their prior experience with another teacher ‘who wrote claptrap textbooks of no merit and got a lot of money — while neglecting his

26 Date of resignation according to plaque in the Principal’s office of the current Teachers’ Training College, and confirmed by Rahman (1995?). Ali (1969: 147) states that the proposed transfer was to Islamia College.

27 ‘The origin of the New Method series’.
teaching duties’, but West felt the accusation of conflict of interest was in his own case unjustified.

Later, West clearly came to regret his decision to give in:

Instead of facing the major problem of my life, I just resigned and took Proportionate Pension.

What should I have done? I should have said that the only way of improving education where there are bad teachers, very evanescent (staying only a few years and big classes) is to get better textbooks, tried out again and again in classes, but help the pupils to learn, and [underlined twice] put all the royalties into a Trust for repayment of cost of making such books and giving money according to need to those who made them.  

Following his move back to the UK, West developed an interest in problems posed by the teaching of speaking which had previously been relatively dormant in his work. To some extent his ideas in this area were based on experience in Bengal, and it seems that he had originally intended his D.Phil. studies to be extended into full-scale experiments in the teaching of speech. As he later recalled he had, to some extent, begun to experiment in this area, coming up with the idea that: ‘the main problem was to get the class all talking (as all the class were reading in a reading lesson). I timed lessons — TTT (teacher talking time), PTT (pupil talking time) to see what maximum PTT I could get’. His early conclusions and suggestions in this area were contained in a book published for Longmans in 1933, *On Learning to Speak a Foreign Language* (1933a), while in the same year Longmans also published his four-part *New Method Conversation Course*, entitled *Learn to Speak by Speaking* (1933b). West later expressed dissatisfaction about this course, noting that it had been ‘hurried on’ and was relatively ‘chair-borne’, in other words that he had not been able to carry out as much experimentation prior to publication as he would have liked, and that he had been forced to write lessons without testing them. Nevertheless, the course sold well in several countries, notably Egypt.

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28 ‘The origin of the New Method series’.

29 This particular idea (that ‘TTT’ should be reduced to a minimum) became widespread in ELT circles in the post-war years, and seems to have owed its origins to West.

30 ‘The origin of the New Method series’.
Prior to writing the *New Method Conversation Course*, West had come to the conclusion that a specific speaking vocabulary was needed, different from that for reading (West 1933c; cf. West 1930). Following his return from Bengal his research work was to be increasingly focused on issues of vocabulary selection with a focus on productive as well as receptive skills. After a year in the UK, West accepted an offer of a lectureship at the Ontario College of Education, Toronto, where he continued his research efforts to develop what he termed a 'minimum adequate vocabulary' for elementary level textbooks (Swenson and West 1934), and to come up with a 'definition vocabulary' (West 1935) limited but flexible enough to serve as a basis for definitions in a projected learner's dictionary (West and Endicott 1935). In these pursuits he was both influenced by and came increasingly into conflict with Ogden's Basic English project. In 1934 West succeeded in gaining funding from the Carnegie Corporation, which had been sponsoring some of his research work, for a conference which would bring together the leading figures in the vocabulary control movement.

West played an important role, not only in convening the conference but also in the follow-up work of the sub-committee which had been charged with developing an agreed word-list. This list was published in 1936 within the *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection* (Faucett et al. 1936). The work of revising the list contained in this report was entrusted to the sole care of West in 1939, and, with the addition of frequency statistics supplied by Irving Lorge, he published the revised list in 1953 as *The General Service List of English Words*.

One of West's achievements during the pre-Carnegie years which deserves particular consideration was the publication in 1935 of *The New Method English Dictionary* (West and Endicott 1935). As Rundell (1998: 317) has noted, this was the first ever monolingual learner's dictionary, predating by seven years the better-known and ultimately much more widely used dictionary compiled in Japan by Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield (1942). Stein (2002: 21) indicates that it was an immediate success, requiring at least one new impression per year — in the pre-war years it was 'the EFL dictionary' (ibid.). In his preface, West explains how the dictionary 'economises space by omitting the rare and highly technical words which the foreigner is unlikely to meet'. Cowie (1999: 24–25) discusses another original feature which has stood the test of time, at least in Longmans dictionaries:
definitions based on a 'minimum adequate definition vocabulary'. As with his earlier experiments on reading, West's approach to testing and refining the 1,490-word defining vocabulary of the dictionary was very systematic: beginning with the 1,779-word vocabulary he had used for producing the first five *New Method Readers*, he and Endicott attempted to draft a preliminary version of the dictionary within it, and this enabled him to alter the word-list on the basis of practical experience. For example, 61 additional words, including superordinates such as 'behaviour', 'belief', 'engine' and 'furniture' were 'forced in' by the need to define terms, while others were found to be unnecessary.

By 1936 West was firmly established as the leading UK-based EFL materials writer of his day. Following Palmer's return to the UK in the same year, the two men continued their collaboration: West helped Palmer to secure contracts with Longmans for *The New Method Grammar* (Palmer 1938i), three 'New Method' oral practice books (Palmer 1938k, l, 1939c) and *A Grammar of English Words* (Palmer 1938h). Later they also co-wrote a *New English Course* (West and Palmer 1949) and a 'nouvelle méthode' French course, published after Palmer's death in 1949 (West and Palmer 1950–53). West himself continued to be a major figure in British ELT following World War II, contributing, for example, numerous articles to the newly founded journal *English Language Teaching*. Despite being based in the UK, and despite the ascendancy of orally based methods in the postwar years, he maintained his emphasis on teaching English 'in difficult circumstances' (and on the importance of reading in such circumstances), as witnessed by his 1960 book with the same title.

On the Indian Sub-continent itself, following Independence, there were some teacher educators who still valued West's ideas and materials. Mehta (1950: 21), for example, praised the *New Method Readers* for their 'variety of lessons, sound grading of vocabulary and stimulating and imaginative exercises'. However, while defending West's materials, he also recognized and gave reasons for their contemporary lack of popularity as follows (ibid.):

Why these books are not as popular in India as they should be is because the worthy professors and principals [. . .] raise against them the usual bogey of their English background by which they really imply their English authorship,
because the West Readers, at any rate, are specially written for Indian students.

Against this, Menon and Patel's (1957: 6–7) assessment needs to be placed in the balance:

The New Method appealed to the teachers in the beginning because of graded and well-illustrated series of Readers, Companions and Composition books, Supplementary Readers and Teacher's Handbooks accompanying them, and interesting reading matter they provided. In a few years, it was realized, however, that it was not possible to complete them in the time at the disposal of the teacher. [. . .] The vocabulary being graded, it was necessary to complete the whole book before a new book could be started. The books did not create necessary interest because they were written by the same author. Want of adequately trained teachers came in the way of the success of the method.

However, another factor militating against West's success in the post-war years partly underlies these criticisms, namely the fact that from the late 1950s onwards 'progressive' Indian teacher educators began to be influenced by the orally (and linguistically) focused situational and structural methodologies emanating from Britain and the USA (see Prabhu 1987: 10–12). It was probably this development which led Menon and Patel (1957: 55) to state confidently that 'West has overestimated the value of passive work as an aid to active work [. . .] It is now agreed that that the best way to learn a new language is through speech'. Tickoo (1988, 1991), in later assessments, has, by contrast, reasserted the value of West's broad educational focus, including his emphasis on reading as a general ability (transferable across languages), and has argued that West's focus on receptive bilingualism is still appropriate as a more realistic and useful goal than productive communicative skills in many Asian EFL systems (Tickoo 1991: 33, 1995).

While West's influence on EFL teaching in India was less marked than he would have hoped, and the jury is still out on the appropriateness of his focus on reading, his overall contributions are still remembered and acknowledged by former students and teachers of the Dhaka Teachers' Training College.31 In his last

31 This is clear from Teachers' Training College 1969, Rahman [1995?] and interviews carried out in April 2000 with Professor Abdul Momin Chowdury, Dr. Muhammad Ferdouse Khan and Dr. Muhammad Nurul Haq (see Acknowledgements above).
published statement on problems of English teaching, a brief message published on
the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the College, West ended with the following
words:

If there is a message which I would like to leave with you, it is that you
should keep on experimenting, and that a school is a place in which the pupils
learn and the greatest handicap to learning is an excess of teaching.

(West 1968: 10)

6.4 Lawrence Faucett

Lawrence William Faucett (1892–1978), an American, was, with Harold E. Palmer
and Michael West, one of the three most innovative and prolific writers in the
developing English as a foreign language (EFL) teaching field during the 1920s and
1930s.32 He came to prominence as author of The Teaching of English in the Far
East (1927a), and further established his reputation as writer of the first UK-
published 'general' EFL course package, the Oxford English Course (1933b). He
also pioneered the first year-long EFL teacher training course in the UK, at the
University of London Institute of Education, in 1935–36. In 1936, however, he
suffered a serious illness, and largely withdrew from the world of English as a
foreign language teaching. As a consequence, his contribution to the establishment
of ELT has tended to be less widely recognized than that of Palmer and West, and
the details of his life and career have been shrouded in mystery.

Born on 12 April 1892 in Quincy, Illinois, Lawrence Faucett was the elder
son of an electrical engineer, Isaac Lincoln Faucett and a devoted Episcopalian,
Louisa Denman Faucett [née Noakes].33 The family moved several times, to Fort
Worth, Kansas and St. Louis, before settling, at the turn of the century, in

32 I wish to express my gratitude, in particular, to Mrs. Virginia Barr Harris for her immense
help in providing information and primary sources which have served as the basis for this portrait.

33 Unless otherwise stated, sources for Faucett's early life are two (both 25/8/01) online
entries by Faucett's daughter, Virginia Barr Harris, in the 'Ancestry World Tree' database
(www.ancestry.com), accessed on 19/4/02, under 'Lawrence William Faucett' and 'Isaac Lincoln
Faucett', and a personal communication (by e-mail) from Virginia Barr Harris, 21/4/03.
Chattanooga, Tennessee. Lawrence Faucett spent his teenage years there and attended the University of Chattanooga. His mother and father were both active in the local Episcopalian church, and he was himself active as a 'camp counselor' and leader of YMCA activities. In 1915 he gained a Bachelor's degree in Divinity from the University of the South, Tennessee, and in 1916 was ordained as an Episcopalian minister. In the meantime he had applied for and been awarded a Rhodes scholarship at Oxford for the period 1917–19. Although he travelled to the UK he was unable to begin his studies immediately; when the USA entered the war on 6 April 1917 he entered the British services rather than return home to enlist. On 18 July 1918 he married an Englishwoman, Mariel Grace Margaret Barr, and following Armistice Day returned to Oxford to begin his studies. He carried out research in comparative philology, coming into contact with Joseph Wright (1855–1930; compiler of the famous English Dialect Dictionary) and William A. Craigie (1867–1957; well-known at the time as one of the editors of the New (later, Oxford) English Dictionary). Eventually Faucett was awarded his Oxford MA, after returning to the University of the South in 1921 to become an assistant professor of English.

In the following year, 1922, Faucett travelled to China for the Board of Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church, starting work as an assistant professor of English at an Episcopalian institution, St. John's University in Suzhou, near Shanghai. While devoting himself to Chinese language studies, he soon became intensively involved in English teaching, materials writing and research into English teaching, as shown by the list of publications on p. 88 of The Teaching of English in the Far East (Faucett 1927a). Faucett was, basically, an advocate of 'Direct' principles of teaching, and his daughter recalls how 'His direct method of

34 Entry for 'Faucett, Lawrence William' in Stowe's Clerical Directory, 1953 (publisher unknown), p. 113. [photocopied page, in personal files of Virginia Barr Harris (henceforth, PFVBH)].

35 Copy of responses by Faucett to a questionnaire from an unknown (Japanese?) researcher on his career, in particular regarding his links with Japan. Typescript, in PFVBH. Not dated, but written after 1972 according to references in text.

36 Responses to questionnaire (see note above); Stowe's Clerical Directory, 1953 (see note above).

37 Stowe's Clerical Directory, 1953.
teaching English used many visual aids, and flashcards and could be taught without the teacher using Chinese. Unlike Palmer, however, Faucett foresaw difficulties for relatively untrained teachers in using the IPA alphabet (see Faucett 1927a, Chapter 4). Instead, for addressing pronunciation and spelling problems in English, he was a committed advocate of a system of pronunciation-marks which had been devised by William Craigie, Professor of Scandinavian Languages at Oxford. Craigie had first expounded this system in a 1917 publication, Pronunciation of English, and had provided materials demonstrating its use in English Reading Made Easy (1922). It seems that on arriving in China Faucett introduced the system into his own teaching from the start. He then began to advocate it further in a number of publications issued by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, starting with his own Practical Pronunciation Helps (1924) and a 19-page pamphlet explaining the system (1925). These were followed by a Chinese adaptation of Craigie's 1922 text (Faucett and Tao 1925–26), and several classroom texts ('readers') for primary and middle schools by Chinese authors, whose production Faucett seems to have overseen (San 1925, 1926; Hu and Hargrove 1925). As the list of publications on pp. 88–89 in The Teaching of English in the Far East makes clear, Faucett's advocacy of the Craigie system was also taken up by fellow missionary teachers of English in and around Shanghai. At this time, Faucett also gained experience in 'making a set of records composed of English lessons especially written for Oriental students' (Faucett 1927a: iii; cf. Hu and Faucett 1926). He was additionally involved in 'preparing a series of four readers [Faucett 1927?b], a dictionary [Faucett and K’ang 1927?], a grammar, and several minor works on pronunciation [Faucett 1924, 1927?c] for use in the Far East' (Faucett 1927b: iv). Most of these latter works are described as 'in press' (for the Commercial Press, Shanghai) in the list of publications on pp. 88–89 of The Teaching of English in the Far East. Whether or not all of them were in fact published at this time, they seem to have constituted prototypes for later works published in Japan and the UK. In particular, the four Living English Readers indicated here (1927?b) — which were published, though at an uncertain date — were clearly an early model both for the Oxford

38 Online (25/8/01) online entry by Virginia Barr Harris, under 'Lawrence William Faucett' (see note above).

39 Responses to questionnaire.
English Course (1933b) and another series published in 1935 or 1936 in China, The Step by Step Readers. Both of these series were to be divided into four stages along comparable lines.

By 1925, Faucett had become convinced that his main avenue of influence in China should be through language teaching, language study and textbook-writing, rather than more obvious missionary activities. In July 1925 he tendered his resignation to the Episcopalian Mission, stating that during the subsequent two years he was planning to study in America and England to fit him for an extension of the work he had begun in English teaching, and for future research work in Chinese. Recognizing that he could not expect this period of leave to be funded by the Mission, he hoped nevertheless that on his return to China he would still be able to cooperate unofficially in its work. The tide of feeling against foreign influence was rising at this time in China, with particular resentment being directed against Christian missionaries. Faucett seems to have hoped for influence in government schools, but for this he would need to be seen to be independent of the church.

Following a brief period at home in Chattanooga he probably took up residence in Chicago in January 1926. Sir William Craigie was based at the University of Chicago from the mid-twenties onwards (Willinsky 1994: 49), and it was partly with his advice and support that Faucett gained a Ph.D. there in 1926, for a dissertation on "The revision of scientific language principles for oriental application in the teaching of English". In the preface to The Teaching of English in the Far East (1927), the published version of his PhD dissertation, he claims to have devoted a year overall (that is, the whole of 1926) to "the general question of


41 Faucett to Dr. John S. Wood [apparently of The Board of Missions, Protestant Episcopal Church], 20 July 1925. Archives of the Episcopal Church, USA.

42 "Red doctrines harming China, says educator". Chattanooga Times, 22 July 1931 (photocopied page in PFVBH); Faucett to an unknown correspondent, n.d. [probably October 1925], in PFVBH.

43 Faucett to an unknown correspondent, n.d. [probably October 1925], in PFVBH.

revising scientific language principles for Oriental application’ (Faucett 1927: iv). His collaboration with Craigie at this time extended also to the publication of a jointly authored reader for beginning levels (Craigie and Faucett 1927).

Faucett does not appear to have gone on to England for further studies as originally planned. Instead, having gained an appointment at Yenching University, Beijing (another college established by American missionaries) he travelled back to China in 1927 by way of the Philippines and India. As he reported later:

> After the World Book Company had completed the printing of my thesis [...] it was my desire to make a personal study of methods being used for teaching English in Asia. At that time the World Book Company published the approved series of readers for the Philippine Islands. At their request I prepared a manuscript for a printed picture book of illustrations for the first six weeks of English. They financed a trip for me to go to Baguio and teach a beginning class of Igorotes, using the illustrations in accord with a printed teacher’s manual, providing questions, commands, and graded language for the teacher. I conducted this class mornings and afternoons for six weeks, completing preparation of the adopted beginning reader.45

This was probably the genesis of the Picture Dictionary (Faucett 1933c) which was later intended to form the basis for the first two weeks of instruction in the Oxford English Course. Faucett further reported:

> It was on my journey back to China, via the Philippine Islands experiment, that I took the opportunity to arrange lectures and discussions with teacher training professors in Ceylon, Madras, Bombay, and Dacca. My main purpose was to meet Professor Michael West in Dacca and discuss with him how he prepared his excellent *New Method Readers*, published by Longmans, Green and Co. of London. Michael West was the one who specialized in easy supplementary readers to go with his texts.46

Thus, the Supplementary Readers which were to accompany the Oxford English Course (Faucett, L. and Faucett, M.G.M. 1933–36) seem to have derived considerable inspiration from West’s earlier work.

45 Responses to questionnaire.
46 Responses to questionnaire.
As associate professor of English at Yenching University between 1927 and 1930, Faucett trained teachers of English, coordinated a study of typical errors by the staff of the English department, and taught a beginning class five times a week in a village near Yenching. He also taught part-time in the Mens' and Womens' Normal Schools in Peking, training students in English teaching methods. During this time he additionally prepared a series of *Step by Step* readers, with Dr. Fong Sec as co-author. Sec was the Chief Editor of the Shanghai Commercial Press which ultimately published the books (in 1935 or 1936), and they are said to have continued in use for many years. Three publications he issued during this time were a *Composition Correction Dictionary* (1929a), an *English Composition Guide* (1929b) and an 'Experimental edition' for the projected series of *Step by Step Readers* (1929c). These were published by the ‘Yenching Institute for Research in English Teaching’. This seems to have been set up by Faucett himself, clearly borrowing the name of the Institute established by Palmer in Tokyo in 1923, of whose existence and work he had become aware during his first period in China (1922–25).

Relations with the Tokyo Institute became much closer when Faucett moved with his family to Japan in spring 1930, exchanging posts for a year with J.V. Martin, associate professor of English at Aoyama Gakuin, a Christian university in Tokyo. As Faucett later recalled, 'The association with Palmer was very intimate during this one year, as I was a firm believer in his oral method of teaching beginning English'. Faucett’s own reputation had preceded him, and he was unanimously elected a member of IRET’s Board of Administration following his

47 *Stowe’s Clerical Directory, 1953.*

48 According to *University of London, Institute of Education Annual Report, 1935–6,* in Annual Reports file, Institute of Education Archive, p. 11. The books are described there as 'a series of four readers similar to the Oxford English Course readers but with lessons specially written for China and many revisions to make the books suitable for use in China'.

49 Responses to questionnaire.

50 Responses to questionnaire.


52 Responses to questionnaire. Indeed, there is an indication (in *Stowe’s Clerical Directory, 1953*) that Faucett had published or was to publish an *Oral Method Primer* at some stage in his career. Maybe this was the book which came out of the Philippines experiment.
arrival (Anon. 1930b: 8). At Aoyama Gakuin, Faucett taught a beginning class, ‘using no Japanese whatsoever’, and was thus able to continue his studies of problems in beginning speech and reading. He also taught a third-year class which enabled him to make a special study of typical errors in reading and composition. During the year, he cooperated fruitfully in a study of typical errors with Thomas Fawcett, Kin Watanabe and Itsu Maki, all of whom were teaching in Tokyo. Faucett found this collaborative work useful as a basis for adapting his (1929b) *English Composition Guide.* Very soon he gained ‘Palmer’s special approval’ for the publication by IRET of a new textbook, *English Composition Made Easy* (1930), which was reviewed favourably in December by A.S. Hornby (1898–1978) (Hornby 1930). It is tempting to speculate that Faucett’s emphasis on the importance of guided writing partly inspired Hornby’s own efforts to offer ‘Direct Method’ (i.e. non-translation) composition exercises in one of his earliest publications, *Fundamental Exercises in English Composition* (Hornby 1932a). Hornby was particularly taken with the way, in his 1930 book, Faucett builds up from oral and written question and answer work to guided short essays. Indeed, the book was advertised as offering ‘a combination of composition and conversation lessons’, as well as ‘presenting to students the form of English language in a systematic manner’ (Anon., 1930a). Here Faucett’s emphasis on a balance between and integration of different skills is clear, as is his concern for a systematic treatment of grammar. Both were to be characteristic of the *Oxford English Course.*

Reports of two lectures Faucett gave in Japan provide further insights into the major lines of his methodological thinking at the time. The first of these lectures was at IRET’s Seventh Annual Convention, in October 1930. His main aim, according to the anonymous reporter (Anon. 1930b: 5), was to report on his successful attempts to encourage silent reading in China. His views on the needs for reform in Japan, based on prior experience in China, chimed in well with existing Institute priorities. His suggestions centred on the necessity of determining vocabulary for different stages of learning, incorporating graded vocabularies in reading books via text simplification, developing tests for all four language skills
and engaging in further empirical research. At the same Convention, Harold Palmer (1930k: i) acknowledged the insights Faucett had already provided in relation to IRET research into vocabulary limitation. The following extract from a report of another lecture given by Faucett, in February 1931, shows that in the latter area he was enthusiastic about the possibilities of objective word counts. At the same time (and this is why it is quoted here at length), this report provides a rare insight into Faucett’s more ‘human’ qualities as a persuasive and authoritative teacher trainer:

With charts and devices of his own invention Dr. Faucett showed how language teaching could be combined with interest and amusement [...].

His statistics, compiled after long and painstaking work, were of particular help to the audience, while his incursions into the field of child psychology were such as to throw quite a new light on a subject in which the child is all too often overlooked in the desire of the language-teacher to secure results. Dr. Faucett showed that it is only by a right approach to the subject, through the study of the child-mind, that the best and quickest results can be obtained. What was especially striking, perhaps, about his method was the diversity of practical devices at his command [...]. Here many of us were obliged to sit up and take notice [...]. With Dr. Faucett’s methods it is impossible to conceive of any student, good, bad or indifferent, being neglected, and what is more, it provides every student with the right kind of opportunity that suits his peculiar needs. Here surely is an ideal for every language teacher. Dr. Faucett, by his lecture, issued a challenge, and like a good sermon it left his audience asking ‘what can we do about it?’.

(Thomas 1931: 8–9)

Faucett, at this time, was heavily preoccupied with determining, on as objective a basis as possible, word-lists for different stages of instruction. He collaborated in this area with a colleague in Tokyo, Itsu Maki, and the result of their efforts, a word-list published in 1932, was later to be one of the main foundations for the 1936 ‘Carnegie Report’ (Faucett et al. 1936). This research was soon to be applied in Faucett’s (1933b) Oxford English Course, with its division into four stages according to vocabulary radii of 500 words each. Other research carried out at this time in Japan was to have a similarly direct effect on the Oxford English Course:

The first 1500 words of this [Faucett and Maki 1932] list, arranged in graded levels of 100 words were later used for 15 Supplementary Readers, in which Professors Maki and [Kin] Watanabe did much to help. [...] I made a study of various readers in Japan, finding out just what subjects were most popular and helpful. The Sanseido Co., Ltd., became interested in publishing a series
based on this research, and it was also fundamentally the plan that was used in later years by the Oxford University Press [i.e. in the (Faucett, L. and Faucett, 1933-36) Supplementary Readers (later, English Rapid Readers) associated with the (1933b) Oxford English Course)].

Another publication in Japan based on his work with research colleagues there during 1930-31 was a Complete Pocket Guide to Standard English (Faucett, Maki and Fawcett 1933). It is clear that Faucett, while broadly sympathetic to IRET aims and willing to both help and learn from Palmer, had remained committed overall to engaging in independent research and to seeking his own avenues of publication (neither the 1932 word-list nor this Complete Pocket Guide were published by IRET). An anonymous review of the 1933 Guide, probably by Palmer, was quite positive:

It is neither a grammar book nor a dictionary, nor is it a mere glossary of technical terms, but partakes of the nature of all three. It explores much of that territory that lies between the domains of the lexicographer and the grammarian, but in such a way that the result of the exploration is immediately available for the student.

(Anon. 1934a: 10)

It is tempting to speculate that this book may have had some influence on Palmer’s decision later to guide IRET research work in the direction of ‘new-type dictionaries’, a path which culminated in his own (1938h) Grammar of English Words and Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield’s (1942) Idiomatic and Syntactic Dictionary. 56

In April 1931, Faucett and his family had left Japan, not to return to Yenching University as originally envisaged but to make their way back to the USA. Apparently, Faucett had been awarded ‘a year’s furlough in America and Europe’ (Thomas 1931: 9), but he was never in fact to return to teach in China. Instead, he secured two important coups in rapid succession — firstly, an agreement with Oxford University Press to publish what was to be called the Oxford English

55 Responses to questionnaire.

56 ‘What was to be the future program of the I.R.E.T.? [. . .] A new type of dictionary was indicated, something between the present type and the grammar book, with many features not to be found in either’ (Palmer 1935q: 12).
Course, and, secondly, a three-year Research Fellowship from the Carnegie Corporation. The latter award was later to lead to his pioneering a course in methods of English as a foreign language teaching at the Institute of Education, University of London (in 1935–36).

It is likely that, following a short period in Chattanooga, Faucett went on to the UK in late summer, 1931, possibly for a period of study at Oxford University. It was during his time there, probably, that he first approached Oxford University Press (OUP), apparently following a failed approach to Longmans (who were not interested in his materials, since they were already committed to Michael West’s New Method series) (Sutcliffe 1978: 214). Although OUP’s Indian Branch had already developed a list for what was termed at the time ‘native education’, in terms of overall market share OUP lagged behind both Macmillan and Longmans, Green. From 1926 Eric Parnwell in the London office (at Amen House, Warwick Square), had therefore been given the task of becoming ‘expert in education overseas’. During a tour of Southern Africa in 1928, Parnwell discovered that

children were being taught English as their second language, with virtually no suitable textbooks, by teachers whose own English was barely intelligible. Evidently there were vast opportunities for the publisher if he could find the man [sic] to write the books that were so badly needed.

(Sutcliffe 1978: 214)

Lacking appropriate authors, Parnwell had gone so far as to produce ‘a little book himself for schools in Malta at the request of the Director of Education there’ (ibid.). He had even produced his own list of 2,000 words on the basis of The Pocket Oxford Dictionary, which he was intending to turn into an elementary English course for African schools (ibid.). When Faucett approached him with, presumably, a proposal for a fully fledged course based on careful previous research and piloting, and with a balanced emphasis on speaking as well as reading skills which distinguished him from West, the timing must have seemed just right to Parnwell.

57 'Red doctrines harming China, says educator'. Chattanooga Times, 22 July 1931 (photocopied page in PFVBH).
Following his return to the USA, then, Faucett ‘worked at home, mainly on the *Oxford English Course* and comparative linguistics of various kinds’.\(^{58}\) He further reported that

On the basis of my studies in comparative linguistics, I received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation for three years, which enabled me to continue studies at Yale University for several months before being put in charge of the teaching of English in Turkey, where I stayed for 15 months, training teachers of English.\(^{59}\)

Although the Carnegie Research Fellowship he had won began officially in autumn 1932, in the preamble to an article published in July in the British journal *Oversea Education* he is already described as ‘a research worker under the Carnegie Corporation’ (Faucett 1932: 178). In January 1933 he published a second article (Faucett 1933a) on the same topic of ‘English word-values’, similarly connected with the research carried out for Faucett and Maki 1932. An anonymous summary of his, Palmer’s and West’s contributions to vocabulary limitation in the next issue of the journal (Anon. 1933) indicates that the *Oxford English Course* was due to be published in April of the same year.

During his short period of studies at Yale, Faucett and his family lived in Branford, Connecticut, but in spring, 1933, they went to London for a few weeks\(^{60}\) before moving to Istanbul. Here Faucett had been asked by the Carnegie Corporation, and, presumably, the Turkish government, to act as an adviser, helping with the introduction of English into secondary schools and advising more generally on educational problems in line with the reforms being promoted by Kemal Atatürk.\(^{61}\)

Parnwell and his wife visited the Faucetts during their time in Istanbul,\(^{62}\) partly to discuss progress of the *Oxford English Course*, most of which was

\(^{58}\) Responses to questionnaire.

\(^{59}\) Responses to questionnaire.

\(^{60}\) Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 21/4/03.

\(^{61}\) ‘Turkey shakes off old shackles under Kemal, says Mrs. Faucett’. *Chattanooga Times*, 21 October 1934 (photocopied page in personal files of Lady Frances Stacey).

\(^{62}\) Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 28/4/03.
published in 1933, and, probably, to plan further developments, including the *Melita English Course* (the *Primer* for which was co-authored with Parnwell and published in 1934, with Books 1 to 5 being completed later by F.G. French). The *Oxford English Course* itself was, as Howatt (1984: 215) has indicated, 'the first large-scale direct-method course for English as a foreign language [. . . ]. It established a pattern which was widely copied later, the course "package". With its successors, it also helped to spread the whole conception of 'Oxford English' worldwide (the *Oxford English Dictionary* itself was only named as such in the same year, 1933).

The course consisted of the following components, all published in 1933 unless otherwise indicated:

| Reading Books | Language Books | Supplementary Readers (1933–36)
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<td>Book I Part I</td>
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<td>Book I Part II</td>
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<td>Book II</td>
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<td>Stage A (500 words)</td>
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<td>Book III</td>
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<td>Stage B (1,000 words)</td>
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<td>Book IV (1934)</td>
<td>Book IV (1934)</td>
<td>Stage C (1,500 words)</td>
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<td>Stage D (2,000 words)</td>
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Additional materials: Picture Dictionary (Faucett 1933c) and Reading Cards (Faucett 1933d).

63 Thus, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, an outstanding Kenyan critic of the dominance of English in his country, has written of how he learned English through the *Oxford Readers for Africa* series: ‘Before I knew the names of any other towns in Kenya, I already knew about a town called Oxford’ (cited by Willinsky 1994: 203; original source unclear).

64 At least twenty-one different readers were published for stages A to D, for example *Stories of Greece* (1933; later translated into two East African languages, 1958, London: Oxford University Press in association with East African Literature Bureau); *The Good Little Men, and Other Stories* (1933), *A Tale of Two Cities* (1934), *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1934), Stage A. *The Prince with the Golden Hair*, etc. (1935 or 1936), Stage B. *Rip van Winkle* retold, *The King of the Golden River* retold (1935 or 1936), Stage D. *David Livingstone in East Africa* (with G.C. Lathan) (1935 or 1936). [‘1935 or 1936’ books according to University of London, Institute of Education Annual Report, 1935–36]. New editions under the series title ‘Oxford Rapid English Readers’, with different exercises, were published from 1935 onwards; 2nd editions of (some of?) these, under series title ‘Oxford English Books’, were adapted by Isabelle Frémont, 1952 onwards.
Faucett had not been the first to come up with the idea of a 'course package': West, in his New Method series, had combined Readers with 'Companions' and Supplementary Readers for home-study, and had provided Handbooks for Teachers; Palmer, in his own 'Reader System' published in Japan, had associated Readers with corresponding books of questions and answers for oral or written work, and books of exercises in English composition, with these later being complemented by Side Readers for 'supplementary rapid reading'. Indeed, an IRET Bulletin review of the Oxford English Course remarks 'There is much in the course that reminds us of the technique of Dr. West, on the one hand, and, on the other, of our own. What is common to the three techniques in general is the close association between the reading texts and the remainder of the course' (Anon.1934b: 10). As we have seen, Faucett had met and deliberately set out to learn from both West and Palmer, adopting and extending West's ideas on vocabulary grading and the need for supplementary reading, and being influenced by Palmer particularly with regard to types of oral exercise. To take just one example, the idea expressed in the Teacher's Handbook Part I of a two-week initiation period prior to use of the first Reading Book seems to owe much to Palmer's similar recommendation for the 'First Six Weeks of English' (Palmer 1929g). However, there were many original features in Faucett's materials; the production and use of a Picture Dictionary for this two-week period was Faucett's idea, for example, as was his advocacy of flash cards to encourage speed-reading — and their organization was much 'tighter' than those by Palmer. They had had a long gestation period, being based, as stated in the Publisher's Foreword to the Teacher's Handbook, on 'scrupulously tested' methods of instruction in China, the Philippines and Japan. As revealed in my account above, Faucett seems always to have gone out of his way to teach classes of beginners and to develop effective materials and techniques on the basis of this experience.

Unlike the New Method Readers, the Oxford English Course placed a balanced emphasis on the four skills, and constituted the first serious rival to Longmans dominance of the growing market for graded English as a foreign language course materials. It was to provide an influential model for other courses: C.E. Eckersley (1893–1967), for example, was to borrow the idea of 500-word stages in his popular four-part course for Longmans, Essential English for Foreign
Students (1938–42). By late 1934, it seems, Faucett’s course had been adopted by the governments of Turkey, Iraq, Malta, Bengal and Egypt, and later adaptations were to be officially adopted in Kenya, Malaya and Hong Kong. Although, even after the publication of the Oxford English Course, Parnwell’s Overseas Education department ‘thrived only modestly’ overall (Sutcliffe 1978: 215), it is no exaggeration to say that Faucett’s course was the foundation for what is now OUP’s most profitable publishing arm in all parts of the world.

The success of the course, from the beginning, in Turkey must have had a lot to do with Faucett’s influence with the government there — he was in Istanbul, based at Robert College, from spring 1933 to summer 1934. In 1934, however, he had been offered an attachment to the University of London, Institute of Education (established in 1932), for the remainder of his Carnegie Research Fellowship. This was in the context of a separate three-year Carnegie Corporation grant to the Institute (1934–37) for ‘developing its relations with students of education in the British Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies’. Percy Nunn, the Director of the Institute, hoped to retain Faucett as a lecturer beyond the expiry of his Carnegie Research Fellowship, and so it may have been partly at his suggestion that Faucett planned a fact-finding ‘world tour’ which was to take up the whole of the academic session 1934–35. In particular, Nunn hoped, Faucett would ‘study on the spot the problems of teaching English to natives of tropical Africa’. This would then enable him, if possible from the beginning of the summer term 1935, to ‘give the students

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65 Chattanooga Times, 21 October 1934 (see note above).

66 Responses to questionnaire.

67 ‘In 1935 the department sold in all £5,000 worth of books. By 1940 an annual turnover of £10,000 had been reached, and at the end of the war £40,000. [...] In the next ten years the turnover went from £40,000 to £400,000, to become a decade later roughly a quarter of that of the business as a whole’ (Sutcliffe 1978: 216).

68 Stowe’s Clerical Directory, 1953.

69 Sir Percy Nunn [Director of the Institute of Education] to Dr. F.P. Keppel [President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York], 23 May 1934, in Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.

70 Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.

71 Nunn to Keppel 21 July 1934, Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.
of our Colonial Department and others the benefit of his studies in the teaching of English to non-European pupils, particularly young Africans'.

Faucett had additional commitments to fulfil, however, and, although officially attached to the Institute from autumn 1934 onwards, he was not to teach there until the 1935–36 session. Leaving their two oldest daughters (aged fifteen and twelve) and son (aged nine) at boarding schools in England, Faucett, his wife and youngest daughter (aged two) first went to the USA. There he was to attend the Carnegie Conference on ‘The Use of English as a World Language’ (15–19 October 1934) in New York and take part in the deliberations of its sub-committee (with Palmer and West) in Chicago and Columbus, Ohio. His wife and daughter returned to England before Christmas, but Faucett went on to Japan (December 1934), Shanghai and Manila, then Malaya and Ceylon before, in the early part of 1935, making the extensive ‘survey of conditions’ in East Africa (Kenya and Uganda) which had been desired by the Institute of Education. Having received an invitation from Sudanese Government officials he then proceeded to Khartoum (rather than, as originally intended, the Union of South Africa), and, travelling down the Nile, he also held discussions with educational officials in Egypt. Following brief visits to the American University of Beirut and Robert College in Istanbul he arrived back in the UK, intending to share his experiences with Institute of Education students during the summer term of 1935.

Unfortunately, the ‘long journeys in difficult climates, with practically no intervals for rest but incessant activity at the stopping places, proved . . . too much for Dr. Faucett’s strength, and he was obliged on his return to England to retire to a

72 Nunn to Keppel, 23 May 1934, Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.
73 Stowe’s Clerical Directory, 1953.
74 Chattanooga Times, 21 October 1934 (see note above).
76 Nunn to Keppel, 28 September 1935, in Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.
77 Chattanooga Times, 21 October 1934 (see note above).
78 Nunn to Keppel, 28 September 1935, in Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.
nursing home'. This seems to have been the reason for his missing the follow-up Carnegie meeting in London, in June 1935. However, by September his health had been fully reestablished and, with his Carnegie Fellowship coming to the end of its three-year term, he accepted Nunn's offer of a part-time lectureship in 'methods of teaching English to non-western pupils' within the new Colonial Department of the Institute (this lectureship being sponsored by a grant from the Rhodes Trust).

Beginning in autumn 1935, Faucett ran the first ever year-long training course in English as a foreign language teaching at a British university. He reported on the course as follows in September 1936:

The year has been mainly devoted to the establishing of the course in the teaching of English to non-Western peoples. The plan of lectures and seminars used during the year was on the whole successful. [. . .] The avoiding of overlapping with the work of other lecturers and the calling in of outside lecturers to present special phases of the general subject have been two features of the year's work.

Living in North Oxford and visiting London for his two teaching days a week, Faucett was also busy in the first term co-authoring the *Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection* (Faucett et al. 1936). Then, following its publication in the early part of 1936, he coordinated its dissemination and the collation of questionnaires received back from readers (Palmer 1936g: 23; Anon. 1937: 212; cf. Faucett 1936). His daughter recalls how 'We received word listings from all over the world at our house in Oxford [. . .]. We counted the votes for or against the words listed, I presume to get input on the preferred words in the different

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79 Nunn to Keppel, 28 September 1935, in Carnegie file, Institute of Education Archive.


81 Faucett to Nunn, 17 September 1936, in Annual Reports file, Institute of Education Archive.

82 Responses to questionnaire.
In December 1936 Faucett had confirmed that he would like to stay at the Institute beyond his initial one-year appointment, and he was welcomed to stay for a further three years. In September 1936 he looked forward to the following year as follows: ‘A very similar plan will be experimented with during the coming school year. [...] It is hoped that a class which can be used for demonstration and practice teaching will be found among the L[ondon] C[ounty] C[ouncil] schools’. However, Faucett was ‘seized by grave illness’ shortly before the 1936–37 session commenced and was unable to resume duty: ‘Temporary arrangements were made for carrying on his work, but at the end of the second term the Delegacy [of the Institute] was compelled, very regretfully, to terminate the appointment’. In place of his classes, a course of lectures was given by West, Palmer, Ogden, I.A. Richards, A. Lloyd James (of the School of Oriental Studies), and, from within the Institute, B.N. Parker, C. Duff and P. Gurrey. The course for 1937–38 was to be organized in consultation with Ogden, Daniel Jones and Lloyd James.

Despite this personal setback, Faucett’s work for the Institute had succeeded in raising the profile of English as a foreign language teaching, and at the end of 1937 a ‘Department of the Teaching of English as a Foreign Tongue’ was referred to for the first time in official Institute literature.

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83 Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 27/4/03.
84 Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 28/4/03.
85 Nunn to Faucett, 11 December 1935, in Rhodes Trust file, Institute of Education Archive.
86 Faucett to Nunn, 17 September 1936, in Annual Reports file, Institute of Education Archive.
89 University of London Institute of Education Annual Report, 1936–7, p. 12, in Annual Reports file, Institute of Education Archive.
Faucett himself lived for many more years (until 1978), but he was not to take up again the mantle of leadership in the field of EFL that he had begun to assume during the 1930s. There were to be numerous adaptations of his *Oxford English Course* into the early 1950s, initially by Isabelle Frémont for Africa (the market Parnwell had particularly hoped to make progress in) and, for wider sales, by F.G. French.\(^9\) Faucett returned to the USA in 1939, and did, it seems, cooperate to some extent on word-lists with E.L. Thorndike in the late 1940s.\(^1\) In the mid-1950s he produced textbooks for the Japanese publisher Shinozaki Shorin, and as late as 1972 issued materials for learning English with a Taiwanese publisher.\(^2\) Mainly, however, his post-war scholarship was in the area of moral philosophy. His work in this field was motivated overall by a ‘desire to promote international moral unity’ and ‘a peaceful world through the cooperation of religious peoples’ (Faucett 1956: author’s note at front). He travelled widely in India and South East Asia, visiting and making slides of historical and archeological sites which he later sold to museums.\(^3\) His publications between 1956 and 1978 (mostly self-published, but some edited by his former Tokyo research colleagues Kin Watanabe and Itsu Maki for Shinozaki Shorin) took in an eclectic variety of moral and religious teachings, from Socrates to Gotama Buddha, Confucius, Krishna, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed and Tolstoy (e.g. Faucett 1958, 1962, 1976). Much of his scholarship involved going back to sources in the original languages, evidencing a return to his early interests in comparative philology and Chinese (cf. Faucett 1968, 1978). As his daughter recalls, ‘He was a great researcher, and spent many hours with reference

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90 Revisions and adaptations of the *Oxford English Course* included:

91 Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 28/4/03.

92 Responses to questionnaire.

93 Virginia Barr Harris, personal communications, 23/4/03 and 27/4/03.
books. [But] unfortunately, the last few years he was legally blind and could no longer read. She also stresses that her father was fortunate in the two women he married [her mother, Faucett's first wife and co-author of the Oxford Supplementary Readers, had died in the 1950s]. Mother helped a lot with the story books [...] She had to cope with travelling with babies and small children to join him in China [...] Mildred Jensen who married Dad in California was a wonderful person, and was a great help to him in his later years.


6.5 C.E. Eckersley

Charles Ewart Eckersley (1892–1967) grew up in the North of England and attended Manchester University, where he gained an M.A. in English. He served in the Royal Artillery during World War I and later gained his first civilian job as a schoolmaster. He was appointed to the staff of the Polytechnic Boys’ School in Regent Street, London, in 1921 (Quinault 1967: 2). The school was associated with the Polytechnic Institute, which specialised in technical education and language teaching, and provided classes in English for foreigners. It was a frequent occurrence for Boys’ School masters to be asked to help with the Institute’s evening classes, and so it was that Eckersley gained his first experience of teaching English as a foreign language. The methods used by a French master at the Boys’ School, H.O. Coleman (who was a friend of Harold Palmer’s), appear to have been

94 Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 25/4/03.
95 Virginia Barr Harris, personal communication, 28/4/03.
96 Online (25/8/01) online entry by Virginia Barr Harris, under ‘Lawrence William Faucett’ (see note above).
97 Details from an interview with his son, John Eckersley, 7 April 2004.
particularly inspirational for Eckersley in his transition from teaching English as a mother tongue to English as a foreign language.\textsuperscript{98}

As Quinault (ibid.) reports, 'He tackled this new work with such enthusiasm that by 1929 he was put in charge of the 'Poly' evening classes for foreign students'. Finding existing textbooks unsuitable for such classes, he had set about preparing his own materials, and, starting in 1932, they began to be published for wider use. That year saw the appearance of his first book, \textit{England and the English}, and this was followed, in rapid succession, by \textit{A Concise English Grammar for Foreign Students} (1933), and his first attempt at a course book, \textit{A Modern English Course for Foreign Students: An Intermediate Book} (1935). All of these were issued by Longmans, the publishers of Michael West's 'New Method' materials for school pupils overseas, and Eckersley was increasingly to take on board the ideas on vocabulary limitation of West, Palmer and Faucett, in particular following the publication of their jointly authored \textit{Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection} in 1936. Eckersley's materials were for a different (adult) market than West's, and by the end of the 1930s he was beginning to become as well-known an author as West. In 1937 he published a simplified book of short stories, plays and poems titled \textit{Brighter English} and a course book, \textit{Everyday English Course for Foreign Students}. This was the prototype for what were to become his best-known books, the four volumes of \textit{Essential English for Foreign Students}, which were issued from 1938 to 1942. Following the same pattern as Faucett's \textit{Oxford English Course}, the course was divided into four stages of five hundred new words each, from which the learner could then go on to acquire 'full English'.

Among Eckersley's students were groups of refugees from the Continent, including Walter Kaufmann, a Jewish German businessman with whom Eckersley became friends, and who was later to collaborate with him on several successful texts for business English: \textit{A Commercial Course for Foreign Students} (Eckersley and Kaufmann 1947), \textit{English Commercial Practice and Correspondence} (Eckersley and Kaufmann 1952) and \textit{English and American Business Letters} (Eckersley and Kaufmann 1954). After the war began there were also allied servicemen from various countries stationed in Britain who were anxious to learn

\textsuperscript{98} Interview with John Eckersley.
English quickly. Eckersley was asked to write a course, *English for the Allies* (1942), which addressed the needs of these 'soldiers, sailors and airmen of the united nations'.

By now, the popularity of his books had led Longmans to encourage him to become a full-time materials writer, and in 1943 he gave up school teaching altogether.\(^9\) He compiled a bilingual learner’s dictionary for Spanish learners (Eckersley and Picazo 1946) which was later adapted for Polish (Eckersley and Corbridge-Patkaniewska 1951) and Turkish (Eckersley and Balkan 1954). He also wrote several bilingual introductory versions of his *Essential English* materials which were all published in 1947–48, in Spanish (Eckersley and Sarmiento 1947), Polish (Eckersley and Corbridge-Patkaniewska 1947), Yugoslav (Eckersley and Subotic 1947), Dutch (Eckersley and Bongers 1948) and Turkish (Eckersley and Gatenby 1948). The last of these was compiled with E.V. Gatenby (see Appendix 8.2), with whom Eckersley was also to collaborate on a set of wall pictures with accompanying teacher’s handbook and pupil’s workbook (Gatenby and Eckersley 1955–57). In 1948 Eckersley was invited, along with A.S. Hornby (see Appendix 8.1), to write a new ‘English by Radio’ series for the BBC. Eckersley’s series for beginners centred on ‘the Brown family’, and involving a ‘combination of English conversation and vernacular commentary’ (Quinault 1948: 49).

In the post-war years, Longmans promoted *Essential English* as a ‘system’ to rival Oxford’s ‘Progressive English’, and Eckersley contributed a number of *Essential English* Readers as well as the dictionaries. In 1953 there was a new book with exercises designed to make learning grammar fun, titled *Brighter Grammar* (Eckersley and Macaulay 1953), which went through several later editions and is still in print in Africa.\(^{10}\) Indeed, there were many new editions of his books, up to the 1970s. As Quinault (1967: 3) wrote:

> [T]he popularity of Eckersley’s books has continued: there have been repeated reprintings of *Essential English* and its characters, the teacher Mr Priestley and his family, and his students, Jan, Lucille, Olaf, Pedro, Frieda and Hob, have become familiar to generations of learners in every continent. What was the secret of this popularity? It was, I think, the product of a warm and lively

\(^9\) Interview with John Eckersley; Quinault 1967: 2.

\(^{10}\) Interview with John Eckersley.
personality with a natural flair for English teaching and a ready sense of humour. As Eckersley wrote in one of his prefaces, it was his constant endeavour 'to cover the pill of learning with the jam of gaiety'.
The Carnegie Conference of October 1934 was the first ever international (UK-US) conference to bring together experts on teaching English as a foreign language. It involved a deliberate attempt to set the agenda with regard to the lexical contents of EFL materials worldwide, with an explicit intention of spreading English 'as a world language' on a basis of UK-US collaboration.

Apart from the stimulus provided by (opposition to) Basic English, another apparently peripheral influence needs to be considered as an explanation for the coordination of efforts which took place in 1934–36, and that is the growing interest of American foundations in the problems of teaching English as a foreign language.

The Carnegie Corporation had already become involved in this rapidly developing field, appointing Faucett as a Research Fellow (from 1932 onwards), sponsoring West, Swenson and others' (1934) critique of Basic English, and supporting the establishment of an Oversea Division at the Institute of Education in London which was later to provide the setting for the first EFL teacher training course, again with the involvement of Faucett. Partly, a sense of rivalry with the Rockefeller Foundation, which had thrown its weight behind Basic English (Fosdick 1952: 250), may help to explain the Carnegie Foundation's support for West, but its motives in explicitly wishing to promote the development of English as a 'world' language are unclear and require further investigation.

An advance notification of the conference in IRET's Bulletin (Anon. 1934c) states that it had been convened by West 'under the auspices of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations' and that its object was to 'discuss in general "The Use of English as a World Language," and, in particular, problems of Vocabulary Limitation and Text Simplification' (p. 18). In a later report, Palmer (1934ee: 8) repeated the idea that the conference had been called 'with a view to discussing plans that might further the propagation of English as a second language'. Palmer, like West, seems to have temporarily laid aside his previously expressed (e.g. Palmer 1926s) objections to the dominance of English as an international language in favour of participation in the conference. As has already been suggested above,
the major reason seems to have been a perceived need to rival the claims of Basic English in this area.

As reported on p. 1 of the Interim Report itself, the conference was held during the week beginning 15 October 1934 in New York, and lasted for five days according to Anon. 1934e. Although presented initially as being jointly sponsored by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations (Anon. 1934c, cited above), it was predominantly a Carnegie affair, as revealed in the list of participants on pp. 1–2 of the Interim Report and in subsequent reports on the conference (which only mention Carnegie), for example Palmer 1934ee. The convenor was F. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, who had recently given his personal approval to the establishment of the Oversea Division at the Institute of Education, London (which was represented by Faucett). Aiken, Thorndike and Fife (who was to chair the meeting) were attached to Columbia University, whose Teachers' College Carnegie was also supporting, and which was to serve as a model for the Institute of Education in London. Fred Clarke of McGill University was also there; he was soon to accept a post at the Institute of Education, under direct Carnegie sponsorship, and was in 1936 to become its Director. Arthur Mayhew, an official representative of the colonial office in London and a former colonial administrator in India, was editor of the influential journal Oversea Education, and was to host the follow-up meeting in London in June 1935. Notable by his absence, of course, was C.K. Ogden.

In advance of the conference an agenda had been circulated to participants which was reproduced in the August-September 1934 issue of the IRET Bulletin under the heading ‘Towards “Simplified English”’ (Anon. 1934c). This agenda makes quite clear that the purpose of the conference was mainly to discuss issues of vocabulary limitation in relation to questions posed by the contemporary propagation of Basic English. As Palmer (1934ee: 8) reports, at the conference the focus of discussion became clearer and more concrete, and it was agreed that ‘Steps should be taken to ensure the most suitable first vocabulary for beginners; this should be based partly on considerations of frequency, and partly on those of range, universality, utility, etc.’. He also records that the IRET work on collocations had received attention, and it was agreed that no vocabulary could be complete that
ignored such units as collocations, compounds, derivatives or semantic varieties. Learning-effort was also considered (ibid.).

A ‘technical’ sub-committee was then formed to ‘make a preliminary investigation’ (Palmer 1934ee: 8) and ‘to draw up an agreed limited English vocabulary to be submitted to the full conference at a later date’ (Anon. 1934e: 25). The committee was to be composed of Faucett, Palmer and West, with Thorndike and Sapir acting as consultants (Palmer 1936g: 22).

The committee spent the following two weeks — starting in New York, and continuing at the University of Ohio, with a stop-over in Chicago (ibid.) — working out the general principles of selection (Anon. 1934e) and drawing up a preliminary report (Palmer 1934ee). According to Palmer (1936g: 23), the sub-committee used as a basis for discussions the IRET 3,000-word list and the analysis of the Thorndike and Horn vocabularies made by Faucett and Maki (1932). By 5 November, the committee members are said to have ‘reached substantial agreement’ (Anon. 1934e: 25). However, they decided to ‘circularize a certain number of those having some experience in word-list compilation in order to obtain their views on certain words figuring in the list of “doubtfuls”’ (Palmer 1934ee: 8). It seems likely that this refers at least partly to the stop-over in Chicago, when the committee ‘had the opportunity of conferring with Dr. Algernon Coleman and others who were responsible for the compilation of similar vocabularies for French, German and Spanish’ (Palmer 1936g: 22). The next meeting, when the committee was due to submit its report, was arranged for the following June. In the interim, each member was assigned further research tasks: Palmer’s assignment, in conjunction with IRET, was a more detailed and complete study of collocations, West was to undertake the lay-out and itemization of the agreed vocabulary, and Faucett was to classify the words of the ‘suspense’ and ‘doubtful’ lists. On his return to Japan Palmer entrusted the work on collocations to A. S. Hornby and his wife, and their work was later to be specially commended (Palmer 1936g: 23).

On 11 June 1935 the conference was reconvened at the Colonial Office in London (Palmer 1936g). There were three meetings (ibid.), the main purpose being ‘to consider the report of [the] committee, and to make arrangements for the issue of a tentative word list’ (ibid.). Those present were Fife, Keppel, Mayhew, Palmer, Thorndike and West, with Sir Percy Nunn, Director of the University of London
Institute of Education participating as an observer (Faucett et al. 1936: 3). The work of the committee members was approved, and 'it was decided that their individual contributions should be collated and that the resultant Report should be provided and circulated at as early a date as possible' (Palmer 1936g: 23).

To this end, from June to November 'the committee worked intermittently sometimes together sometimes individually, their chief activities being to determine questions of range, derivatives, collocations and semantic varieties, and generally “dragging liabilities out of concealment”' (ibid.). On 12 November the manuscript of the Interim Report was handed to the printer, and it was published in the early part of 1936, together with a questionnaire, ‘for criticism from those with some competence in the matter’ (ibid.). Although Faucett had been absent, probably due to illness, from the June meeting, it seems that he was subsequently active in preparing as well as disseminating the Interim Report (Anon. 1937). Palmer, having spent more than six months in the UK, did not return to Japan until after Christmas, and by this time he had secured, due to the good offices of West, a promise of employment by Longmans, which he was to take up in the spring of the following year.

Faucett, having recovered from his illness, now became the main point of contact for the feedback received from overseas in relation to the Interim Report’s word-list. It was, however, the Institute of Education as a body, rather than Faucett individually, which had taken on the responsibility of administering the Carnegie grant for the costs of publishing the list (this grant was also supposed to provide for the expenses of ‘further conferences on the use of English as a world language’ (Jeffery 1953: v). When Faucett again fell ill just prior to the 1936–37 academic session, it was made clear that the work would go on, and that feedback was still welcome and should continue to be addressed to the Institute (Anon. 1937). As Jeffery (1953: v) notes, by 1939 arrangements had been made for revision of the General Service list, and, with the agreement of the Carnegie Corporation, West was invited to carry out the work. However, the war intervened, and it was not until it ended that any progress could be made. West is then said to have ‘laboured hard at the formidable task’ (ibid.), and the revised list was eventually published in 1953 under his sole name. The revised list benefited from the addition of semantic frequency counts by Irving Lorge of Columbia University, but, as Howatt (1984:
257) has suggested, the omission of the preliminary matter explaining principles for selection (contained in the (1936) *Interim Report*) somewhat masks the fact that it had originally been designed for purposes of text simplification as opposed to more 'general' use. It is unfortunate also that the cooperative nature of the original enterprise was thereby insufficiently acknowledged. The 1953 *General Service List* was published by Longmans, under subsidy from the Carnegie Corporation, and was to have a significant, often unacknowledged influence on the lexical contents of many EFL courses published thereafter. As Jeffery (1953: vi) notes in his Foreword, the publication of the *General Service List* marked a fitting culmination to a period during which lexis had been at the fore. As he also noted, 'structural problems' were by then becoming the new focus of concern.
8.1 A.S. Hornby

Albert Sydney Hornby (1898–1978) was born in Chester (Howatt 1984: 316) and educated at the local grammar school (Imura 1997: 209). Like Harold Palmer, he was born into a lower middle class family (his father, a draper, expected him to take over the family business),1 but unlike Palmer he received a university education; having served in the Navy during World War I (Imura 1997: 209) he entered University College London and graduated in 19232 with a degree in English Language and Literature (Howatt 1984: 316). There is no evidence that he met Palmer during his time at UCL (when the latter was lecturing in the Department of Phonetics), but their paths were soon to cross in Japan. Following graduation, Hornby ‘was asked by the Appointment Board of the university to meet a young Japanese who was over in London at the time, and he asked whether I would like to go to Japan, to a college in the island of Kyushu and teach English’ (Hornby, 1974: 1). Newly-married, he arrived in Japan in 1924 and was to remain at the Oita Higher Commercial School (now, Oita University) in Kyushu for the following ten years.3

Early on, Hornby realized that although his students were reading English literature, what was needed was for him to give ‘more attention to language teaching’ and to leave the teaching of literature to the Japanese professors (Hornby, 1974: 1–2). The biggest problem he faced in teaching was that his students were too used to translation methods, and unable to speak English.4 In this connection,

1 Interview with Phyllis Willis (Hornby’s daughter), 29 August 1998.
3 Name of the college from Kuroda 1978: 23. Apparently, he had options of going to Japan, China or Egypt to teach. Japan was chosen at least partly because his new bride ‘was passionate about gardens, and associated Japan with gardens’. Indeed, in Oita they had a large garden full of crysanthemums (Interview with Phyllis Willis).
4 Interview with Phyllis Willis.
Hornby described his initial contact with Palmer and the Institute for Research in English Teaching as follows:

I became more and more fascinated by this question of language, and started experimenting. I knew nothing about linguistics at that time; I was only 24 or so, but as time went on I became familiar with the subject. I read books about it. And then in Tokyo there was Dr. Harold Palmer, who, you must know, was a very successful teacher of languages, and who wrote many books on the subject of linguistic methodology and grammar. Well, we corresponded, and through my correspondence with him I became more and more interested in linguistics, especially linguistic methodology.

(Hornby, 1974:2)

Indeed, Hornby joined IRET very soon after his arrival, some time between September and November 1924.5

Four years after his arrival in Japan, in 1928, the Institute published his first teaching materials, entitled *The Geography of Japan through Questions and Answers*. This book was praised by an anonymous reviewer in the IRET Bulletin as ‘likely to be ideally suitable for oral teaching in higher grades. It is a series of questions and answers of the ‘sequential’ type based chiefly on geography and allied subjects’.6 Indeed, throughout his time in Japan Hornby was to perform a particularly valuable service for the Institute in providing materials for ‘higher schools’ (i.e. tertiary level institutions) based on a combination of Palmer’s ideas (as is clear from the title of this first publication) and his own experience in teaching at this level. Palmer seems likely to have commissioned Hornby, on the strength of this 1928 publication, to write Book III (Part I) of the Institute’s *English through Questions and Answers* series (started up in 1926 to accompany the *Standard English Readers*), which was published under Hornby’s name in 1929.

Until 1931 there were no further publications, but it is clear that Hornby had been immersing himself even further in work connected with the Institute. In that year Palmer introduced his new ‘English as Speech’ series of texts for the advanced

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5 Hornby’s name is in the list of new members registered up to 6 November 1924 in *Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching* 8 (October-November 1924), p. 13. The previous issue had carried a list of new members registered up to 2 September.


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stages of middle school and for use in higher schools, simplified using the recently
developed 3,000-word radius (see Chapter 7). He also termed Hornby 'our research
colleague' in highlighting the value of the latter's work for this series (Palmer
1931: 1). Hornby contributed volumes 2 and 5 of this series in 1931, volumes 6, 7
and 9 in 1932, and five further volumes in subsequent years. In 1931 came his first
contribution to the IRET Bulletin, of which he would later become editor — a
crossword puzzle based on the gap-filling technique of direct method composition
exercises. A further publication for IRET followed, entitled *Fundamental Exercises
in English Composition* (Hornby 1932a). The book was reviewed by H.V. Redman
(1932: 5) as follows:

> It is a set of 120 loose-leaf pages in an envelope, thus providing for the
exercises to be handed in to the teacher for correction, and subsequently to be
returned (when corrected) to their place in the collection, and kept for future
reference. [...] Mr. Hornby is to be congratulated for having demonstrated so
adequately the possibilities of the direct method when applied to composition.

'Direct method' writing exercises were to be a particular speciality of Hornby's
during these years of rapidly increasing involvement in IRET's reform
programme; between 1932 and 1935 he jointly produced (as third-named author
with Palmer and E.K. Venables) an extensive series of such exercises, for use in
middle schools. The first sets of such exercises were designed to accompany a
new series of 'Standard English Readers for Girls', and these books were also
co-written by Hornby with the same authors (Palmer and Venables) and
published in 1933. At around the same time came Hornby's first (and until 1937)
only UK publication, *Composition Exercises in Elementary English* (Hornby
1934a), published by Macmillan. As we shall see, along with *Thousand-Word
English* (published jointly with Palmer in 1937), this work made Hornby' name
known to those involved in teaching English as a foreign language in contexts
other than Japan.

At the end of 1931 and in a follow-up February 1932 article, Hornby had
contributed some reflections on grammar to the *Bulletin*, giving evidence of his
developing interest in this area. In 1932 he also contributed a long letter in which he

7 Volumes 11 and 12 in 1933, 14 and 16 in 1936, and 17 in 1938.
pointed out the probable irrelevancy of Basic English to the concerns of teachers and vigorously supported the home-grown IRET word-lists (Hornby 1932c). He followed this up with two further contributions on a similar theme in June and August 1933, respectively. (Hornby 1933a, 1933b). Although this is not made explicit in the letters, Hornby’s antipathy to Basic was related to his own experience at this time in developing an original word-list, which was later to become known as ‘Thousand-Word English’ (see below).

By now Hornby was a central participant in IRET research as well as materials writing activities, though still from his base in Kyushu. Most importantly he had been one of the five research workers, alongside Palmer himself, most active in the collecting and classifying of collocations for the Second Interim Report on English Collocations (Palmer 1933p: [i]). It was out of this work that the sentence patterns of the 1942 Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary (and Hornby’s post-war work in the same area) were later to emerge. Reflecting these new research interests, and showing the extent to which Hornby was by now becoming a central IRET figure, in 1933 Hornby was invited to contribute an article to the Institute’s Commemorative Decennary Volume, in which he pursued his grammatical interests further by writing on ‘The rationalization of grammar’ (Hornby 1934b).

In the meantime Hornby had been working on the compilation of his own list of 1,000 words for the rewriting of stories of relatively ambitious content (Palmer 1936g: 21). He had submitted this to Palmer for consideration, and following repeated revisions in collaboration with Palmer (see Palmer 1934b: 2) it was published in the 100th issue of the Bulletin, in January 1934 ([Hornby and Palmer] 1934). Later, this work was to be refined into Thousand-Word English (published in 1937 by Harrap in the UK). Palmer (1936g: 21) describes how the two men continued to collaborate, following initial (1933) publication of the list, to improve it on the basis of experiments in text simplification:

For the next two years we modified and elaborated this vocabulary according to a new plan that was partly subjective, partly objective, and above all what may be termed ‘empirical’ (or the method based on experience). He or I would take a story and simplify it within the 1,000 words. As a result of this we would see that certain words must be added and that others might well be deleted, and the vocabulary would be revised accordingly. Then we would compose two or more stories, these suggesting further revisions of the vocabulary.
The fruits of these experiments in producing simplified reading material were held back for publication in the UK in the late 1930s (in Harrap's Thousand-word English series), rather than being issued initially in Japan.

By this time Palmer had identified Hornby as someone he would like to collaborate with at closer hand and had arranged for him to come to Tokyo to teach at two institutions with which he had been particularly associated (Imura 1997: 193). Following a four months' visit to the UK, during which he recruited Harold Wakefield (later to be a co-compiler of the dictionary published in 1942) to take over his post in Oita, in April 1934 Hornby began to work in Tokyo. He took up a full-time lectureship at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (now Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) and also taught (part-time, according to Ogawa 1985: 89) at the Bunrika University (University of Literature and Science), formerly the Tokyo Higher Normal School (and predecessor of Tsukuba University), where Ishikawa Rinshiro (later to be Palmer's successor as Director of IRET) was Professor. Here Hornby was to become directly involved in teacher training for the first time, including supervision of teaching practice in local middle schools (Hornby 1974: 2–3). He also received an official designation as 'research worker' for the Institute.

During Palmer's absence at the first Carnegie Conference (in October and November 1934), Hornby held the fort, doing the final proof-reading for Palmer's (1934aa) *Specimens of English Construction Patterns* (which, in the subtitle, are referred to also as 'sentence patterns', the term Hornby was himself to favour over 'sentence structures' in his post-war work). He had also been involved in the research work for this publication, as he was later to describe:

> [W]e went on [from work on collocations] to syntax, finding out the patterns of sentences. And, as many of you will know, I have used these patterns in my dictionaries, in the form of verb patterns. [. . .] So that was how I got involved

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8 According to a personal communication from Phyllis Willis reported in a footnote by Cowie (1999: 9).

9 '[W]hen I got to Tokyo I became a research worker for the Institute. That was the title they gave me' (Hornby 1974: 4). The Institute research workers were 'a small group of British, American and Japanese friends who worked together' (ibid.).
in some of this question of grammar and pattern making which has been a feature of my work since, especially in dictionaries and in A Guide to Patterns [and Usage in English, 1954] which was published after I got back from Japan.

(Hornby 1974: 3-4)

At the Eleventh Annual Convention of IRET in October 1934, when Specimens of English Construction Patterns was published, Hornby gave a lecture on 'Rationalism and Conservatism in Language Teaching' (Anon. 1934d). He also published articles on 'The teaching of grammar' in his university's own journal (e.g. Hornby 1934c).

Following Palmer's return from the Carnegie Conference, Hornby took on much of the work which had been assigned to Palmer of preparing a complete list of collocations via 'a minute exploration in the most complete dictionaries to make certain that there are no omissions in our list of collocations'. Hornby later described this work of combing through dictionaries as follows:

I was given the job of going through the Shorter English Dictionary. And I think the big Webster and two or three others to comb out every possible collocation and put it onto record cards, which were then filed away in boxes. That started me off on something that's been happening ever since putting things on cards and storing them away.  

(Hornby 1974: 3)

He took a break from this work to write a witty piece on the way a dictionary can reveal insights into the predilections of the lexicographer in his (1935b) 'Some notes on Wyld's "Universal Dictionary"'. This showed a clear identification with the work of the lexicographer which presaged his own subsequent work in this domain (indeed, Hornby may have had a particular affection for this article, since it was to be one of those he later republished in the early years of English Language Teaching). While engaged in this research work with his wife, he also found time to

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10 Anonymous 1934 notes on 'The Institute month', Bulletin 109, p. 16. In a footnote in Palmer 1936g (p. 23), Palmer notes: 'The work on collocations was subsequently entrusted to Professor and Mrs. Hornby, and the result of their efforts was the object of special commendation by the Conference at the [1935] meeting in London'

11 Hornby implies here that this work on collocations came before the work on sentence patterns described in the preceding quotation above, but the reverse order seems to be more accurate.
continue to publish his series of articles in his own university’s journal on ‘The teaching of grammar’ (Hornby 1935a, b).

Palmer stayed in the UK for half of the year 1935, attending the reconvened Carnegie Conference and helping with the compilation of its final report. During this time he secured employment with Longmans, Green. In what he must have known would be his last report to an IRET Convention, posted to Japan and read at the Convention by Redman, Palmer spelled out his vision of the work remaining to be done. This was to become the project Hornby took on after Palmer left Japan in 1936:

What was to be the future program of the I.R.E.T.? Everything seemed to point to a co-ordination of what had been done in the past. The stage of analysis was ending and that of synthesis was approaching. A new type of dictionary was indicated, something between the present type and the grammar book, with many features not to be found in either.

(Anon. 1935)

At a March 10 1936 meeting of the IRET Board of Administration, Palmer officially resigned as Director of IRET, and was replaced by Ishikawa Rinshiro. Hornby became ‘Technical Adviser’ and Editor of the Institute Bulletin. As was later reported,

The question of a foreign adviser to be in charge of the linguistic research work of the Institute and to edit the Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching was [. . .] considered. Through the courtesy of the Tokyo Higher Normal School and the Foreign Language School it was found possible to obtain the services of Mr. A.S. Hornby for several afternoons a week. Arrangements have since been made with Mr. Hornby by which he will begin these new duties from the beginning of April.

(Anon. 1936: 19)

Hornby’s April 1936 editorial for the Bulletin was his first as ‘Editor in Chief’, a position he was to retain until 1941. In this first editorial (Hornby 1936a) he paid

12 Hornby was referred to as ‘technical adviser’ by Joji Sakurai (Chairman of Board of Administration) in his report to 13th Annual Convention: see Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching 128 (November 1936): 10.
tribute to Palmer's work to date under the headings of Speech Psychology, New-Type Grammar, Lexicological Research, Syntax, and A Synthesis (i.e. new type of dictionary), and described his idea of his (and IRET's) future work as 'the application of the work that has been done' (p. 5).

Hornby's vision at this point was not to be entirely realized in work in Japan, but it is interesting to note the extent to which it came to guide his work in the post-war years in the UK. What did take up more and more of Hornby's attention in Japan was work on the new-type dictionary which Palmer had suggested in his departing remarks to the IRET Convention. As Naganuma (1978: 11) was later to recall:

The work which remained to be done [on the Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary planned by Naganuma and Palmer] was taken over by Mr. Hornby [. . .]. Mr. Hornby, a fervent research worker, revised and enlarged the selection of collocations, made significant changes in the construction patterns and arranged them in their final form of twenty-five verb patterns. He also went through the large amount of additional research material Dr. Palmer had left behind, selecting and shaping it for use.

(Naganuma 1978: 11)

In the meantime, Palmer was attempting in the UK to synthesize and apply some of the Japan work in his own way, in some cases continuing to involve Hornby. Thus, Thousand-Word English was published by Harrap in 1937 (Palmer and Hornby 1937d) in introduction to a series of supplementary readers which they had also produced together. 'Thousand Word English' was to become important during the wartime years as a viable alternative to Basic English in the eyes of the British Council. It also made Hornby's name better-known outside Japan, and so, in this way, too, paved the way for his appointment as 'linguistic adviser' to the Council at the end of the war.

By the end of 1937 a slow-down in the pace of IRET research work had become apparent, even though Hornby had written optimistically in the middle of the year as follows:

As progress is made with the work of preparing a final report on vocabulary selection, and as the work of designing a report on construction-patterns approaches completion, the inter-dependence of the I.R.E.T. activities
becomes clearer and clearer. [. . .] Dr. Jespersen's recently-issued *Analytic Syntax* may facilitate the working-out of useful patterns, a task that was begun by Dr. Palmer.

(Hornby 1937: 5)

He also showed, however, that his thoughts were turning increasingly to new-type dictionaries, although not, as yet, to their compilation:

The final report is likely to approach dictionary dimensions. It will, in fact, be a foundation on which one day to build the new-type dictionary which the designer of these schemes, Dr. Palmer, had in mind as a possible crowning achievement of the I.R.E.T. research activities.

(Hornby 1937: 6)

However, in his own report to the Fourteenth IRET Convention later in the same year Ishikawa acknowledged the amount of work that needed to be done, and excused himself and Hornby for not submitting a technical report, since 'Neither Mr. Hornby nor himself had that freedom from classroom duties that had, to a large extent, been enjoyed by his [Ishikawa's] predecessor Dr. Palmer'. 13 Hornby (1937) similarly excused the absence of a technical report due to the 'amount of work facing them', and expressed a hope that help might be forthcoming from the new Division of English Teaching at the Institute of Education, University of London (established following Lawrence Faucett's resignation).

One year later (at the Convention in autumn 1938), Hornby (1938b: 21) reported that his attention had by now turned fully to dictionary-preparation, and that work was being undertaken on three dictionaries: a Beginner's bilingual dictionary, described as 'in press' (although it was not in fact to be published until 1940); a monolingual dictionary for middle-grade and first year university students (with Hornby as chief compiler — this appears not to have been published); and a larger, more ambitious dictionary (later to become the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*), in collaboration with E.V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield. Instead of providing further technical reports, Hornby expressed the hope that it would thus

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be possible to make the results of IRET research available 'in a more practical form' (Hornby 1938b: 20).

By this time Hornby was also collaborating extensively with another Japanese colleague, Eishiro Hori, a professor at Keio University, partly in compiling and presenting a course of Elementary English radio-lessons, which prefigured Hornby's later work for BBC 'English by Radio' (Anon. 1938). Hornby and Hori also jointly authored a simplified version of talks by Harold Nicholson for the IRET 'Selections from Standard Authors' series (Hori and Hornby 1938?).

There were 'serious difficulties caused by the shortage of materials and skilled labour' (Hornby 1939: 259) which hindered production and publication of the IRET dictionaries, and Hornby sometimes became frustrated by the slow progress. He also had to make various corrections to the copy supplied by his two collaborators, E.V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield, for the larger dictionary. Eventually, the first of the promised dictionaries was published in March 1940. This was A Beginner's English-Japanese Dictionary (Japanese title, Kihon Eigo Gakushū Jiten; literally, 'Fundamental English Learner's Dictionary') compiled jointly with Ishikawa Rinshiro, the former Director of the Institute (who had died in September 1939). This first dictionary was designed to complement the larger monolingual dictionary for more advanced learners (see Cowie 1999: 39–42).

Aside from resulting in shortages of resources, the increasing militarisation of Japan does not appear to have made life unduly uncomfortable for Hornby or his daughters. The situation changed rapidly, however, following the suprise attack on Pearl Harbor on 8 December 1941. There was a warning from the Embassy that families should leave Japan if they could. Hornby's daughters left with an American

14 Interview with Phyllis Willis. Hornby's daughter was herself employed to find errors, being paid one 'sen' by her father for every error spotted (ibid.). Although the manuscript of the larger dictionary seems to have been completed by January 1941 (this is the date of its preface), the proofreading and production process took a long time. Imura (1997: 237) describes how the printing had to be carried out in sections of 100 pages. The type then needed to be melted down before the next 100 pages could be set and printed.

15 Dated according to IRLT 1993: 6.

16 Interview with Phyllis Willis. Hornby's wife had died previously from complications resulting from the birth of their second daughter.
missionary family and spent the rest of the war in the USA. Hornby, however, did not leave, partly because he wanted to see the dictionary through to publication. Soon after Britain declared war on Japan, however, Hornby was interned in a German Catholic monastery in Setagaya, Tokyo (Imura 1997: 236).

During his period of internment Hornby does not appear to have been badly treated. April 1942 saw the publication of his dictionary, co-compiled with E.V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield, titled Shin Ei–Ei Dai-jiten (literally, New English-English Dictionary) in Japanese, but with the more technical-sounding English title of Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary. Naganuma, the dictionary's publisher, recalled later (1978: 12) how 'Only after making frantic appeals to the government was it possible to secure enough paper to print 10,000 copies of the dictionary'. The dictionary was notable for the detailed information it provided on collocations and verb patterns, and the distinction it made throughout between countable and uncountable nouns (see Cowie 1999: 42–51 for a more detailed assessment).

It is noteworthy, also, that in his Introduction to the dictionary (p. iv), Hornby states 'It is hoped that the dictionary will be of value to those who are learning English as a foreign language, not only throughout the British Empire but also in other countries throughout the world'. Here no mention is made of Japan. Prior to the outbreak of war an agreement had been made with Oxford University Press to publish the dictionary and it seems clear that the preface had been written with this in mind. Regarding how the dictionary came to be accepted for publication by OUP, John Brown, later a senior figure in the OUP hierarchy, claims credit for this (1978: viii), indicating that in 1939 copies of some IRET supplementary readers had been submitted for review to the Indian Branch (Brown,

17 Phyllis, the older daughter, attended school in Florida for a short time before becoming involved in helping the course planners at the University of Michigan put together materials for the teaching of Japanese. Then after a short time she moved to San Francisco, where she helped in editing propaganda broadcasts in Japanese. When she returned to Britain after the war, she was invited by H.V. Redman to accompany him back to Japan as his secretary. She did not see her father until she returned to the UK from that trip, taking with her a bound copy of the ISED dictionary. This was the first time her father saw a bound copy. (Interview with Phyllis Willis.)

18 Interview with Phyllis Willis.

19 Publication details in the edition I have consulted (in the Oxford University Press ELT Dictionaries department) indicates that 4,000 copies were issued on the original publication date of 20 April 1942, with 6,000 copies being issued on 20 September in the same year.
at the time a junior manager, was responsible for editing a quarterly journal for teachers in India). He continues:

[O]n the back cover under the bold heading ‘in preparation’ was an advertisement and description of the forthcoming dictionary by Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield. [...] So a letter was immediately sent to the Japanese publishers asking for sample material, quotations for supply of flat sheets and an option on an exclusive agency for the work in the Indian sub-continent. Within a short time the sample pages and a tentative quotation for the still uncompleted work were received and the option granted. A glance at the material confirmed that here was an original and most valuable work. The sample pages were quickly sent to Eric Parnwell, head of the then Overseas Educational Department in the London office of the Press, including the sample pages, with a covering letter suggesting that here was a work worth considering for sale throughout the world outside Japan and also the quotations [sic].

(ibid.)

Although the first edition of ISED was not published until after the outbreak of war, Hornby had managed to send a complete set of final proofs to OUP in London before then (Hornby 1980: 19). OUP was unable to print the dictionary immediately due to shortages of paper (ibid.), but it did appear in 1948, photographically reprinted (with some details changed ‘to reflect the post-1945 settlement in the Far East’ (Cowie 1995: 288)) and under the revised title A Learner's Dictionary of Current English.

In July 1942 Hornby was permitted to leave Japan with diplomats, elderly people and children, under an exchange of nationals agreement (Hornby received preferential treatment due to Department of Education appreciation for his work with IRET (Hornby 1974: 5): others had to remain in Japan until the end of the war).20 The ship travelled to what is now Maputo, in Mozambique, where the passengers were exchanged with Japanese who had been in Britain and British colonies in Africa, and another ship took them on to Britain, where they disembarked in October 1942 (Imura 1997: 238).

On arriving back in the UK, Hornby was reunited with Palmer, who supplied him with copies of work done in Japan (Hornby 1974: 5). He also came

20 Departure dated July 1942 in IRLT 1993: 6
home to find a letter inviting him to work for the British Council in the Middle East. Independently of the dictionary, then, his name had preceded him, principally, it seems, as co-author with Palmer of *Thousand-Word English*. He soon left Britain to work for the British Council as a university teacher and teacher-trainer in Persia. As he later recalled:

When I got back, a long voyage back via South Africa on a Red Cross ship, I found a message waiting for me at my home, where my parents were, saying that the British Council would very much like to have me as a linguistic adviser for the Middle East. And in Cairo, the British Council wanted me to stay and be the linguistic adviser for the whole of the Middle East area. But I had been appointed to Teheran, so in the end, I went through to Teheran. And during the rest of the war I was teaching at the Teacher Training Institute of the University of Teheran. And part of the time I was Acting Director of the Anglo-Persian Institute in Teheran, where we taught, I suppose, thousands of students during those years.

(Hornby 1974: 5-6)

Regarding the content of his work in Teheran, he recalled as follows:

I got about 30 or 40 British Army men, and they came in the evenings and I gave them a short intensive course in methodology, put them in charge of the classes, and used to go around and see that they were doing their stuff in the proper way. And they were very successful teachers in the end. So we overcame [the] problem of how to get teachers of English in Teheran.

(Hornby 1974: 6)

In 1945 he returned to England and was appointed to the headquarters of the British Council in London as 'Linguistic Adviser'. As he recalled,

This meant chiefly desk-work: the reading of reports from British Council centres in many parts of the world, much correspondence, and dealing with files. It was useful work, but not the kind of work which held my interest. I had been concerned with teaching, language work in the classroom, the training of teachers. I felt that whatever knowledge and abilities I might possess were not being used in the best way, and I became impatient.

(Hornby 1966: 3)

21 Hornby's (1934a) *Composition Exercises in Elementary English*, published by Macmillan, was also known. It was, for example, one of the few books on the 1941 'Syllabus of Courses in English' at the Cairo British Institute (in the Dakin Collection, University of Edinburgh).
He soon took action, then, to set up a journal on the model of the IRET Bulletin: 'You see, we had a periodical in Japan for the Institute for Research in English Teaching. So I did something on similar lines called English Language Teaching' (Hornby 1974: 6). He recalled this in more detail as follows:

Memories of those years in Japan gave me the idea of starting, if possible, a similar periodical in London. There were numerous periodicals concerned with language and language teaching, but none of them was concerned primarily with the teaching of English as a foreign or second language. The British Council was obviously the right organization to sponsor such a new periodical. So I approached Dr. A.E. Morgan, the then Controller of Education Division, and put my proposals to him. He welcomed them and told me to go ahead.

(Hornby 1966: 3).

Hornby was the editor of English Language Teaching between 1946 and 1950, when he retired from the British Council to devote himself to materials writing. The first issue of the new periodical (which, he later admitted, was 'something in the nature of a one-man band' (Hornby 1966: 4)) appeared in October 1946, and initially the journal was published eight times a year until the summer of 1951, when it was decided to enlarge it and publish four times a year. Hornby was himself by far the most frequent contributor in the first five years of the journal (1946–51), publishing twenty separate articles (as compared with the next most frequent contributors, R. Kingdon and E.L. Tibbitts with ten each). As Howatt (1984: 317) has claimed,

[Hornby's] numerous articles in the journal, notably an early series on 'Linguistic Pedagogy' [(Hornby 1946–47)] established the ground-rules for the British version of direct-method English language teaching: new linguistic items and patterns presented 'situationally' in class first, followed by oral work based on a text and exercises in speech and writing.

(Howatt 1984: 317)

In his early articles for English Language Teaching, Hornby mainly propagated ideas on methodology which had been developed originally by Palmer and within IRET (aside from the articles on 'Linguistic pedagogy', itself Palmer's term, there
was an early series on 'Sentence patterns and substitution tables' (Hornby 1946-47b)). Indeed, he reprinted several of his own articles and two of Palmer's from the IRET Bulletin: 'This periodical was not widely known outside Japan, and it seemed a pity that so much useful material should not be made more widely known' (Hornby 1966: 5). However, as the new periodical picked up in circulation, new contributors came forward, notably from the University of London Institute of Education including Gurrey, Pattison, Elliott and Mackey. There were also British Council officers such as Gatenby, Tibbitts, Allen, Kingdon, Uldall, Cartledge, Hicks and King. University linguists began to be represented (Abercrombie and Catford), and several authors known already in the pre-war period also contributed: West, Richards and Palmer (Hornby 1966: 5).

Aside from his work for the British Council, when Hornby's daughter Phyllis returned to the UK from Japan in 1948 she found him mostly occupied in work for the BBC's 'English by Radio' operations, on a newly commissioned bilingual series of programmes. Quinault recalls that Hornby was very well-known by then by those on the overseas side at the BBC, though Eckersley (who had been commissioned to write a lower level bilingual series) was at this stage better-known by those in the European Service. Quinault described Hornby's own programmes in the following way:

Assuming a fairly extensive vocabulary from the start, the conversations concern themselves not with further vocabulary-building, but with the discussion of characteristic features of English pronunciation, verb-usage, sentence-structure and word-meaning. The Hornby series is just now being broadcast with vernacular commentaries in the Arabic, Hindustani, Persian and Turkish services.

(Quinault 1948: 49)

In developing this course, Hornby was 'tremendously organised' according to Quinault's later recollection, and it was used again and again in subsequent years, becoming so popular that it came to be known as 'Hornby by Radio' (Hornby's daughter suffered, in her own work at the BBC World Service, from being called 'the daughter of Hornby by Radio').

In the year the course was first broadcast

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22 Interviews with René Quinault (5 January 1999) and Phyllis Willis. In 1952 the programmes were published in textbook form, in two volumes (Hornby 1952a).
(1948), Hornby further established himself as the central figure in British ELT with the photographic reprinting by OUP (in the original pre-war Japanese typesetting) of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*, under the new title *A Learner's Dictionary of Current English*.\(^{23}\) As Brown (1978: ix) recalled, E.C. Parnwell — who was the major figure in building up OUP's ELT list in the pre-war and immediate post-war years on the basis of work by Lawrence Faucett and F.G. French — had already secured Hornby's services for further writing work. In 1949, Hornby's first course for OUP, *Oxford Progressive English for Students in the Middle East* was published.

Following Palmer's death in 1949, Hornby published a series of articles on 'The situational approach in language teaching' (Hornby 1950b) in *English Language Teaching* which further contributed to firmly establishing in post-war Britain the methodology Palmer had developed for pre-war Japan.

In 1950 Hornby resigned from the British Council to devote himself full-time to writing, Parnwell having arranged for him nominally to join the OUP staff on terms which would enable him to do so (Brown 1978: ix). He maintained his connection with *English Language Teaching* as a member of the new editorial board, which was otherwise dominated by staff at the University of London Institute of Education (Elliott, Mackey, Noonan and Pattison). Hornby moved to the country, to work in the first instance on making smaller dictionaries from the larger one, at Parnwell's suggestion (Hornby 1966: 6). These were, in fact, written jointly with Parnwell, and both were published in 1952 as *The Progressive English Dictionary* and *An English-Reader's Dictionary* (Hornby and Parnwell 1952a, b). In 1952 Hornby also contributed to *English Language Teaching* a defence of his 'situational approach' ideas (Hornby 1952b) in response to a critical article by West (1951), although from the time of his resignation onwards the number of articles he contributed to the journal overall dropped dramatically (there were no articles from him in the years between 1955 and 1962, for instance). One reason for this was,

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\(^{23}\) In 1952, the title was changed slightly, to *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, but the dictionary remained fundamentally unchanged from the original 1942 edition until 1963, when a second edition was issued. Although correspondence in the OUP archive shows that Hornby had hoped, from the start, that 'Oxford' could appear in the title, this was not to occur until 1974, with the third edition.
presumably, that he was hard at work throughout the 1950s in writing further innovative coursebook and reference materials for OUP, helping to establish for it a leading position in the two-horse race with Longmans (only Macmillan was developing a competing list at this time, but it was not really a major competitor). Hornby's second course for OUP, *The Oxford English Course for Western Asia* (in a 2nd, 1958 edition titled *The Oxford English Course for Iraq*), was brought out in 1953, authored jointly with D.C. Miller and an Iraqi, Selim Hakim. (e.g. Hakim, Hornby and Miller 1953) This was soon followed by his major 'international' course, *Oxford Progressive English for Adult Learners* (1954–56), which rapidly established itself as a rival to Eckersley's *Essential English for Foreign Students* (itself reissued by Longmans in a new edition in 1955). The 'Hornby course', as it was generally known, was particularly successful among adults learning English in the emerging European market, and was later expanded into four volumes.24

This course benefited from work Hornby had been undertaking in parallel in which he refined and extended the Tokyo work on sentence patterns (most notably presented in Palmer's (1934aa) *Specimens of English Construction-Patterns* and (1938h) *A Grammar of English Words*, and the Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield (1942, 1948) dictionary). The fruits of this work were published in the same year as the first book of the 'Hornby course' (in 1954), in the form of a pedagogical grammar, *A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English*, in which the basic patterns of English were described with the aid of numerous substitution tables, and on the basis of what Hornby knew from long experience was useful to learners of English as a foreign language.

During the 1950s, in particular, Hornby varied the routine of writing with occasional long lecture tours overseas for the British Council. Over a period of six or seven years, he went all over the Middle East, two or three times, to Latin America, and to India, Pakistan and Burma (Hornby 1974: 7).25 He also returned to Japan, in 1956, as the invited representative of the British Council at a meeting

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24 In an 'Alternative edition' co-authored with Ronald Mackin (Hornby and Mackin 1964–67).

25 For example, 'Marian and I will be leaving again about the 20th December for another trip abroad. We shall be in India, Pakistan and Iraq until the end of February. It is a good escape from the English winter. I seem to get a good deal of foreign travel these days -- quite enjoyable, though it interferes with the writing I have to do' (Hornby to Dorothée Anderson, 13 October 1956, in the personal files of Victoria Angela).
which established new priorities for reform in secondary schools. On the same panel were Charles Fries and Freeman Twaddell, whose ideas, based on contrastive structural linguistics, were subsequently to predominate in the Rockefeller-sponsored reform movement instigated by the conference (see Henrichsen 1989). In Hornby's own (1956/1970) contribution, he emphasized insights gained from his years of practical experience, and, as he later noted, it was primarily this experience, combined with the research done in Tokyo before the war, which gave him the confidence to write and speak so prolifically:

I felt that I had had this long experience - actually in the classroom, then I'd been round the world and seen conditions in many parts of the world. [...] So that gave me what I felt was a solid background. Then there was the research that we'd done in Tokyo. So I felt I was qualified to put something down on paper. I wouldn't have dared to do that if I hadn't had that experience.

(Hornby 1974: 9)

Ogawa (1978: 9) also emphasized the themes of 'experience' and the continuing value of pre-war IRET work in reporting on Hornby's visit to Japan in 1956:

During this visit Hornby's emphasis was upon the importance of experience in teaching [...]. Fries, on the other hand, elaborated the concept of contrastive studies based on structural linguistics. Incidentally, after the introduction of structural linguistics, pattern practice became the focus of attention of English teachers in Japan, but in my view this is merely a different version of the exercise known as substitution drill, advocated by Palmer and Hornby thirty years earlier.

(Ogawa, 1978: 9)

In later years Hornby began to find the long tours overseas over-tiring, and he concentrated instead on shorter visits, to northern Europe in particular (Hornby 1974: 7).

In 1959 he began to combine his practical, 'situational' teaching and teacher-training experience with his interest in the patterns of English grammar to good effect in The Teaching of Structural Words and Sentence Patterns, Stage 1 of _______

26 There was also a later visit to Japan, in autumn 1969 (IRLT 1993: 13), reported on in Hornby 1970, but Hornby was not to be as directly involved in attempts to reform ELT in Japan in the post-war era as was Fries.
which was published in that year (Stages 2, 3 and 4 were published in 1961, 1962 and 1966, respectively). In 1963 there was a second completely revised and reset edition of The Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, following an agreement with Kaitakusha in 1960 for collaboration on such a revision (Naganuma 1978: 12). 27 In 1974 there was a further (third) edition, revised and much expanded with the assistance of A.P. Cowie and J. Windsor Lewis, and given the ‘Oxford’ name for the first time. Finally, in 1978, a shortened version of the dictionary was issued, jointly compiled with Christina Ruse, the Oxford Student’s Dictionary of Current English.

Towards the end of his career, Hornby engaged in some retrospective analyses (1966, 1968, 1974) which acknowledged the influence of Palmer on him even more clearly than had been the case his earlier post-war work. Around 1961, Hornby had begun to think about how the mounting royalties from his OUP publications could be put to good use for the benefit of the profession, and in that year he set up the Hornby Educational Trust, which, since 1969 when the first grants were made, has principally been devoted to providing scholarships and grants to teachers in developing countries for the purpose of furthering their studies, usually at MA level, in the UK (Collier, Neale and Quirk 1978: 4). Hornby’s primary motivation ‘as the slightly bewildered recipient of, in his view, a somewhat excessive return of worldly goods’ (Brown 1978: x) was to ‘have the money used for education and go back to the countries from which it comes’ (letter quoted in Collier, Neale and Quirk 1978: 3).

The final years of Hornby’s life were marked by a series of honours, notably the award of a Fellowship of University College London in 1976 (Collier, Neale and Quirk 1978: 3), the conferral of an honorary degree by Oxford University in 1977 (Strevens 1978: front flyleaf) and, in 1978, the publication of an eightieth birthday festschrift, In Honour of A.S. Hornby (Strevens 1978), which celebrated his many achievements. Hornby died soon afterwards, on 13 September (IRLT 1993: 14).

27 The revision took two to three years (Hornby 1974: 12). Although still published under the names Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield, the latter two collaborators had previously died, so the revision was carried out by Hornby alone (ibid.).
The following assessment of his career (by Pattison 1978: 25) succinctly identifies both Hornby's indebtedness to Palmer and his application and originality in extending Palmer's legacy:

He has continued and greatly added to the work of H.E. Palmer, to whom, with characteristic modesty and generosity, he has acknowledged indebtedness, and the great merit of this empirical British tradition of language teaching is that it presents the results of linguistic inquiry in forms teachers can understand and applies them to the actual learning process.

Hornby saw himself as more practical and down to earth than either Palmer or West (both of whom he termed 'theoretical'). Although not theoretically inclined, he was both independent-minded and problem-oriented, always concerned to base whatever work he did on the perceived needs of students he was or had been teaching. As Howatt (1984: 317) has recorded, 'He was greatly loved, kind, modest, and gently humorous', and his influence on the profession was profound.

8.2 E.V. Gatenby

Edward Vivian Gatenby (1892–1955) was born in Leyburn, Yorkshire. He gained a First Class Honours Degree in English, and an M.A. from the University of London, before working for a time as Lecturer at King's College, University of London. In 1923 he went to Japan to work as a university lecturer in English language (in the same year as A.S. Hornby), and became a Lecturer in English Language and Literature at the prestigious Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, in 1926. He was to remain at this university, later becoming Professor, until 1942 when he left Japan. During this period he also taught at Fukushima Commercial High School. In 1929 he brought out a book with the London publisher Murray on The Cloud-men of Yamato: Being an Outline of Mysticism in Japanese Literature.

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28 Interview with Phyllis Willis.

29 All details of Gatenby's life and career, unless otherwise stated, are from Phillips 1956a.
During his years in Japan, Gatenby was an active member of the Institute for Research in English Teaching, becoming a staff contributor to its *Bulletin*. Through the Institute's influence he became a 'warm advocate of the Direct Method' (Phillips 1956a: 87), although 'He was not an extremist, and disapproved of extremism in others' (ibid.). In the late 1930s he collaborated with Hornby in the compilation of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield 1942), which was later reissued by Oxford University Press as *A Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield 1948).

Having left Japan in 1942 (presumably on the same ship as A.S. Hornby, since there would have been no opportunity to leave at this time except under the same exchange of nationals agreement), Gatenby, like Hornby, was greeted in the UK with an appointment to the British Council. Gatenby was sent to Turkey as 'Linguistic Adviser' for Council operations there, receiving the same job title Hornby was given for his work in Persia. In 1944 he gained the post, in addition, of Professor of Pedagogy and Head of the English Department at the Gazi Educational Institute in Ankara, at that time the only Teachers' Training College in Turkey. By 1945 he was also a Professor of English at Ankara University. But, as Phillips (1956b: 2) comments, 'Even such a heavily loaded programme was not enough for him' and by 1951 he was giving a series of English lessons by radio from Ankara (which made him well known all over Turkey), preparing a quarterly pedagogical bulletin in Turkish, and examining in English for the Turkish government.

Gatenby was also publishing extensively in the UK in these years. On the basis of his teacher training experience with 'non-native speaker teachers' (or, as he put it, 'non-English teachers') in Japan and Turkey, he issued a book of practical hints on teaching methods titled *English as a Foreign Language: Advice to Non-English Teachers* (Longmans, Green) in 1944. During the first six years of its existence (1946–52), he also contributed no fewer than ten articles to the journal *English Language Teaching* which had been founded by his friend A.S. Hornby at

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30 This detail comes from Gatenby's (1947) overview of 'English language studies in Turkey' (p. 12). Modestly, he describes there how the English Department at the Gazi Institute, 'in charge of an Englishman [i.e. Gatenby himself], was opened in October, 1944' (ibid.).

31 The details in this paragraph come from library catalogues and original works cited, not from Phillips 1956a.
the British Council in London, on a wide range of topics including 'Second language in the kindergarten', 'English studies in Turkey', 'Translation in the classroom', 'Conditions for success in language learning' and 'The use of wall-pictures in language teaching'. In the late 1940s he turned his hand to textbook-writing, having noted (see Gatenby 1947: 10–11) certain weaknesses in the Oxford English Course materials which had been prescribed in Turkey for state schools ever since Faucett's (1933–34) advisory stay there. He first adapted the Essential English materials previously produced by Charles Eckersley, with Essential English for Turkish Students being published in 1948 (Eckersley and Gatenby 1948). Between 1949 and 1953 Longmans brought out, additionally, his own new course for Turkey, A Direct Method English Course. A New Course Specially Designed for Turkish Students (five volumes, with corresponding teachers' books), and an adaptation of this for wider sales was also published soon afterwards under the shorter title A Direct Method English Course (Gatenby 1952–53). Both of these series sold well enough for second editions to be produced in 1954. Finally, there was another joint publication with Eckersley in 1955, a set of English wall pictures to illustrate the words in West's (1953) General Service Vocabulary, with an accompanying Teacher's Handbook and exercises (Gatenby and Eckersley 1955).

As Phillips (1956a: 88) reports, between 1946 and 1955 Gatenby travelled a great deal under British Council auspices. He held summer schools and advised governments on English teaching in the Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, Yugoslavia and Israel, and visited English classes in various countries, including South Africa and Egypt. A particularly significant visit occurred in 1950 when he went to Mahableshwar, in India, to direct the first large-scale British Council event to be held in that country after Independence. Phillips (ibid.) offers the following eyewitness account:

To that conference came Indian experts, many of whom were facing the problem of the teaching of English as a foreign language for the first time. For India has attained her excellence in English because she has used it. It has been the medium of instruction and the only means of communication between Indians whose mother tongues were different. It was for Professor Gatenby to explain that, with the ultimate relegation of English to the place of a subsidiary language in India, the methods of instruction in that language must be radically changed. I well remember the atmosphere of scepticism in which that conference started, and the way in which Professor Gatenby's
kindly informed insistence changed that atmosphere to one that was as friendly as it was sincere. The final speeches of the delegates, and their expressions of thanks were a very moving testimony to the influence that Professor Gatenby had spread over the whole conference during those very pleasant and rewarding days.

The conference ended with a list of ‘General recommendations’ which clearly owed much to Gatenby’s influence, including: the promotion of the direct method ‘as the only method calculated to give a sure foundation in the language, the occasional judicious use of the mother tongue being permitted during such language instruction’; the need to concentrate in the first years on ‘a mastery of the words and structures of a selected vocabulary’; and the establishment of an ‘Institute of Research in English Language Teaching’ (an echo, clearly, of the Tokyo Institute for Research in English Teaching).32 The Central Institute of English (now the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, or CIEFL for short) was established in 1958, in Hyderabad (Taranayya 2000: xii). It is tempting to speculate that Gatenby’s suggestions at the British Council conference of 1950 may have played some part in this development.

Gatenby’s work for the British Council was honoured in the UK with the award of an O.B.E. (in 1953), followed in 1955 by a C.B.E.. In 1954 he had resigned from the British Council and was hoping to retire to England, with an advisory post at Longmans in prospect, but his intensive work in Turkey and frequent travelling had taken their toll, and in November 1955 he died suddenly after only three days’ illness.

8.3 Lionel Billows

Lionel Billows (1909–2004), who died recently at the age of ninety-four, was best-known for his book Techniques of Language Teaching (1961), whose humanism and continuing interest value Maley (2001) has recently highlighted. Billows’ most notable practical achievement was his work as Education Officer for the British

Council in South India between 1954 and 1960, when he conceived and initially directed a ‘campaign’ for the wholesale retraining of 28,000 Primary School teachers. This project has entered ELT mythology as the ‘Madras Snowball’, due to an article by Billows’ successor which unaccountably fails to mention his contribution (Smith 1962), but Billows himself disliked the term, preferring to call it instead the ‘MELT (Madras English Language Teaching) Campaign’.

Billows had an establishment upbringing, attending private schools, graduating from Cambridge (with a degree in history, in 1932) and spending two years in the army prior to finding work as a teacher of English and History in preparatory schools. However, he had a strong social conscience, as was shown by his decision to go to Germany in 1938 to start a school for Jewish people who were hoping to emigrate. While awaiting approval for the project (which was not, in the end, granted), he began teaching English as a foreign language. He returned to England shortly before the outbreak of war to accept an appointment with the British Council, which was just then beginning to expand its operations. He was to remain on the Council staff for the next twenty-six years, mostly as a teacher and teacher trainer, but also with important administrative responsibilities.

During the early part of the war Billows worked (in rapid succession) in Estonia, Egypt, and Cyprus, where he was given the responsibility of setting up a new British Institute, in Larnaca. He spent most of the rest of the war (1941–44) in Turkey. Here he was made Director of the British Council Centre in Bursa, a position which involved intensive teaching work, visiting schools in the city and neighbourhood in the mornings, teaching executives in a factory in the afternoons and running evening classes at the adult education centre in the evenings. He saw out the rest of the war as a Lecturer in the American University, Beirut.

For the next two years (1946–48) Billows was given the task of opening a new British Council office in Zürich, Switzerland (the office was soon afterwards closed, despite a strongly worded protest from the eminent psychologist C.G. Jung). He then returned to Turkey, as Director of Studies for British Council evening classes in Ankara, but also in a new capacity as teacher trainer, at the prestigious

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33 Sources for this information, and all biographical details in the present account are an unpublished typescript titled ‘Madras Snowball: A crash education programme’ and a curriculum vitae, both written by Lionel Billows, in the personal files of his son, William Billows.
Gazi [Teacher] Training Institute in the same city, where he was guided by E.V.
Gatenby — an ELT pioneer of a slightly older generation who had himself been
inspired by Harold Palmer's work with teachers in Japan. As a 'Travelling Teacher
Trainer', originally sent out to visit only the graduates of the Gazi Institute, Billows
gradually extended his work to cover the teaching of English in all schools in the
area, and the Ministry of Education made him an official inspector. This itinerant
experience was to serve him in good stead when in 1952 there was another change
of scene, involving a transfer to Saidapet Teachers' College in the southern Indian
state of Madras. From this base he demonstrated methods of teaching in all fifteen
of the training colleges in the state for two years. Then, having been made British
Council Education Officer for the whole of southern India, he experimented with
various types of short course for the further training of teachers. This led to a
commission from the Minister of Education of Madras State to prepare for the
introduction of English into all Primary Schools. Billows planned and put in motion
a campaign by which 28,000 Primary School teachers were to be trained in active
and play-oriented situational methods for the teaching of English by 8,000
Secondary School teachers, themselves trained by a small cadre of senior staff,
making for a planned total of 36,000 teachers to be inducted into the new approach.
Although this campaign was completed within three years as planned, a
continuation was institutionalized in Bangalore for the whole of South India. The
effects of Billows' innovative 'MELT' campaign in spreading awareness of what
came to be known as 'Structural-Oral-Situational' methodology were long-lasting,
even if criticisable with hindsight for their overall inappropriateness (Prabhu 1987:
10–11). Indeed, MELT was the main precursor of the 'cascade training' model
which continues to inform British Council work to this day. It is easy to dismiss the
'Snowball' as an essentially top-down neo-colonial project (see Pennycook 1994:
151), but Madras State sponsorship of the project, the lack of support given to it by
other British Council representatives in its first year, and Billows' own humanistic
view that 'success would be dependent on the process being an organic, co-
operative growth and not just a filling up of empty receptacles' all need to be
balanced in the equation. 'MELT', in his own conception, was as much about
helping to 'melt communal, religious and racist barriers of prejudice' as spreading a
new methodology, and, as he emphasized, 'snowballs seemed out of place there'.
To his own great regret, Billows was not able to see through the retraining work in India to its completion, since in 1960 he was summoned back to London to be Head of the British Council's English Language Training Section. Just as summarily, however, he was soon sent off again, this time to Makerere University in East Africa, apparently to act as a counter-balance to growing American influence in the region. In the meantime his post in London had been abolished. There then ensued a number of short-term teacher-training and report-writing assignments, in Germany, Poland, the Sudan, and Rhodesia, until in 1964 he was made English Language Officer for Germany. One year later, he was again informed that he was to be transferred, this time to Persia, but Billows had by now had enough of British Council short-termism. He resigned and took up an offer to be head of the University of Makerere Language Methods Department, to which he had previously been attached. Initially he was responsible only for the training of teachers of English, of whom half were students from the UK, but during his time there (1966–70) he also introduced Swahili, Luganda, French and German into the curriculum, taking personal responsibility for the latter two languages. He became Dean of the Faculty of Education, and was a member of the Survey Committee of the Survey of Language Use and Teaching in Eastern Africa sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

From 1970 onwards Billows taught at various universities in Germany, ending up as a full Professor in the Faculty of Education, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, where he was based from 1975 until his retirement in 1979. He continued to live in Germany until his death.