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THE TEACHING OF FRENCH IN THE UNITED STATES--A HISTORY.

BY- WATTS, GEORGE B.

AMERICAN ASSN. OF TEACHERS OF FRENCH

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A REPORT ON THE HISTORY OF FRENCH TEACHING IN THE UNITED STATES MAKES US AWARE OF THE GROWTH OF INTEREST IN MODERN LANGUAGE STUDY WHILE FOCUSING SPECIFICALLY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INSTRUCTION. THE CONSEQUENT STUDY OF FRENCH IS TRACED IN THE OPENING CHAPTER WITH A BRIEF PICTURE OF THE TIES BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES. "SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES" FOLLOWS, WITH A BREAKDOWN OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INSTRUCTION AND THE CHANGING EDUCATIONAL POLICY TOWARD LANGUAGE STUDY BY SCHOOL TYPES--PUBLIC SECONDARY, ELEMENTARY, AND RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, COMMERCIAL, SUMMER LANGUAGE INSTITUTES, AND JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD PROGRAMS. "TEXTS, TECHNIQUES, AND TEACHING EQUIPMENT" AND "LANGUAGE ASSOCIATIONS" ARE THE TWO CONCLUDING CHAPTERS WHICH DESCRIBE THE TYPES OF BOOKS AND MATERIALS USED FROM COLONIAL DAYS TO THE PRESENT AND A BRIEF BACKGROUND OF SUCH RELATED ORGANIZATIONS AS THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF FRENCH. THIS DOCUMENT WAS PUBLISHED IN "THE FRENCH REVIEW," VOLUME 37, NUMBER 1, PART 2. (SS)

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PART 2 OF TWO PARTS



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***The Teaching of French
in the United States: A HISTORY***

GEORGE B. WATTS

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PART TWO OF TWO PARTS

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Introduction

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION, under contract with the U. S. Office of Education, undertook in 1959-61 a series of statistical and other surveys published as *Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages*. Two of these surveys were historical: Edwin H. Zeydel's "The Teaching of German in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present" and Sturgis E. Leavitt's "The Teaching of Spanish in the United States." The third survey, on the teaching of French, was commissioned at that time but delayed in execution because George Watts was too heavily committed to his teaching duties and to managing the AATF to do the thorough research that he felt must precede the writing of the history. We have it now, and it is well worth the wait. We persuaded Julian Harris, former editor of the *French Review* and one of the critics of the manuscript itself, to write the following foreword, and we are happy to see it appear under AATF auspices as a supplement to the *French Review*.

DONALD D. WALSH

Foreword

PROFESSOR George B. Watts is known to many thousands of persons as the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Association of Teachers of French, for he has discharged the heavy duties of that important post for no less than seven consecutive three-year terms. For this service alone, he would merit the gratitude and admiration of the profession. During his incumbency, the Association grew from 2153 members (1942) to upwards of 10,000 (1963). In addition to the greatest possible conscientiousness, patience, and orderliness, he brought to this work an inexhaustible amount of ingenuity, resourcefulness, and leadership. Everyone looked to him for guidance. When the other officers of the Association needed help, he was always ready to come to their aid. When the Executive Council lacked a sense of direction, he could always be counted on to supply one. When editor and managing editor were *hors de combat*, he was perfectly capable of getting out the *French Review*. Henri Peyre once said of him: "George Watts is the AATF!"

But quite aside from his distinguished services to the Association, he is a leading figure in his profession. He was born in Franklin, New Hampshire on October 3, 1890. After taking his AB at Dartmouth (1913), he studied abroad (Berlin, 1913, Montpellier, 1919), took his AM at Harvard (1915), taught at the Lawrenceville School, held an instructorship at the University of Minnesota (1920-26), took his Ph.D. at Minnesota (1926), and was Professor of French at Davidson College from 1926 until his retirement in 1961. He was thrice honored by the French Government, first in 1937 when he was awarded the title of *Officier d'Académie*, in 1950 when he became a *Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur*, and in 1961 when he was made an *Officier de l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques*.

He is one of the leading spirits in the South Atlantic Modern Language Association, serving frequently as an officer (President, 1950) and reading a number of scholarly papers at its meetings. Because of his general knowledgeability he has been invited to participate in many regional and national conferences in which important questions of professional policy are debated. He is the author of a long list of learned books and articles, among which are the following:

The Waldenses in the New World Duke University Press, 1941.

The Handicrafts of France as Recorded in the Descriptions des Arts et Métiers (with Arthur H. Cole). Harvard University Printing Office, 1952.

"The Swiss Editions of the *Encyclopédie*." *Harvard Library Bulletin*, IX (1955), 213-235.

"Vincent Minutoli's *Dépêches du Parnasse ou la Gazette des Savants*." *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 935-941.

"Louis Racine's *De la Grâce*." *PMLA*, LV (1940), 777-784.

"The *Encyclopédie Méthodique*." *PMLA*, LXXIII (1958), 348-366.

"The Geneva Folio Reprinting of the *Encyclopédie*." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 105 (1961), 361-367.

"Notes on Voltaire." *Modern Language Notes*, XLI (1926), 118-122.

"Forgotten Folio Editions of the *Encyclopédie*." *French Review*, XXVII (1953), 22-29.

"Voltaire, Christin, and Panckoucke." *French Review*, XXXII (1958), 138-143.

"The *Supplément* and the *Table Analytique et Raisonnée* of the *Encyclopédie*." *French Review*, XXVIII (1954), 4-19.

"The Comte de Buffon and his Friend and Publisher Charles-Joseph Panckoucke." *Modern Language Quarterly*, XVIII (1957), 313-322.

He is also the author of sections in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Volumes of the *Cabeen Critical Bibliography of French Literature* as well as of innumerable reviews.

Although he spends his summers with his family at Orleans on Cape Cod, where he enjoys sailing and fishing (his boat is named "La Pucelle"), he is never out of touch with his professional interests and his friends: he is constantly to be seen in Widener Library, and the Wattses' guest house is rarely vacant in the summer months.

JULIAN HARRIS

University of Wisconsin

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Preface

IN this endeavor to present a historical account of the teaching of French in this country from colonial days to the present time, the studies of earlier writers have served abundantly as guides. Charles Hart Handschin's *The Teaching of the Modern Languages in the United States*, based on extensive original research, was published in 1913 as Bulletin No. 3 by the U. S. Bureau of Education. In 1930 a ninety-page treatise, *History of Modern Language Teaching in the United States*, by E. W. Bagster-Collins, appeared as the first of the *Studies in Modern Foreign Language Teaching: Reports Prepared for the Modern Foreign Language Study and the Canadian Committee on Modern Languages*. Bagster-Collins borrows heavily from Handschin but extends his coverage to the time of the Modern Foreign Language Study of the late 1920's. The accounts of the teaching of Spanish and German by Sturgis E. Leavitt and Edwin H. Zeydel in *MLA Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Languages, 1959-61* have also been consulted with profit.

Data have been gathered from many other sources. Robert Francis Seybolt's studies on the teaching of languages in colonial times, such as *Source Studies in American Colonial Education, The Private School* (Univ. of Illinois Bulletin No. 28, 1925) and *Private Schools of Colonial Boston* (Cambridge, 1935), made it unnecessary to consult the various eighteenth-century *Gazettes*, save that of Virginia. C. E. Casteñeda's "Modern Language Instruction in American Colleges, 1770-1800" in *Catholic Educational Review* (Jan. and Feb. 1925) was most helpful.

For information on the teaching of French in American institutions of higher learning I have consulted many printed histories and catalogues of our colleges and universities, and, in some cases, have made use of manuscript materials and correspondence supplied by several colleagues, to whom I am indebted. I have examined a large number of French textbooks from the eighteenth century to the present time. Here many data on the teaching materials and methods of the times came to light, not only in the often copious introductions but in the works themselves.

Acknowledgement has been made in the pertinent sections to many other studies, prominent among which are Howard Mumford Jones's *America and French Culture*, Lucian J. Fosdick's *The French Blood in America*, and

Maxim Newmark's *Twentieth Century Modern Language Teaching*. I have consulted with profit many useful articles in *PMLA*, *MLJ*, the *French Review*, and other journals. Among the more recent works, William Riley Parker's *The National Interest and Modern Languages*, now in its third edition, Arthur Beattie's unpublished "Bestowing the Gift of Tongues," prepared for the Office of Education, and the many *Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages* of 1959-61, have been very useful.

I am grateful to the many colleagues who have supplied information and to those who have suggested additions, deletions, and changes after reading earlier drafts of this study in part or *in toto*: Theodore Andersson, Morris Bishop, Henry Grattan Doyle, Frederick D. Eddy, Stephen A. Freeman, Stowell C. Goding, Julian Harris, Alfred S. Hayes, Elton Hocking, Joseph C. Hutchinson, Marjorie C. Johnston, R. John Matthew, Henri Peyre, Norman L. Torrey, Ira O. Wade, and Donald D. Walsh.

Catholic Missionaries in Maine, the Middle West, Louisiana

FRENCH was first taught in North America by Catholic missionaries to the Indians. In 1603 Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, received authority from Henry IV to colonize "Arcadia," a territory extending from about the present city of Philadelphia to Newfoundland. In the spring of 1604 he sailed up the St. Croix River and landed on an island to which he gave the same name. With him was the Reverend Nicolas Aubry of Paris, who in July offered Mass for the first time in what is now New England. In 1609, the French Jesuits Biard and Massé established a fortified mission on Mount Desert Island, and in 1611 Jean de Biencourt, accompanied by Father Biard, landed on an island at the mouth of the Kennebec. From these small colonies the work of evangelization spread among the Abnaki Indians who, friendly to the French, were the first on this continent to embrace the Catholic faith. The missionaries of these early stations did not set up organized schools to teach French to their converts. They did teach them, however, enough simple words and phrases to enable them to understand their religious teaching and to live with them on friendly terms.

In 1619 the Recollects of the Franciscan Order were given charge of the territory. They ministered to the spiritual needs of the Indians and white settlers until 1630, when they were succeeded by the Capuchins. Meanwhile the Jesuits, beginning in 1625, had been coming to aid in the Christianizing of Canada. In 1633 they were given entire charge of the work. Within sixty years they had extended their missions throughout eastern Canada, along the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi almost to the Gulf of Mexico. As the country developed with the coming of many French settlers, several schools and seminaries were founded for the instruction of youth. Catholic missionaries followed the settlers and trappers throughout all the French territory of the North and West in what is presently Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois.

As early as 1660 Father René Menard S. J., established a mission in upper Michigan. Cadillac, founder of Detroit in 1701, wrote: "Permit me to insist upon the necessity there is for the establishment of a seminary at this place for the instruction of the children of the savages with those of the French, instructing them in piety, and, at the same time, teaching them our language." In Wisconsin French seems to have been little used by the fur traders in their dealings with the natives, as it was more convenient for the French to learn to speak the Indian tongue.

In the Illinois territory, a French school was founded at Kaskaskia in connection with the Jesuit college for priests in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and, later on, at Cahokia there was a French school conducted by the Sulpician monks. A monument to the labors of the missionaries is a manuscript dictionary (c.1720) in the language of the Illinois with catechism and prayers.

Early attempts to found institutions of learning in Louisiana met with scant success. Except in New Orleans, frontier conditions existed, the population was sparse, and the average colonist was little interested in education. The wealthy planters and officials hoped to return to France and they sent their sons there to be educated. For many years the Catholic Church was too weak to foster education. The growth of the slave population was another hindrance to the development of schools. The Catholic Church did, however, make some attempts to establish elementary schools. The first boys' school was opened in 1723 in New Orleans by Father Cecil, a Capuchin monk. No provision was made for girls until 1727, when a small group of Ursuline nuns came from Rouen, under charter of the Company of the Indies, to manage a hospital and to train the girls and young women of the colony to become fit wives for the settlers. They were enthusiastically welcomed and it is said that when they landed in New Orleans they had already received enough applications to fill their convent. The convent was built at the expense of the colonial government and the school was endowed with lands near the city. Mother Superior Tranchepain was in charge of the school, which soon won a great reputation for efficiency. The nuns were noted for their excellent instruction in French and English, and they required their pupils to converse daily in both languages.

With the Ursulines came two Jesuits charged with the establishment of missions among the Indians. They set up a post in New Orleans that was used principally as a stopping place for missionaries on their way to and from the Indian settlements in the West. "The Father of Louisiana," Governor Bienville, who served four terms (1701-13, 1716-17, 1718-25, 1733-43), asked them to organize a college, but they refused, saying that there were not suitable buildings and equipment. The colony was under the

spiritual direction of the Capuchins, an order which was not financially able to establish schools and colleges. The few private schools for boys, taught by priests, were poor in quality and had a precarious existence.

Governor Bienville tried several times to get the French government to found a college. In 1742 he made his last appeal: "There should be one college at least for the study of the classics, of geometry, geography, pilotage, etc." He complained that it was too expensive to send children to France for their education and that those who were not in school were growing up in idleness into "worthless men." But neither under Bienville nor under the Royal governors who followed him was there any real effort to develop schools in Louisiana.

During the Spanish period (1768-1803), the colonial authorities favored the establishment of elementary schools. The quarrels between the French and Spanish Capuchins probably hindered the setting up of church schools. Three Spanish schools were founded, with teachers from Spain. To the higher schools no French students ever came, and in the lower schools the French enrollment never exceeded thirty. Because of their opposition to the Spanish language, the French sent their children to private schools conducted by Frenchmen, of which there were at one time eight in New Orleans, with 400 pupils. At the Ursuline convent Spanish women who wished to become nuns were refused admittance until they learned French. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, only a few hundred persons in the colony were able to read and write well. The women were said to be better educated because of their training at the Ursuline school.

II.

Colonial Days

COLONIAL PRIVATE SCHOOLS

THROUGHOUT the eighteenth century, French was widely taught from Massachusetts to Georgia and occupied a well-established position in the intellectual and commercial life of the day. Its popularity grew as a result of French assistance during the American Revolution. The study of French was primarily an accomplishment, a mark of culture and distinction. For young ladies it was "a part of the education," for young gentlemen it was "very useful and indeed necessary." Benjamin Franklin, in his 1749 "Proposals relating to the education of youth in Philadelphia," mentioned French as an essential part of the training of "all intended for ... Physick ... Law ... and Merchants." It was also of practical value for young men who "translated for Merchants, Attorneys, etc."

The earliest known reference to the teaching of French in the colonies is seen in a schoolmaster's license, issued to Andrew Foucautt on 13 September 1703, by Lord Cornbury, Governor of the Province of New York, empowering him "to teach an English and French school ... and to instruct all children ... in the said languages," as well as in the art of writing and arithmetic. Two years later, Prudent de la Fayette was also licensed to keep a French school in New York. It is thought that these teachers may have started their schools primarily for the children of French *émigrés*. Another very early school to which reference has been found in manuscript records was that conducted in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1706-07, by the Reverend Francis Le Jau, D. D., who taught French and music.

Although information is scant in official records, the newspapers of the period gave schoolmasters an opportunity to advertise their "School" or their "Academy." The advertisements, often couched in elaborate terms, revealed that not all the teachers were skilled in their art or sufficiently acquainted with English or French. Many of them were native-born French gentlemen and ladies. Not a few were ministers or former ministers. Many used imported manuals, though there were a few American texts.

There were two types of French school in the colonial period. In one,

private lessons or private classes were given in French only. In the other, instruction was provided in many subjects, more or less as in the later academies. The demand was not enough to support many French schools. Private classes were held in the teacher's or pupils' home or in rented quarters. Evening classes were common and were probably considered a social event. Some teachers taught only adults, others had separate hours for adults and children. Although most of the schools of the time were day schools, there were several French boarding schools in operation during the third quarter of the century.

New England

"In seventeenth century New England these French theologians (Calvin, de Bèze, du Plessis-Mornay, Viret, and many others) were exciting to read," says Howard Mumford Jones in *America and French Culture*. "Clearly here is the first great intellectual impact of French thinking upon the New World—this great system of Protestant thought as framed by French thinkers into the doctrine of Geneva" (p. 356). He then shows how many French works in French, English, and Latin were to be found in the libraries of John Harvard (who owned, in addition to French works on various subjects, Minscheu's *Guide to the Tongues*), John Cotton, Cotton Mather (who knew enough French to write at least one tract in that language and who recommended the study of French in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* of 1726), John Winthrop, Jr., and other leaders of the time. "The fact that Calvin and his disciples wrote in French tended to make French the secondary modern foreign language among the Puritan divines," says Jones (p. 175).

In spite of a statement in the *Massachusetts Sentinel* of 5 September 1787 that in Philadelphia and New York every boy "speaks it more or less," and that many men in Boston spoke it well, there is little evidence that the early New England theologians, scholars, and citizens were speakers of French. A reading knowledge, however, was not uncommon among them, and some were able to use it in their writings. French was of course the language of the Huguenot families that began to arrive in New England in 1682, bearing such names as Faneuil, Boudoin, Freneau, Revere, and Bernon. Religious services were held in French in their churches in Oxford and Boston. Pastor Pierre Daillé left all his French and Latin library to the Boston French Church, and his successor, Le Mercier, wrote at least two volumes in French. Peter Faneuil, the wealthiest merchant in Boston, bought many books abroad.

Many French works on theology, philosophy, geography, and politics were in the early libraries of New England, as well as several learning aids:

a *Royal Dictionary*, English and French (London, 1699), F. Chénau's *French Grammar* (London, 1685), a *Compleat Frenchmaster*, and apparently a later edition of the same book (11th edition, London, 1733). There was also some printing of books in French. Ezechiel Carré, pastor of the French Church, wrote a pamphlet against the Jesuits published in 1690 by Echanillon, with a preface by Cotton Mather: *De la doctrine que les Jésuites enseignent aus sauvage du nouveaux monde* (sic). Nehemiah Webster knew enough French to make an English translation of Pastor Carré's sermon, "The Charitable Samaritan," in 1689. The *A. B. C. des Chrétiens* appeared in 1711, as did a broadside folio by 'Son Excellence M. John Hill, Général et Commandant en Chef, etc.'" Translations of Cotton Mather's sermons, "Le vrai patron des saines paroles" and "Voix du ciel à la France," appeared in 1704 and 1724. Jones lists a considerable number of English translations of French religious works printed in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia during the colonial period and says: "This sub-literary religious literature runs through the rest of the eighteenth century" (p. 362).

The first "French School Master in Boston" of which there is any trace was James Rawlings of the late seventeenth century. In 1719, private teachers began to advertise in the *Boston News Letter*. On 2 February 1727 an unnamed tutor announced that he would open a "Boarding School," proposing "to keep an usher, and to teach writing, cyphering, Latin, French, geography, etc., so that young people in the same place may learn what they are feign to learn now in several places." Aware of the advantages of the conversational method and obviously overoptimistic, he planned "that Latin and French shall be spoken in his house by turns every month: which practical way of learning and teaching will save them three quarters of the time they spend now in learning only in the common schools and books." What was probably the first French Club in America was organized in Boston in 1728 or 1729. One of the provisions of its constitution required that "the whole conversation is to be in French."

In 1730 the well-known Louis Langloiserie made public in the *Boston News Letter* that he had obtained leave from the selectmen of Boston "to keep a school for teaching the rudiments of the French tongue." He informed all persons "disposed to send their children" that his school was conducted at his lodgings in Queen's Street at Mr. Green's, Printer. In 1734 he announced that he would "keep his French School three days in the week at Cambridge and three days in Boston at the house of Mr. Benjamin Bridge in King Street." He would "endeavor such a method as may not only bring the learner into as speedy an acquaintance as possible with the French tongue, but at the same time lead them into the knowledge of some agreeable parts of history." While he served as Harvard's first

French instructor, he continued to give private lessons for at least eight years, enrolling young gentlemen and "young ladies curious of learning that language," for whom he had a "room purposely provided," and also children, for whom he reserved certain days and hours. His charge for tuition was twenty shillings a quarter.

Other Boston schoolmasters and schoolmistresses also advertised in the local press, usually offering a varied program of subjects: a Mrs. Collins, who in 1735 kept her school "in Long Lane, near the Meeting House," John Vinal, who in 1756 taught in Boston and Newburyport, Thomas Britt, in 1757, and James Coan, in 1768. A student at the Boston Public Latin School from 1752 to 1759, Benjamin Dolbeare, Jr., attended a private French School, using a French grammar and *Télémaque*.

During the 1770's several teachers of French were advertising their services. M. Delile taught only French in Boston, Cambridge, and Providence in 1773, as did Francis Vandale of Boston, Newport, and later New York. In 1774 a "Boarding School for Young Ladies," which offered French and several other subjects, was in operation in Salem. William Payne, in 1776, conducted morning and afternoon classes for "young ladies who may incline to be acquainted with the French language," while an unnamed Boston teacher, in the same year, taught his classes from five to seven in the morning, holding to his advertised maxim: "On morning wings how active springs the mind." M. de Viart, the fencing master, was probably the same M. de Viart who taught French. James Schouler in his *Americans of 1776* (New York, 1906) describes a private school for young ladies in Boston, conducted "by a Lady," where English, needlework, and French were the principal subjects, and reports that French and dancing were commonly provided as "extras" in the private schools of the day (p. 212).

In spite of the efforts of these and other private teachers, and in spite of the growing *rapprochement*, intellectual and political, between France and the colonies, the ability to understand and speak French was not widespread. Charles Albert, Comte de Moré, for example, in his *Mémoires*, translated as *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence* (New York, 1897), comments on the ignorance of French in New England (p. 69). Silas Deane of Connecticut, sent to France by the Continental Congress in 1776, "could not even speak French" (Jones, p. 186). When the French fleet visited Boston in 1778, the "lack of a knowledge of French was a matter of regret with every gentleman in the town," wrote Samuel Breck in his *Recollections* (pp. 47-48). The ability to read French, on the other hand, was common and *à la mode*. Subscribing to French newspapers such as the *Courrier de Boston*, 1789, edited by Joseph de Nancrede, was a mark of

status. It became fashionable for merchants, modists, and importers of French wine to advertise in French.

A famous son of Quincy, John Adams, learned little French at Harvard, where he graduated in 1755. On 6 December 1760 he wrote in his *Diary*: "I am astonished at my own ignorance in the French tongue. I find I can neither express my own thoughts in it, nor understand others, who express theirs readily in it. I can neither give nor receive thoughts, by that Instrument." A few weeks later, on 2 January 1761, he asked: "How comes the french Language to be studied and spoken as a polite Accomplishment, all over Europe, and how comes all Negotiations to be held in French?" His interest in learning French is shown by the thirty-seven pages of notes that he copied from an unidentified French grammar in October 1776 while he was a member of the Continental Congress. The following February he wrote from Philadelphia to his wife Abigail: "I wish I understood French as well as you. I would have gone to Canada [on a Congressional Committee.]" He urged her to teach the children French, which would "soon become a necessary Accomplishment of an American Gentleman and Lady," and requested her to send him "the name of the author of your thick French grammar, which gives you the pronounciation of the French words in English letters."

On 13 February 1778, Adams boarded the frigate *Boston* bound for Paris, where he was to serve as joint commissioner with Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee. With him was his son, John Quincy Adams, who was to enter a private boarding school in Passy. On board was Dr. Nicolas Noël, French army surgeon, who showed him a copy of the London, 1776, edition of V. J. Peyton's *Les Éléments de la langue anglaise, développés d'une manière nouvelle, facile et très concise, etc.*, and who did him the favor of showing his son "the precise, critical Pronunciation of all the French Words, Syllables, and letters" in Chambaud's *French Grammar*, in which he had "set a lesson." During the voyage Adams read Abbé Jean-J. Expilly's *Géographe manuel*, presented to him by Dr. Noël. On 3 March 1778 he noted in his *Diary* that he had "often heard of learning a language as French or English on the Passage" and he had advised a fellow passenger to "begin the Study of the French Tongue methodically, by reading the Grammar through." Dr. Noël lent him his copy of Vosgien's *Dictionnaire géographique portatif* and Adams copied several entries from it in his *Diary*.

Adams describes his weakness in French in an entry in his *Autobiography* for 13 April 1778, less than a week after his arrival in Paris. He accompanied Franklin and Lee to Versailles to attend the "Levee" of M. de Sartine, former Lieutenant General of police and then Minister of the Navy. "After he had finished the Business of his Levee, he came into the

Cabinet to Us, and asked whether I spoke French, and whether I understood French? I should have answered malheureusement (miserably), or point du tout (not at all), but Mr. Franklin answered Un Peu, si l'on parle lentement et doucement (a little if one speaks slowly or moderately)." On reaching Paris he was, he wrote later, "a perfect cipher; a man who did not understand a word of French." He started in at once to learn the language: "I had not been a month as yet in France ... but I had seized every moment that I could save from business, company, or sleep, to acquire the language." He did not engage a teacher. This was "an egregious error," he later admitted. He purchased the best books "in which it was taught upon principle" and went often to the theatre, using a printed copy of the play "and compared it, line for line, and word for word, with the pronunciation of the actors and actresses." On 27 April he wrote: "I will attempt to keep my Journal in French, in order to familiarize myself to that Language." He did make a few entries in passable French, but soon gave it up, because, as he said in his *Autobiography* under date of 27 April 1778: "I found it took up too much of my time."

Adams' study was fruitful, for less than a year after his arrival he wrote in his *Diary*: "Went to Versailles, in order to take leave of the ministry. Had a long conversation with the Count de Vergennes in French, which I found I could talk as fast as I pleased." Before leaving France he noted: "I have just acquired enough of the language to understand a conversation, as it runs at table ... and to conduct all my affairs myself." He noted with apparent satisfaction the compliments which were paid to him on his French. Colonel Weibert, for example, "made me a compliment several times to say that I spoke French very well; that I understood French perfectly; that I had happily succeeded, *très heureusement réussi*, in learning French; that I spoke it fluently, etc." Before sailing from Lorient in June 1779 he dined with several American officers in the city. During the "not very instructive conversation," the best and quickest methods of learning French were discussed. Adams remarked "that there were two ways of learning French commonly recommended—take a mistress and go to the comedy." Asked concerning his opinion as to which was the better, he replied "in good humor! Perhaps both would teach it soonest: to be sure, sooner than either." Then assuming his gravity, he added: "the language is nowhere better spoken than at the comédie."

During the passage to America on the French frigate *Sensible*, Adams engaged in many conversations with François Barbé-Marbois, member of the French legation in the United States. On one occasion they were discussing Franklin's ability in speaking French. "It was often affirmed," said Adams, "that Mr. Franklin spoke French as fluently and elegantly, as

a Courtier at Versailles, but every man that knew and spoke sincerely, agreed that he spoke it very ill. Persons spoke of these things, according to their affections." Whereupon Barbé-Marbois said: "It was Flattery. That he would not flatter, it was very true that both Mr. F. and I spoke french, badly."

Offsetting this disillusionment somewhat was a quarter-deck conversation of 21 June 1779 with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the new French Ambassador, who said: "Vous connoissez les Fondemens de notre Langue très bien. Vous parlez lentement et avec difficulté, comme un homme qui cherche pour les mots: mais vous ne pechez pas contre la Prononciation. Vous prononcez bien. Vous prononcez beaucoup mieux que Mr. Franklin. Il est impossible de l'entendre." Furthermore, he was warmed by the success and praise of his son, John Quincy Adams, who served on board as teacher of English to Barbé-Marbois and the Ambassador, who were "in raptures" with the lad. The Ambassador read out loud in Blackstone's *Discourse*, and John Quincy corrected "the Prononciation of every Word and Syllable and Letter." Luzerne was "astonished" at his knowledge, saying that "he was a master of his own language like a Professor." Marbois remarked that "he teaches Us more than you ... He shews us no mercy, and makes Us no Compliments. We must have Mr. John" (*Diary*, 20 June 1779).

Concerning his interest in the study of French during his second stay in Europe (1779-85) his *Diary* and *Autobiography* are silent. His *Diary* shows that he subscribed to many of the French journals of the day, including the *Mercure de France*, and that he purchased French grammars and dictionaries and many other French works, including the *Déscriptions des Arts et Métiers* of the Academy of Sciences and a Swiss edition of the *Encyclopédie*, as well as books for his sons, John and Charles, who accompanied him. While in Paris and Amsterdam he devoted a great deal of his time to preparing, with the aid of a translator, paragraphs and articles in favor of the American cause, which he submitted to whatever French journals would publish them.

John Quincy Adams had ample opportunities to learn the French language as a boy from his mother and during his two trips to Europe with his father. He received instruction on board the *Boston* during the first voyage from Dr. Noël and French artillery officers who were "very arduous in teaching him French." Once in Paris, he was put in a private boarding school conducted by M. Le Cœur in Passy, where dancing, fencing, music, and drawing were taught, along with French and Latin. His father was well pleased with his progress in French, saying that at the school "among the Pupills" he "learned more french in a day than I could learn in a

Week with all my Books" (*Autobiography*, 19 April 1778). During the second sojourn in France, John Quincy Adams and his brother Charles were placed in a *pension* academy in Passy conducted by a M. Pechigny.

New York

As in other areas, notably Charleston and Boston, the Huguenot influence was important in the early colonial history of New York. Little is known about the company of thirty Huguenot and Walloon families who came in the *Nieuw Nederland* in 1623 and settled on the shores and islands. Small bodies of French Protestants, coming often by way of Holland, joined the new colony between 1657 and 1663. The first doctor in New Amsterdam was the Frenchman Johannes La Montagne, who served also as member of the council and as official schoolmaster. It is reasonable to surmise that he taught French to the children of the colonists from France and Holland. Because of continued immigration, it was found necessary by 1656 to issue all government and town proclamations "in French as well as in Dutch," says Lucian J. Fosdick in *The French Blood in America* (p. 216). Jones points out that "the New York group is distinguished for keeping its culture and the language untouched for a long period by surrounding culture" (p. 87). By 1688 a quarter of the population was French. The French church became a fashionable place in which to acquire a correct accent. It is reported that in 1690 there was no one in nearby New Rochelle who knew enough English to serve as justice of the peace, and that many English boys were being sent there to live in order to learn French in the schools (Jones, p. 178). Daniel L'Estrange of Orléans, former officer in the royal guard, fled to America upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and settled in New Rochelle and later New York, where he taught French and the classic languages. By 1696 there were enough French-speaking people in the region to make it profitable to publish in French such works as William Bradford's *Le Trésor des consolations divines et humaines*.

There were at least eleven Huguenots among the original settlers at New Paltz in 1677. The first schoolmaster was Jean Cottin, who was given a house in 1689. There seems to have been little inter-marriage with the surrounding Dutch citizens until the third generation. For fifty years the church services were conducted in French and the church records were kept in French from 1683 to 1703. During the late eighteenth century, however, French was slowly dying among the descendants of the Huguenots in New York, New Rochelle, and New Paltz. After the British conquest and the Revolution, the young Dutchmen and Huguenots found it necessary to abandon French for English.

Two famous sons of Huguenot mothers, Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, and Gouverneur Morris, minister to France in 1792, began their study of French at an early age. Hamilton's opportunities for regular schooling in St. Croix, West Indies, must have been scant, but he formed there the habits of wide reading and industrious study which were to persist throughout his life. From his mother and his own studies he gained a fluent command of French before he left the islands for New York, where he entered King's College in 1774. According to his son "he wrote and spoke [French] with the ease of a native" (John C. Hamilton, *The Life of Alexander Hamilton*, 1, 3). Gouverneur Morris was of aristocratic New York parents who sent him to New Rochelle for his early schooling. There he learned French in the schools and in the services of the Huguenot church, with such good results that he "wrote and spoke [it] with nearly as much fluency and correctness as his native tongue" (Jared Sparks, *The Life of Gouverneur Morris*, 1, 4).

As already seen, the earliest known official reference to the teaching of French to English-speaking colonists in America is found in a license issued to Andrew Foucautt by Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, in 1703. The study of French was popular and highly esteemed as "polite and necessary," and some forty teachers inserted notices in such papers as the *New York Mercury*, the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*, and *Rivington's New York Gazetteer, or Connecticut, Hudson River, New Jersey and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*. Other early teachers of French in the province were Prudent de la Fayette, licensed to keep a French school in 1705, and a person whom the Reverend John Sharpe sought in 1712, when, in his "Proposals for erecting a school, library, and chapel in New York," he suggested that it would be "of great advantage" to "the person to whom the care of this school is committed" if he understood Dutch and French.

In 1735 a teacher advertised instruction in "the French and Spanish languages, after the best method that is practiced in Great Britain . . . for twenty shillings per quarter." He offered to teach other subjects: reading for five shillings, writing for eight, and cyphering for a shilling a quarter. John Solomon "from Paris" sought pupils in 1736, and the following year John Hastier, goldsmith, announced that in his house there was a Frenchman "who teaches to read and write French, as also arithmetic in a very short method." He would give instruction at his pupils' homes "at reasonable hours, provided the time does not interfere with the hours of his school."

During the next decade Augustus Vaughan opened a school in New Street, where he taught English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian

"correctly and expeditiously." In John Clarke's school in 1749, many subjects were offered in addition to French, among them Spanish, reading, writing, navigation, surveying, and bookkeeping. Calling himself "Philomath," he informed the public that he also did translations of French and Spanish with "sufficient security given to keep all writings secret."

During the 1750's there was a considerable increase in the study of French, and one may judge from the advertisements of the teachers who sought students. Michael C. Knoll, a former minister of the Lutheran Church, offered instruction in French in 1750, in combination with "Latin, Greek and Hebrew and philosophy, and merchants' accounts after the Italian fashion." In 1751, Garrat Noël taught Portuguese, French, Spanish, Latin, and Greek, and Jan Paulus Ostome gave instruction in French "according to the best grammar rules." Reinhold Jan Klockhoff, John Baptiste Guerbois, "just arrived here from Paris," the Reverend John Lewis Mayor, with classes from two to five and six to eight, Thomas Ross who served as translator and teacher, and certain "fit persons" at Mrs. Lyneal's in Beaver Street, were also engaged in teaching French during the early years of the decade. Peter Durand, "lately arrived from Holland," offered to teach French to gentlemen and ladies in 1756. In 1757, John Philipse assured his patrons that they would be taught "in the most modern and expeditious method, and according to Mr. Paillaret's system, who had the honor of teaching the Royal Family."

William Clajon opened a school in Dock Street in 1761 and made it clear that he would take "no children" and that he would undertake "to teach no others but such as are both willing and capable of improvement." He was "determined not to sacrifice his honor and character, either to the caprices of children or to the lavishness of some parents." He proposed "to wait on ladies in their houses," provided "a proper number of them" would "meet together." To satisfy the gentlemen and ladies who desired to be taught the language "grammatically and with a true pronunciation," he had been "examined at the College in this city [King's College, now Columbia University], by the Reverend Mr. Carle, minister of the French Church, and the Reverend Mr. Tetart, another French minister, in the presence of the Reverend Doctor Johnson, President of the College, and fully satisfied them of his capacity." Apparently convinced of his own ability, he made known that it was his "design . . . to perform within six months what he promises to do, viz., to give a true pronunciation to his scholars, to enable them to translate French into English and English into French, so as to fit them to improve afterwards without any other help than the method he will advise them to take." He stated that he would accept not less than four nor more than six in a class, and would

admit no new student once the class had begun, "as it would retard the progress of the rest." His method was "varied so as to suit the learner's views, age, etc.," and he took care "to give but few rules, properly exemplified." In 1764, he advertised that translations were then "a branch of his profession." Hoping for "greater encouragement," he reduced his rates, in 1766, to twenty-four shillings a month, "and twenty-four shillings entrance," for "those of riper years who incline to learn the French language," although "a good number of scholars had agreed with him in the old terms." He would instruct "still cheaper," if "gentlemen to the number of five" would meet together in one class. In those days it was the custom that all fees be paid in advance, but many of Clajon's students were remiss, with the result that he could not pay his bills. He was arrested, and "after a long confinement" and "a much longer time still" before he could obtain a license he was much "encumbered." He hoped that the "judicious," far from being offended at his insistence on the terms "proposed five years" before, would "approve the reasonableness and necessity of every scholar's paying beforehand," a custom that was "followed in most places abroad," with resultant "good effects."

The Reverend Frederic Rothenbuhler, minister of the Switzer church, announced in 1762 that he continued to teach "young gentlemen and ladies the Latin and French languages . . . with great facility, in a short time, to the utmost possible perfection." At his "French Boarding School" gentlemen and ladies were "boarded . . . agreeable to their rank" and instructed in whatever was "necessary for the finishing of the education." During the 1770's some twenty teachers of French solicited students. John Girault, 1770, "a native of France," announced that he brought "ample" certificate of character from the consistory of a Protestant congregation in Poitou, "where he was an Elder," and that of a French church in London, "where he had resided for several years." He stated that he would instruct his pupils "in all the variations of this polite tongue, after the rules of the Academy of Paris." The next year he opened an evening school from six to eight o'clock, in addition to his day classes. Michael Bechades "from Paris," equipped with "the choicest set of French books of every kind," had a special method by "which a person in three months may speak it with ease." He would "wait on any lady or gentleman in town at their houses." In 1772, an unnamed teacher advertised himself as "a gentleman, native of Paris, who took the degree of Master of Arts at that university, and lately taught in Nassau Hall, New Jersey."

Anthony Fiva, who in 1773 taught French, Spanish, and Italian "in their greatest purity with equal success," announced that he had "had an academical education and resided many years in Paris and Madrid."

Accordingly he felt himself "able to resolve any question that might puzzle his scholars" and "entirely ground them in the true accent of these polite languages . . . and all the rules of the syntax." He pointed out that the ability to conduct correspondence in foreign languages was "so useful to young persons in business." In 1775, he was continuing to teach the languages "after the manner of academies, universities, and colleges of the learned world." He also translated the three languages with "accuracy, dispatch, and secrecy for attorneys, merchants, etc."

John Haumaid claimed in 1772 that it was "unnecessary to say anything regarding his abilities as a teacher, as the bare mention of his having under his tuition the principal students of King's College . . . together with his having a regular education," fully bespoke "his abilities as a teacher of the same." In 1774, Joseph Cosani gave instruction in French and Italian, and his wife was the mistress of a "French Boarding School," where English, French, and Italian were taught "grammatically." The tuition rate was forty pounds a year for board and instruction.

At the same time the Reverend J. Peter Tetard, "later minister of the French Reformed Church," also kept a "French Boarding School." He assumed in his advertisement that his "character and capacity" were well known, inasmuch as he had "lived with credit in the city of New York for upwards of fifteen years." Those who entrusted their children to his care could "depend on their expectations being properly answered." Messrs. Gollen and Mountain taught French "at their Academy" and conducted also an evening school from six to eight. Simeon and Catherine Lugin had a "Boarding and Day School for young ladies." Their advertisement of 1774 informed the reader that "the polite French language," which they spoke constantly in the family, was "now-a-days part of the education of young ladies," and that it was "taught grammatically . . . with that accent and pronunciation peculiar to the natives of France."

The next year M. de Saint Pry asserted that he had "a knowledge of the principles of universal grammar, a pure and elegant pronunciation of French, acquired by a long residence in the capital." He had composed an English and French grammar "on a plan entirely new." By its use he flattered himself that in six months he could "give his pupils an extensive knowledge of that universal language." He and M. De Poke taught the language so effectively that "the scholars of the least aptitude, in the course of six months" might be "sufficiently acquainted with the rudiments of the language," and would be able to "pronounce and write it with delicacy and propriety." Francis Vandale was then conducting "a day and evening school," where he gave instruction in "French and other languages . . . at a very reasonable rate: two pounds a piece (one-half

entrance) a quarter." Other teachers of the day were M. Tenière, John H. Hentz, and Thomas Egan, who had resided "for many years in some of the first compting houses in France" and who assured his prospective students that they would not be "disappointed in his abilities." New York book dealers frequently advertised in the local press. Boyer's *Grammar* and *French-English Dictionary*, and Chambaud's *Grammar* and *Vocabulary* were on sale in the middle 1700's. In 1771, Noël and Hazard's Book Store stocked these works, Perrin's *Spelling Book, Guide, Vademecum* and *Verbs*, and D'Alembert's and Nugent's *Dictionaries, French Testaments, Epistolary Correspondence* in French and English, and *Télémaque*.

An article criticizing the current tendency to consider the study of French as a polite attainment and the hall-mark of social standing appeared in the *American Magazine* in May 1778. It complained that the French language was not necessarily "a part of the education of young ladies." In America, it asserted, "formal education should have for its object what is useful." Instead of studying French, which was "not necessary for ladies," they should be "taught to speak and write their own language with purity and elegance." French might be studied "as an accomplishment" by those young ladies "whose attention is not employed about more important concerns." The many teachers of French seeking students, the number of book-dealers offering French books for sale, and even the protesting article show that French played an important role during the eighteenth century in the education of wealthy and fashionable New Yorkers.

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Philadelphia

In 1722, "one Mrs. Rodes . . . lately arrived in this city," gave "publick notice" in the *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia that she had for sale orange oil, "good for the wind-colic and stomach," and "likewise sweetmeats," and that she would "teach any young ladies or gentlemen to read and write French to perfection." The following year she announced that she would "give constant attendance at her dwelling in Second Street . . . from nine in the morning till twelve, and in the afternoon, if any gentlemen require it, at their houses."

In 1730, John Ball was teaching "writing and arithmetic, together with the French tongue at twenty shillings per quarter." Thomas Ball, who composed his own "Table" for the "great use of those who have a desire

to learn a language so necessary and polite," and Daniel Duborn were also teaching French in Philadelphia. During the same decade Odran Dupuy, who in 1735 offered to "mend and clean watches" and teach French "on reasonable terms," and John Solomon "from Paris," who taught French and Latin at his house and also gave "due attendance" to those "who design to be instructed . . . at their respective lodgings," were offering their services through the medium of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. And Anthony Duchee proposed to teach French in "a plain and easy method" at his house in Front Street in 1734.

In 1744 John Eliot advertised that he taught French and Portuguese "with the utmost diligence and expedition," either at his lodgings or at his students' rooms. Teachers and pupils at this time could purchase their grammars, dictionaries, and texts at the shop of Benjamin Franklin, who offered for sale the grammars and dictionaries of Boyer and Blair, French Testaments, Vambray's *Tales and Fables*, and other "French School Books." In 1749 Franklin recommended the study of French in his "Proposals." French appeared in the first curriculum of the Philadelphia Academy in 1751, under "Mr. Dove, English Professor," and in Provost Smith's plan of studies of 1756: "Thro' all the years the French language may be studied at leisure hours."

Peter Papin de Prefontaine, "Professor of the French language," taught it "grammatically" in Philadelphia from 1752 to 1758, and claimed that he rendered his students "proficient in that polite language in a short time." In 1756 he proposed to print, by subscription, his *Direct Guide to the French Language*, "the like never before printed, even in Europe," with "directions so plain that any person of moderate capacity may thereby become master of said language with but little assistance, if any."

The study of French must have been popular in Philadelphia during the 1750's if one may judge from the number of teachers who proffered their services in the local press. Among the many advertisers were Charles Vignolles, who stated in 1754 that he taught the language "in the most easy and familiar method," James Cosgrove, who in 1755 offered work in French and a variety of other subjects, and John Mathias Kramer, who in the same year advertised lessons in French, Italian, and Portuguese from seven in the morning until noon and from two to seven in the afternoon. The following year James John Folquier made known that he taught French "after the best method of pronunciation and the manner of speaking it which is now used among the French." The dealers had good stocks of French books on hand. David Hill, for example, advertised Boyer's dictionary and grammar, *Télémaque*, Chambaud's *Grammar and Vocabulary, Rudiments and Exercises*, and Rogissard's grammar.

Francis Daymon, "a Frenchman newly come from Paris" in 1770, and a "master of the French and Latin languages" who combined teaching with publishing and shopkeeping, was obviously an indefatigable worker and an expert in eighteenth-century promotional methods. He advertised that he gave instruction to "gentlemen and ladies in the newest and most expeditious method," not only at his regular classes at the "French Academy" in Front Street, which began "precisely at half an hour after six o'clock every morning, Saturdays excepted," but at the "respective places of abode" of his students. He kept also a "night school from five to nine o'clock."

He published and sold, in 1770, for one shilling sixpence, "for the use of his scholars and others" his *Conjugation of French Verbs*, which was "grounded on the decisions of the French Academy." It was "elegantly printed on a whole sheet," and "was principally calculated for those who are taught privately to avoid the tedious learning of all the verbs, showing at one view (without a motion of the hand) the moods and tenses." To encourage his patrons he proposed in 1771 to "bestow a gold medal to that scholar who shall, in the presence of competent judges, translate English into French with the greatest facility, and who shall be best acquainted with the idioms and genius of that language." In 1773, he announced a "morning class, in which young ladies only are to be admitted," and in 1783, he conducted "a French evening school for the convenience of gentlemen engaged in business."

In addition to his teaching and publishing, he sold, in 1773, "a choice collection of French etc. books, very suitable for his scholars," "new and cheap instruments for marking linen, books, etc.," and an indelible "liquid of different colors," of his own preparation. In 1777, he advertised for sale at his store in Water Street a wide variety of goods, such as West India rum, French brandy, gin, claret, salt, sugar, coffee, all sorts of textiles, ready made great coats and coarse shirts, soaps, nails, cordage, "and a good assortment of medicines."

Other teachers of French who were active in Philadelphia in the 1770's were William W. Fentham, who in 1770 opened "an evening school for such young gentlemen as are desirous of being instructed or improved in the French tongue," Thomas Powell of Burlington, New Jersey, an unnamed master, "lately arrived from France" in 1774, where he had "taken out his letters of Master of Arts," Mrs. Brodeau, whose character and ability was attested by Robert Morris and Benjamin Franklin, and who in 1776 opened a boarding school in Walnut Street, "where young ladies will be genteely boarded, and taught to read and speak the French

and English languages," and James Robins, "a native of Paris who has resided in Philadelphia above twelve years."

Interest in French instruction continued in Philadelphia after the Revolutionary War. A certain Mr. Jastram offered to "teach the French and English languages by principles" in 1780, and in 1783 a "French gentleman," who charged forty shillings a quarter, flattered himself that "the progress of his scholars will convince them that he is not ill qualified for the undertaking." In 1783, Jacob Lawn was supplementing his income from teaching by translating French, German, and English and advertised that he would "keep the strictest secrecy, if required."

South Carolina

Because of the large Huguenot population in Charleston during the eighteenth century and of the interest in the study of French as a stamp of culture and distinction among the aristocratic Carolinians, it was inevitable that instruction in this language should assume a considerable importance. It was natural also that the French-speaking pastors of the Huguenot Church should be a fruitful and convenient source of language teachers. As early as 1706 there were private tutors and boarding-school teachers in South Carolina. The first known boarding school among the French was managed by the Reverend Francis Le Jau and his wife. Unable to live on the meagre income from the ministry, they opened a school for the teaching of French and music. The venture failed because the charge for instruction and board was not sufficient to meet expenses. It is reasonable to suppose that other similar schools were opened in Charleston before 1730, because as soon as the *South Carolina Gazette* began to appear in 1732, it carried advertisements of many teachers who were opening schools or giving private instruction in French and a diversity of other subjects.

The first such notice was that of Peter Précour, Master of Arts, who announced in the issue of 17 March 1732 that, having but recently arrived in the province, he wished to inform the public that he would teach French and Latin, and that Mrs. Précour would teach drawing and the painting and mounting of fans. On 7 July 1733, Thomas Ker made known that at the school of Mr. Adam Battin, deceased, English, French, Latin, arithmetic, both vulgar and decimal, and writing "at easy and customary prices" were still being taught "by another who has taken the said school." On 17 January 1735, David de l'Escure, reader of the French Church, who lived near the Quaker Meeting, gave notice that he taught French and English in "a facil and easy method, either at home or abroad." The following year he announced his removal to King Street, where he taught

reading and writing English and French to "young masters and misses" for three pounds a quarter. He continued to teach young ladies and gentlemen at their own homes also. Another early advertiser was Mrs. Philippe Henning, who offered to teach French, English, and needlework. Jane Voyer proposed on 11 August 1739 to carefully teach embroidery, lacework, tapestry, or any sort of needlework, drawing, and French to young ladies twelve years of age or over. The following January she offered to set up a boarding school to teach the same subjects if she received "good encouragement."

Other early schools were operated in the 1740's by John Fouquet and Marc Anthony Besseleu. The former charged forty shillings a month for instruction in French, English, arithmetic, and writing. Besseleu, a Charleston merchant, conducted a French school at his home on Broad Street, in addition to his store. He and his wife served as teachers. Other subjects were taught during the day, but the evening sessions were reserved for French. This venture proved so successful that a branch school was opened on James Island during the summer of 1754.

There was a marked increase in interest in French toward the middle of the century, and twenty-two teachers advertised their French classes in the *South Carolina Gazette* from 1750 to 1775. The practice of teaching a wide range of subjects in addition to French was continued. Many of the women advertisers proposed to teach music, dancing, needlework, reading, writing, arithmetic, embroidery, history, geography, or drawing. For example, Elizabeth Duneau, "a gentlewoman from England," who claimed that she had brought up many ladies of rank and distinction, sought, in 1770, pupils to whom she would teach "the French and English languages grammatically," as well as geography, history, and "all sorts of fashionable needlework." The schoolmasters also offered a wide range of studies, such as English, Latin, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, navigation, surveying, Italian, geography, mechanics, drawing, dancing, fencing, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Greek. Many of the teachers had French names: Bouchonneau, Duneau, Legardère, Chevalier, de la Lande, Duval, and Lestarjette. The latter stated in 1773 that the advantages of learning French were too many to enumerate. He stressed, however, its value for those who were to travel abroad, and as a source of pleasure to be derived from reading the great French literary geniuses in the original. Of all the teachers recorded in the *Gazette* only four limited their offerings to French.

In spite of the fact that so many young Charlestonians of quality studied French more or less seriously because of its usefulness or as a polite accomplishment, the language apparently became less commonly spoken during the later years of colonial times. In October 1774, Peter Levrier,

pastor of the Huguenot Church, asserted that its disuse was responsible for the dropping off of his congregation. A probable reason for the increasing neglect of French in Charleston was the doubtful quality of the instructors and their teaching methods. It seems probable that most of them stressed grammar and translation, with heavy emphasis on reading and little stress on conversational practice. This was intimated by John Rutledge, who, in advising his brother to study French, urged that he not be "such a Frenchman as most of our Carolinians are, who have been taught that language but who can seldom do more than translate it, after much difficulty." Perhaps because of this condition and also because a more serious practical training for young men was required in the colony, the general public had little respect for the subject and considered the acquirement of a second language quite unnecessary.

Apparently the ineffectual teaching method persisted for many years, for in 1817 a French traveller, the Baron of Montlezun, reported that although Creole French was heard in Charleston "at every corner," and the aristocrats devoted "much attention to acquiring a knowledge of the French language," the results were unsatisfactory because "in general the young people translate their thought too much on the model of English. The words they use are French: the language is not."

Another opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of French was offered by a group of French actors who opened in Charleston on 12 April 1794 with a performance of Rousseau's *Pygmalion*. They gave exhibitions of "dancing, pantomime-ballets, fancy dances, Harquelin-pantomimes, rope dancing with many feats, and little amusing French pieces." To satisfy those who wished it they promised to give "the grand pieces of the French theatre." Emphasizing the utility of their productions as a teaching tool, they announced that "being willing to offer to those who are learning the French language a sure way of perfecting themselves, the theatre being a place where the French language is spoken in its purity," they would give weekly by subscription, for "admirers of the French language," a fourth performance, composed of "tragedies, dramas, and the first comic pieces." There is no record, however, that this project was ever carried out.

Virginia

Judging from the entries in the official records of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial Virginia, a reading knowledge of French was not uncommon among the gentry from the earliest times. There is no evidence of the teaching of French before the second decade of the eighteenth century, but the inventories of the libraries of prominent families reveal the existence, not only of French literary works, such as Calvin's *Institution*

and Fénelon's *Télémaque*, either in the original or in translation, but also French grammars, teaching guides, and dictionaries. This leads one to surmise that there must have been teaching of the language by private tutors or that individuals were self-taught. For example, Mathey Hubard of York County left behind "Astrea a french Romance," and "a french accident (sic)." In 1690 Colonel John Carter of Lancaster County left among his possessions Howell's *French and English Dictionary* and a volume of "Spanish and French Dialogues." Later on, in the early eighteenth century, other prominent Virginians left such property as a "french Schoolmaster," the "Gold mine of the French tongue," an "easy Compendium french gramer," a "sure guide to the French tongue," Boyer's *French Dictionary*, and numerous pieces of French literature (Jones, pp. 173 ff.).

As in the other American colonies, there were few public schools in Virginia during these two centuries. There were perhaps two and possibly more public parish schools by 1750. This deficiency was made good for the wealthy by small private schools, where a tutor undertook the early training of the children of one family or of a small neighborhood in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and Latin. Where it was not possible to put a child in a neighborhood school because of poverty or distance, an attempt was usually made by the court or parish church to acquaint him or her with the rudiments. The greatest difficulty in maintaining schools of any type was that of finding suitable teachers. The *Virginia Gazette* carried frequent advertisements inserted by those who sought "a sober person of good morals capable of teaching children" (21 March 1751). One source of supply was that of young candidates for the Church, who were in need of money for their education, of whom "an over-large percentage were Scots, admired for their excellencies, but shunned somewhat, because of their dialect" (Freeman, p. 130). Two of the Scotch schoolmasters of the day taught French to two distinguished sons of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

Jefferson began the study of French very early. In 1752, when he was nine, his father placed him in the Latin School of the Reverend William Douglas, a clergyman from Scotland and minister of St. James Parish. When Jefferson left for the College of William and Mary it is said that "though only eighteen years of age, he was remarkably proficient . . . in French" (*Writings*, I, 3). His ability in spoken French was apparently limited, however, because a year after his arrival in Paris in 1784, as special envoy and minister of the United States, he wrote that his daughter Patsy spoke French as easily as English, while he and his associates were scarcely better at it than when they had landed in France.

As a boy of twelve James Madison entered a school kept by a Scotchman,

Donald Robinson, "the learned teacher in King and Queen County, Virginia," where he studied French as well as the ancient languages. "I had learnt French of my Scotch tutor, reading it with him as we did Greek and Latin; that is, as a dead language: and this, too, pronounced with his Scotch accent, which was quite broad: and a twang of which my own tongue had probably caught" (Randall, II, 192 n.). Madison's knowledge of the spoken language must have been very shaky, as is shown by his relation of an experience he had as a student at Princeton. A "forlorn, wayworn Frenchman" had called upon the President of the college, who sent for Madison, as the only "French scholar" known to be in Princeton, to serve as interpreter. He was able to catch a few words of what the visitor said by dint of "listening with all his might," but when he tried to reply in French the Frenchman did not understand a word. "I might as well have been talking Kickapoo at him!" confessed Madison (Spurlin, pp. 120-128).

Although earlier writers on George Washington, including authoritative Howard Mumford Jones, maintained that he had studied French at an early age in a school opened in 1740 in Fredericksburg, Douglas Southall Freeman, in his *George Washington: A Biography*, states that this story is unconfirmed. Washington did purchase many French dictionaries and language books, but he never learned to read, understand, or speak it. On 18 February 1784 he wrote to the Philadelphia bookdealers Boinoud and Gaillard: "Your books being in a foreign language (which I do not understand . . .)" and he asked them to send "The true French master, or rules for the Fh. tongue by M. Chesnau of Paris 8 vo The new pocket Dicty. of the Fh. and Eng. langs. by Thomas Nugent, 2 vols. 8 vo and a course of Gallantries, translated from the Frch. of M. Duclos 2 parts, 8 vo. (sic)" (from John C. Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, xxvii, 338). To Lafayette he wrote on 30 September 1779: "You are pleased my dear Marquis to express an earnest desire of seeing me in France . . . but remember my good friend, that I am unacquainted with your language, that I am too far advanced in years to acquire a knowledge of it." Recognizing always the importance of a knowledge of French, he urged its study in his family. To the Reverend Jonathan Boucher he wrote on 2 January 1771, in reference to the studies of his stepson, John Parke Curtis, wondering whether Martha's son should study Greek, and if he did, he might not have to "forgo some more useful branches of learning . . . to be acquainted with the French tongue, is becoming a part of polite Education; and to a Man who has any prospect of mixing in a large Circle absolutely necessary," and to his nephew, George Washington Parke Curtis, at Princeton, he wrote on 23 July 1797: "the French language is now so universal, and so

necessary with foreigners, or in a foreign country, that I think you would be injudicious not to make yourself master of it."

The first known advertiser in the *Virginia Gazette* was the Chevalier de Peyrouny of Williamsburg, who, on 20 March 1752, made known that he was ready to begin teaching the art of fencing, dancing, and the French tongue, as soon as he could "get a reasonable number of scholars." Another early announcement was that of E. Gardner of Norfolk Borough of 21 March 1766, who sought young ladies as boarders, "to whom she would teach a wide variety of needlework, shell work, the making of artificial flowers, and the French language." During the 1770's some twelve teachers of Southampton County, Norfolk, Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, Sussex Glebe, and King William Courthouse solicited French students.

In 1773 Bartholomew Le Petit, having recently moved to Williamsburg from Norfolk, announced that he would continue to teach French "in the greatest purity," with "the elegance of pronunciation," and with the utmost care to ground the ladies and gentlemen in the rudiments of grammar. Two months later he proposed to open a school for young gentlemen, to the number of twenty-five only, to whom he would teach the English, Latin, and French tongue and writings, and arithmetic. He would wait upon his young lady students of French in their own homes.

In 1771 Samuel Nelson made known that he would continue the school in Southampton County, where he proposed to give instruction in the Latin, Greek, and French languages. He hoped "to gain the esteem and approbation of the learned" by his "assiduous and uniform method of instruction." The same year, the Reverend W.S., a clergyman of the Church of England, a young man "of good character" and obviously of great versatility, solicited a charge in any of His Majesty's plantations. As a side line he proposed to instruct ladies and gentlemen in fourteen different subjects, including French, mathematics, fortification, and gunnery. In view of the great want of public schools with their opportunity to give "a proper cultivation of the human mind in its early state," the Reverend Mr. Andrews and Mr. Swinton proposed in 1777 to open a school at the Glebe in Sussex for the instruction of varied subjects, including French, at a cost of twelve pounds a year for board, and five for tuition. Jean Cadou announced the opening of a school in Williamsburg in the fall of 1779, for the teaching of dancing twice a week for \$50.00 a month. Considering the art of dancing as important as a knowledge of French, he offered to teach ladies the French language at his school or in their homes, with the "price the same as for dancing."

In his *America and French Culture*, Jones says: "In the seventeenth century, as far as Anglo-Saxons are concerned, French was mainly the possession of the New England scholars and the Southern gentry." In the

first half of the eighteenth century, the knowledge of French declined slightly among Americans in general, but from 1750 to 1770 a renewed emigration from France made it fashionable to hire private tutors in French. From 1770 to 1797, politics, war, social glamor, and science all combined to make a knowledge of French desirable (p. 215). American friendliness toward the French was especially strong in Virginia. The influence of the French social philosophers on the thinking of our founding fathers, prominent among whom were illustrious Virginians, the association with French officers and soldiers who campaigned in Virginia, and the contacts through travel and the exchange of official representatives created a great interest in France and its language and literature in the Old Dominion, where the French language had already become well established as "polite and necessary."

Quesnay de Beaurepaire, while travelling in America, conceived the idea of establishing an Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts in Richmond, which would have branches in all the principal cities and affiliations in Europe. In Richmond there were to be French professors, masters, and artists. Twenty-five resident and a hundred seventy-five non-resident associates were to be chosen from both hemispheres. The Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, John Page, encouraged him in 1778, and by 1786 he had obtained from prominent Virginians and Baltimoreans a subscription of 60,000 francs. The Royal Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Painting of Paris gave a favorable report on the idea. The French court patronized the enterprise: Lafayette, Beaumarchais, Malesherbes, Montalembert, and La Rochefoucauld were benevolently disposed. Jefferson favored the plan, and by 1788, Quesnay was publishing a program in Paris. The foundations for the building had already been laid in 1786 in the presence of local authorities and various French supporters. A professor of natural history and chemistry, Jean Rouel, was appointed but probably never came to America. The French Revolution resulted in the withdrawal of support from France, and the building, when completed, served only to house the State convention which ratified the Federal constitution. The scheme was not without results, however, for the Academy was really a graduate school, and when Jefferson was developing his plans for the future of the College of William and Mary he had Quesnay's idea in mind. Furthermore, he carried over the same notion in the shaping of the University of Virginia.

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•III•

Schools and Colleges

PUBLIC LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

THE first classical schools in New England were modelled on the old "grammar" or "public" schools of England. The first in America was the Boston Public Latin School, founded in 1635 and alma mater of Benjamin Franklin, Cotton Mather, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, and many another illustrious Bostonian. Soon Public Latin Grammar schools were established in nearby Roxbury, Dorchester, and Cambridge. In 1647 the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed a law, requiring that each town of one hundred families should "set up a Grammar School, the master thereof being able to instruct youth . . . for the University," an obligation which was not fully met. By 1700 there were about thirty such Latin Grammar schools in Colonial New England. Their sole purpose was the preparation of boys for college, with a severe program of Greek and Latin studies. A youth was said to be ready for Harvard when he could speak Latin and read it and Greek without difficulty.

In this classical atmosphere there was, of course, little or no provision for the study of modern languages. Not until 1852 was French listed in the curriculum of the Boston Public Latin School, to be begun in the third year of the six-year course. From that date on, it has been a required study. Among the early teachers was Ferdinand Bôcher (1862-64), who later had a distinguished career at Harvard.

The name "Grammar School" was also given to some secondary schools which departed from this traditional and strictly classical form. At the Grammar School in the City of New York, established in 1732, for example, instruction was given in writing, Latin, and mathematics. And David James Dove, in his "Public Grammar School" in Philadelphia in 1759, taught English, writing, bookkeeping, practical mathematics, Greek, Latin, geography, rhetoric, poetry, history, moral philosophy, and physics. These subjects appear in many institutions of the day which called themselves "grammar" schools. This modification of the Latin Grammar School was a step toward the development of the English Grammar School, such

as the English School which opened in Princeton in 1763 under the inspection of the President of the New Jersey College and as an appendage to it.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Latin Grammar Schools largely disappeared, and private schools, the so-called middle schools or academies, began to replace them. This new type of secondary school was semi-public in control and more democratic than the town Latin Grammar Schools, although its students were mainly boys and girls of well-to-do families. The academies aimed to prepare for practical life and for teaching instead of merely for college. They helped materially in raising the standards of culture in the institutions of higher learning, and in bringing about a general improvement in popular education. The early academies, like the English schools and the Public Latin Grammar Schools, were often called "free." This meant, not that there was no tuition charge, but that they were open to all properly qualified students without restriction or favor.

In Pennsylvania the Philadelphia Academy, founded by Benjamin Franklin, opened in 1749. It became a college seven years later. In 1756 Nazareth Hall in Northampton County was organized, and, five years later, an academy was started in Germantown. They taught only German and English until about 1800, when French was added. The study of French did not become at all widespread in New York until about 1830. In that year thirty academies listed by the Regents included it in their programs. By 1845 it was offered in 124 of the 135 reporting academies.

In Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, students memorized pages of Latin and Greek and studied arithmetic. By its third year, in 1780, there was some discussion of employing a French instructor, and eventually one was allowed, on condition that his pupils should pay an extra fee, and that his French classes should not interfere with the other exercises of the academy. The first principal, Eliphalet Pearson, was a student of Latin, Greek, French, Hebrew, Syriac, and Coptic. But as late as 1820, of the twenty subjects prescribed at Andover, English was the only modern language. The study of French crept in through the Teachers' Seminary which operated for several years before merging with the Academy in 1842. The first catalogue, published in 1831, stated that instruction in French and German could be had at an extra expense.

In 1872 Principal Tilton, acting partly on the advice of President Eliot of Harvard, urged the trustees to readjust the Andover curriculum so that the graduates might meet the entrance requirements of Harvard and other reputable colleges. The catalogue of that year announced that "it is confidently expected that from the opening of the fall term of 1872, instruction will be given in Modern Languages. Such instruction will be

open to those members of the Middle and Senior Classes who desire it. There will be an extra charge, not exceeding \$5.00 per term for each language."

Amherst Academy in Amherst, Massachusetts, is an example of a co-educational academy which eventually became a college. It opened in 1815, and for the first few years there was apparently no instruction in modern languages. In 1820, however, Miss Sarah Strong gave a French oration at the commencement exercises. At the following graduation a drama, "Orphan of China," was presented, doubtless an English adaptation of Voltaire's *Orphelin de la Chine*. In 1828 the academy announced that "a valuable addition has recently been made to the privileges enjoyed at this Academy. Besides the two departments, English and Classical, which still remain distinct and entire, the members of either may have access to instruction in French. Mr. [James Sumner] Carpenter, Teacher of French, is an American gentleman who has acquired a thorough knowledge of the language by residence in French society." There was an extra charge of \$2.00 for a term of eleven weeks. This rate seems to have been in force for many years, then to have been raised to \$5.00 in 1851, and later reduced to \$1.00 in 1860. A succession of teachers, mostly American, served as instructors.

In the two Massachusetts female seminaries, Wheaton and Mount Holyoke, "consecrated to the training of young women . . . of moderate means . . . for usefulness," which opened in the 1830's under the direction of Mary Lyon, French was made available as a special study almost from the beginning. In the spring of 1835, before normal schools had been established anywhere in America, the Norton Female Seminary opened its doors to thirty-nine young ladies in Norton. The purpose of the founder, Judge Laban Wheaton, was to afford "females the means of an early, virtuous, pious, and liberal education." Mary Lyon, the former preceptress of Ipswich Academy, had resigned that office and had come to Norton to superintend the organization and to direct the work for the first two years before entering upon her labors at Mount Holyoke. Judge Wheaton's wife had studied French at Uxbridge Academy under principal Abiel Jacques, a graduate of Harvard, and at the Young Ladies' High School in Boston, where music, dancing, and the modern languages had been stressed. In 1839 the institution became Wheaton Female Seminary and a year later Mary B. Learned offered French and Latin at an extra fee of \$3.00 a quarter. By 1842 four classes in French were using *Télémaque*, *Corinne*, and *De l'Allemagne*. Although the languages, music, and drawing were "also attended to," they did not belong "to the regular course" until the 1880's.

Founder Mary Lyon served as principal of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary from its opening in 1837 until her death in 1849. French was made available as a special study from the very start, but it was considered one of the "branches not included in the regular course" and was usually entrusted to "assistant pupils," such as "a young lady of French origin from New York, educated thus far in French schools." In 1871 the trustees recommended the introduction of French, German, and Greek into the regular course of instruction and a special teacher of French and German, Mlle Caroline de Maupassant, was secured.

Although Charles Lee Smith in his *History of Education in North Carolina* asserts that "the modern languages are hardly ever taught," there was throughout the nineteenth century some interest in them. French was taught at Fayetteville Academy as early as 1803 by M. Molie, who later taught at the University of North Carolina. He was followed in 1811 by Miss Beze, a French native, and in 1812 by M. Memorel, "a French gentleman of talents." In 1805 the principal of the school in Louisburg advertised to teach, with the aid of one assistant, over twenty subjects, including French and Italian. At Franklin Academy the same year, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Italian were among the subjects offered. For the girls of Raleigh Academy in 1811, reading, writing, and spelling were required, while French, Latin, music, painting, and needlework were available as electives. In 1818 the principal of Salisbury Academy proposed to teach "all branches of English, classical, mathematical, and philosophical literatures which are taught in the universities, together with the French language, if required." Later on in the century the Horner School in Oxford offered French and German. The Raleigh Male Academy offered the French and German languages and their literatures, while at Saint Mary's in the same city the young ladies could study French and German for five years. By 1888, most of the female academies in the state were giving three- to five-year courses in Latin, French, German, history, the natural sciences, and mathematics.

As in Virginia and North Carolina, French was taught west of the Alleghenies during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in Kentucky and Ohio, in many of the schools, seminaries, institutes, and academies which were established in that area. In *The Western Spy* of 10 September 1799, Francis Menessier advertised that he would teach the French language at his coffeehouse in Cincinnati. In 1826, it was being taught in three institutions for young women: the Cincinnati Female College, the Female Boarding School, and the Cincinnati Female School. These and many other early Ohio schools offered French as an optional study, with a special fee. Among them were the Lancaster Institute in

1838, the Hillsboro Female Seminary in 1839, the Norwalk Academy in 1839, the Twinsburg Institute in 1843, the Salem Academy and the Ohio Female College in 1849, and Mrs. Mason's Home School for Girls in Middletown in 1865.

In Indiana French was taught by a Dr. Scott in his private school in Vincennes. He continued to teach it after he founded Vincennes University in 1810. In these and other early institutions west of the Alleghenies, French was usually taught by women and studied as a polite accomplishment.

PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Foreign languages were introduced early in the nineteenth century into the recently established high schools. Their growth, especially in New England, was aided by the establishment of an "English" department in the high school, in addition to the "Classical" department. The English department, and, in some larger centers, the English high schools, had a much more flexible course than the Classical department, which was the successor of the Old Latin Grammar schools. French appeared early as an elective. In 1826 the Boston High School for Girls made it an optional study during the last two years. It was probably introduced as early as 1832 in the Boston English High School, although it is not mentioned in the official regulations until four years later.

In Connecticut the first high school was opened in Middletown in 1840, but charges for tuition were made. A free public high school began operation in Hartford seven years later, but even this was not entirely free at first. French and other foreign languages were provided from the beginnings but "at the expense of the pupil." Of the some 250 pupils enrolled in 1847 ninety-five were studying French and twenty-three, German. During the following ten years high schools were founded in other Connecticut centers: Waterbury in 1851, New London in 1855, and New Haven in 1859. In most of these, instruction in French was provided as an elective, usually begun in the second year of the three-year course, but reports for 1862 show only 132 studying French in all the high schools of the state.

Before 1840, French was offered in very few (never more than five) Massachusetts high schools. Between 1850 and 1860 it lost ground slightly. It grew in importance from 1857 to 1898, because of a requirement by Massachusetts law that it be offered in communities of 4000 or over. It was usually substituted for Greek, and it was especially strong in high schools for girls. In 1849-50, 59 per cent of the girls in the Lowell High School were studying French and only 3 per cent of the boys. There were noteworthy fluctuations in the French registration in certain Massachusetts

schools: the records of the Springfield High School from 1855 to 1861 show yearly percentages of students taking French to be 25.1, 26.5, 28.2, 7, 6, 38.2, and 3.7. The explanation may have been weak teaching or no teacher.

In 1850 in New York State 148 high schools and academies offered French, and 36 offered German. French went from 173 in 1865 to 100 in 1890, while German grew from 36 in 1850 to 228 in 1895. By 1900, however, both languages were up: 294 offered French and 537 German. The Philadelphia Central High School opened in 1838. Two years later, two four-year courses were outlined, the "Classical" and the "Principal." In the latter, chosen by nearly two-thirds of the pupils, modern languages replaced Latin and Greek. French was started in 1840, followed by German and Spanish, and they continued to be offered until 1866. From that time until about 1888, French and Spanish were dropped, while Latin and German were required of all students.

The Central High School for Boys was established in Baltimore in 1839, followed, five years later, by two high schools for girls. By 1852, German, French, and Spanish were offered to the boys during all years of both the Classical and English courses. In that year, 172 were studying German, 52 French, and 39 Spanish. The only modern language provided for the girls of Baltimore was French, and that not before 1856.

In the North Central states high schools were opened considerably later than in the East, but by 1860 the movement was well under way. Cleveland had a high school in 1846, Toledo in 1849, St. Louis in 1853, and Chicago in 1856. The course of study was modeled largely on that of the East. Modern languages were not offered in Cleveland's three-year course before 1856. In Dubuque, Iowa, German and French first became optional in the three-year course in 1858. Bagster-Collins (p. 30) reproduces a table from an earlier study that shows the number of Midwestern schools that offered modern languages during five-year periods from 1860 to 1900. The list includes the schools of such cities as Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Dubuque, Leavenworth, Madison, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Springfield. German, the most popular language, was taught in 113 schools, French in 42, and Spanish in only one.

There is scant information on the content of the courses until comparatively late in the century. Most of the data available consist of names of textbooks. Bagster-Collins examined catalogues of schools and colleges of the first half of the century and observed that in general the same books were used in secondary school and college: Wanostrocht's *French Grammar*, Lévizac's *Grammar*, Bolmar's *Phrases*, Fénelon's *Télémaque*, Voltaire's *Charles XII* and the *Henriade*, Madame de Staël's *Corinne* and *De l'Allemagne*, and La Fontaine's *Fables*. The names of Racine, Molière, Corneille,

and Lamartine are seen frequently, but specific works of these writers are rarely cited. We may infer that the teaching of French in the academies, high schools, and colleges of the day usually followed the grammar-translation-reading method.

Early in this century there was a tremendous increase in high-school population, and modern languages assumed an important place in the course of study. A 1917 report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education shows that in the public and private high schools enrollment in French grew steadily from 28,032 (9.41 %) in 1890 to 136,131 (10.54 %) in 1915. In the public high schools the percentages were 5.8 in 1890 and 8.8 in 1915. German had a much larger growth, while Spanish had only 35,145 (2.72 %) in 1915.

A report for 1899-1900 shows 2047 schools offering French, with an enrollment of 65,684 (10.43 %), and 2902 offering German, with an enrollment of 94,873 (15.06 %). Heaviest enrollments were in the North East, where French was in the lead. German was strongest in the North Central and Western areas. French was weak in most of the North Central area: in Wisconsin .17 % were enrolled in French and 23.89 % in German; in Kansas .17 % in French, 10.29 % in German.

By 1915 German had grown in every section of the country. Nearly a quarter of all secondary-school pupils were studying it. In the North Atlantic division, it had even outstripped French, long the traditional language of the East. French had lost ground in all other sections of the country because of the increasing popularity of Spanish, especially in the Western division, where Spanish enrollments were nearly double those in French. The outbreak of World War I slashed German enrollments to a mere handful of students, over a third of whom were in private schools.

As William Riley Parker pointed out in *The National Interest and Foreign Languages*, the hysterical American distrust for all things German soon became a distrust for most things foreign. Twenty-two states passed laws hostile to foreign-language instruction, and, although these were eventually reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court, the "mood that produced them remained" and Americans readily accepted new theories as to what their children should be taught. Any kind of language study, ancient or modern, came under attack as unessential and unimportant. In 1915, 35.9 % of high-school pupils were studying modern languages: German, 24.4 %, French, 8.8 %, Spanish, 2.7 %. By 1922 language enrollments were down to 27.4 %: French, 15.5 %, German, .6 %, and Spanish, 11.3 %. In 1928 only 25.2 % were taking modern languages: French, 14.0 %, German, 1.8 %, Spanish, 9.4 %. Latin, which in 1915 stood at 37.3 % of the high-school enrollment, had dropped to 16.0 % by 1934, when 19.5 % were taking modern languages. French (10.9 %) was ahead of Spanish (6.2 %) and

German (2.4%). During the next fifteen years the trend against language study continued. By 1949 modern languages had fallen to 13.7% of the total high-school enrollment. Now Spanish was in the lead (8.2%) followed by French (4.7%) and German (.8%). During the next six-year period modern-language enrollments remained at 13.7%. Latin had gone down to 6.9%, French had made a slight gain to 5.6%, Spanish had dropped to 7.3%, and German was still at .8%.

The figures for 1915 to 1922 reveal that French and especially Spanish had filled much of the gap left by the drastic curtailment of German, but, as Professor Parker says: "the fundamental position of the modern languages had now been proved unstable, particularly subject to human passions, to inner rivalries and competition from without." As the secondary schools de-emphasized the importance of modern languages, more and more colleges dropped their language entrance requirements, creating thus a vicious circle.

A contributing factor was the 1924-29 investigation known as the "Modern Foreign Language Study," supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation, which, in an attempt to analyze the situation, especially in the high schools, and to salvage as much as possible, actually served to weaken further the position of modern languages. Many books resulted from this research project, among them word and idiom counts which were to serve as a scientific basis for the preparation of language texts. The most controversial of these publications was *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States*, known as the "Coleman Report," prepared in 1929 by a committee of which Professor Algernon Coleman of the University of Chicago served as secretary. He found that eighty-three per cent of American high-school pupils studied a foreign language for only two years. This amount of time being obviously inadequate to acquire all the language skills and to gain an insight into another culture, Coleman concluded that it would be best to concentrate on one skill, reading.

The conclusions of the report were by no means unanimously accepted by the committee or by the profession at large. Many of them "saw decades of progress toward improved oral-aural instruction being ignored" (Parker, p. 55) and they spoke and wrote vigorously against the proposed solution. Authur H. Beattie says in his "Bestowing the Gift of Tongues": "By what perhaps should have been a predictable twist of fate, these findings concerning the current status of language teaching were quickly seized upon by those with administrative authority in school programs as recommendations for the ideal course of study. Thus came into being, with the aid of serious and well-intentioned specialists from among the language teachers themselves, the reign of the 'reading-knowledge' objective" (p. 14). By

the following year, texts based on "the authoritative report of the Modern Foreign Language Study," such as the series called *Language, Literature, and Life* by Smith and Roberts, which aimed to "cover all the reading, grammar, and composition necessary for a complete modern-language course in high school," began to be widely used. With the use of such tools and with the assurance that the teacher now knew "what should be the objectives of a high school course in a modern language," American schools, from 1929 to World War II, "stressed the 'reading aim,' and produced a generation largely unable to speak French or German or Spanish, or even to read a newspaper or magazine article in these languages beyond the ability of a fifth-grade pupil in English" (Parker, p. 55).

There were, however, notable exceptions. Many soldiers who had been in France in World War I and who had realized the importance of the spoken language had become teachers of French in our schools and colleges. Cleveland and other school systems had well-planned language programs that stressed speaking and listening. In other centers such as Middlebury, Wisconsin, and Chicago (in the University High and Elementary School) there was important experimentation in direct-method or modified direct-method learning. Summer language schools gave an opportunity for intensive study without the use of English. New textbooks were written, based on the assumption that the most natural and easiest way to learn a foreign language is to use it.

Many colleges, however, were either sticking to the time-honored grammar-translation method or stressing the reading objective and turning out graduates inadequately trained in the spoken language. The Coleman report had fortified the attitude of certain distinguished college teachers who did not speak French acceptably and who assumed that reading and literature were all important. Most of the Direct Methodists had been teachers of German, and the teaching of German had practically disappeared from the high schools. These and other adverse influences, together with the steadily declining foreign-language enrollments, resulted in poor teacher-training and a drop in the number and quality of teacher-candidates. Spirited, talented, ambitious young people generally felt no desire to embrace an apparently lost cause, with the result that today there is a serious lack of qualified leaders among those who received their college language training in the years between the Coleman report and World War II.

In addition to these difficulties within the teaching profession itself—the two-year language program, the lack of adequate teacher training, and the emphasis on reading—were the repeated attacks from school administrative officers and various educational commissions. As educational opportunities were being extended during the first half of the twen-

tieth century to all American youth irrespective of social or economic circumstances, a drastic revision of educational aims and methods became inevitable. The trend was away from the cultural and the traditional toward what was considered the practical and modern, "with consequent contempt for 'content-knowledge' and 'mere learning'" (Parker, p. 56).

In 1940 a special committee of the American Youth Commission, in a report entitled *What the High Schools Ought to Teach*, found foreign languages, along with algebra, science, English composition, and history, "vicious aspects of the ninth grade." Languages consumed so much time that it was difficult "to include the new courses that have been recommended as desirable," such as work experience, social studies, and personal problems. In 1944 the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association suggested in its *Education for All American Youth* that high schools should prepare youths for occupations, civic competence, and personal development. If students were interested in a "peripheral" subject such as foreign languages, they could elect it in their free time. In rural areas, correspondence courses would suffice. In 1945 the Harvard report, *General Education in a Free Society*, recommended a "core" curriculum with foreign languages omitted. Shortly afterward a program of "Life Adjustment Education," sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education, emphasized the importance of instruction for such future contingencies in life as dating, mating, childbearing, and work experience. There was no place for modern languages and other "traditional" subjects. In 1950 *Secondary Education: Basic Principles and Practices* by William M. Alexander and J. G. Saylor proclaimed that "about the only valid justification . . . for inclusion of foreign languages in the high school curriculum is that of satisfying the intellectual curiosity of a few students who are interested in developing their linguistic interests and abilities." Since instruction in languages required so much time in the face of many urgent needs, it would be better to use that time for studying "current social problems completely overlooked by the classical curriculum."

With America's entry into World War II, the national need of personnel able to speak foreign languages called forth the Army Specialized Training Program, set up in April 1943, with courses in language and area study in fifty-five colleges in all parts of the country. By December over 13,000 young men, selected for their intelligence and having a strong motivation for language study, were devoting their full time to language study in small classes, with modern equipment and with well trained teachers who were often native speakers. The main emphasis was on listening comprehension and speaking.

The wide publicity given to the success of the wartime intensive lan-

guage programs convinced many that previous methods of teaching in American colleges and schools were wrong, and that if the "Army Method" was used in our schools, fluent speakers could be turned out within a few months. Even though the public did not understand that the nine months of the army language course were equivalent in time to six years of high-school language study, it did begin to realize that foreign-language competence was important for our national welfare and that, given a situation favorable to language learning, American youth could make rapid progress toward fluency in a second language.

Even though the favorable conditions of the ASTP could not be reproduced in American high schools and colleges, the army program did have a marked impact upon civilian teaching. Harris and Lévêque's *Conversational French for Beginners*, for example, "attempted to adapt for civilian students the intensive method of teaching foreign languages which was developed during World War II." In this and similar works the emphasis was on the spoken tongue. In many schools phonograph records, wire recorders, and later tape recorders were used with profit. Language laboratories, at first few and primitive, increased in quantity and quality and helped significantly in improving students' pronunciation and fluency in speech. In some colleges, notably Cornell, intensive courses meeting as many as ten hours a week tried to approach the degree of concentration that was possible in the ASTP.

Arthur Beattie, after pointing out that few of these intensive courses survived because of our traditional attitudes toward courses, credits, and schedules, sums up the influence of the army experiment: "All in all, the influence of the nine months . . . was important, if not profound, in giving encouragement to teaching the spoken language and to the preparation of materials more adequate to that end than the traditional textbooks. It also contributed to a more favorable climate of opinion for increased emphasis on language study" (p. 20). William R. Parker remarks astutely that "nowhere in educational circles did anyone in authority propose that we now follow European example, or learn the main lesson taught by the 'Army Method,' and allow sufficient time for language study to make it meaningful" (p. 61).

Soon several strong official voices began to be raised in support of language study. In May 1952, Earl J. McGrath, then U. S. Commissioner of Education, said: "For some years I unwisely took the position that a foreign language did not constitute an indispensable element in a general education program. This position, I am happy to say, I have reversed. I have seen the light and I consider foreign languages a very important element in general education." And, as we shall see, he called a national con-

ference in January 1953 to discuss language teaching in elementary and secondary schools. In December 1953, Oliver J. Caldwell, Assistant Commissioner of the Office of Education, wrote: "There should be a revival of interest in languages, and such languages should be taught as early in the school program as experience indicates to be practicable in our culture." President Eisenhower, at the Annapolis commencement exercises in 1958, said: "We are, indeed, poor linguists. We are too much handicapped because so many of our people have failed to become knowledgeable in a language other than ours. Success in this will do much to improve understanding in a world of great cultural diversity, and thus to strengthen our relationships with other peoples." And a step of great importance was taken in 1952, when the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant to the Modern Language Association which enabled it to initiate its Foreign Language Program.

On September 2, 1958, President Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act. This Act was not one of the results of the "Sputnik Fever" but rather the product of several years of research and planning by the Office of Education. Title VI of the act aims at fostering language development through the establishment of Language and Area Centers, the encouragement of research, and the creation of Language Institutes for retraining elementary- and secondary-school teachers by increasing their command of the language they were teaching and acquainting them with the new teaching methods, materials, and devices, including electronic aids. Public-school teachers receive a stipend of \$75 a week during the institute period plus \$15 for each dependent. During the summer of 1959, French for high-school teachers was taught in all 12 institutes, with a total enrollment of 341. The following summer 28 of the 35 institutes trained 734 secondary-school French teachers. There were also 5 academic-year institutes in 1959-60, one of which trained 18 secondary-school teachers of French. The following year 2 offered similar programs to 41 teachers. In 1961 French was taught in 46 of the 68 summer institutes, with 1382 secondary-school teachers enrolled. Two academic-year programs in 1961-62 had 46 participants at this level. In the summer of 1962 over 1500 secondary-school French teachers attended 44 of the 80 institutes. In the summer of 1963 about 1450 such teachers attended 38 of the 79 institutes. In addition to the teachers who have been trained in the NDEA institutes, thousands have had the advantages of special workshops and seminars sponsored by state educational agencies, local schools and school systems, and universities and colleges.

Title III of the NDEA provides for matching funds for the acquisition of instructional materials and equipment (except textbooks), and for state

supervisory and related services in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. Federal funds are also available for loans to private elementary and secondary schools for the same purposes. The number of specialist supervisors in modern foreign languages increased from 6 in 3 states in 1958 to 58 in 37 states in 1962. Thousands of schools have purchased new instructional equipment and materials for modern foreign languages. For this purpose the Office of Education has approved 20,065 projects, totalling \$56,975,329, over the four-year period 1958-62. This was 17.6% of the total for science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. For State supervisory and related services the total amount (Federal and State funds) approved was over \$11 million, of which about a quarter was for languages.

In 1957 a national survey of practices and uses of language laboratory facilities in colleges and secondary schools made by the Office of Education showed that only 64 public and private secondary schools and 240 institutions of higher learning were using laboratory facilities for foreign-language instruction. "The number of language laboratories in public secondary schools grew from 46 in 1958 to well over 5,000 in 1962" (Letter from Marjorie C. Johnston, 1 April 1963).

To assist in solving the problems of high-school teachers who are unacquainted with the uses of electromechanical equipment as an aid in foreign-language instruction, the Office of Education published in 1961 a brochure by Specialist Joseph C. Hutchinson: *Modern Foreign Languages in High School: the Language Laboratory*, which explains the various types of equipment and outlines "the proper role of such equipment and the most effective procedures for planning and utilizing it within the current instructional framework." Valuable evaluations of this and many other books and articles by such authorities as Alfred S. Hayes, Marjorie C. Johnston and Catherine Seerley, Sarah W. Lorge, Fernand Marty, Gustave Mathieu, Jeanne Varney Pleasants, and Edward M. Stack are given on page 3 of the *MLA Selective List of Materials* (1962). Title VII of the NDEA provides government funds for research and experimentation in the use of new educational media, including television, motion pictures, autoinstructional devices, and language laboratories.

There is no doubt that the overall position of modern-language instruction in American secondary schools is showing improvement, because of popular and official recognition of its importance and the steps which are being taken to better it. The results of MLA statistical research show that while the total high-school population in grades 9-12 increased by 46.3% from 1948 to 1958, there was a gain of 73.3% in modern-language enrollments. From 1958 to 1960 modern-foreign-language enrollments

increased 44.5% and rose to 21.7% of the total high-school population. French enrollments increased 55.8% in these two years, replacing Latin as the number two high-school foreign language, after Spanish.

In 1960 the French registrations varied from a high of 25.7% of the high-school population in Rhode Island to a low of 1.5% in South Dakota. Thirteen states and the District of Columbia enrolled more than 10% of their high-school students in French: Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maryland, Maine, Delaware, Connecticut, New York, North Carolina, New Jersey, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Twenty-five states reported less than 5% of their total high-school population in French classes. According to *MLA Foreign Language Bulletin* 64, in all secondary schools (public, independent, and religious) in 1959 there were 850,006 students of French and 946,828 who were studying Spanish.

For all modern languages in all secondary schools this report shows an attrition from about 1,038,000 students in Course I to 538,000 in Course II, to 119,000 in Course III, to 23,700 in Course IV. The "reasons for this attrition are various: multiplicity of methods and texts, rapid changes of interest, completion of stated 'requirements,' an influx of students into secondary schools who have taken foreign language in elementary school and whose high hopes of continuing are dashed by ineffective articulation in the sequences of language learning, lack of course offerings above a beginning level, school drop-outs, and occasionally, no doubt, dull, imperceptive teaching." The report expresses the hope that the NDEA institutes will provide needed stimulus to better teaching, and warns that it "behooves the profession for its own good, as well as for the national interest, to eradicate bad teaching as one of the causes." It deplores the fact that because of the high rate of drop-out from Course I through IV "the number of competent speakers . . . who have experienced long sequences of language study seems minuscule for the national needs."

MODERN LANGUAGES IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Although modern languages had been taught for many years to elementary-school children in certain areas of heavy foreign-born population, especially in the Catholic elementary schools of Louisiana and New England, the present-day rapid expansion is a nation-wide phenomenon of the last decade. In addition to the programs in the parochial schools, there were also several groundbreaking experiments in the regular American public-school system, in demonstration schools, and in summer language schools during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The study of French and German was begun in the two highest grades

of the New York City elementary schools in 1854. In 1870 German was made an optional study in all classes of the elementary schools, and a simple course of study was drawn up. By 1873 19,396 pupils were studying German and 1609 were in fifty French classes, all taught by special teachers. There was opposition in the school board to any increase in the amount of language study so that, in 1876, a considerable curtailment resulted. The following year 4223 pupils were enrolled in German classes, and only 452 in French classes. By 1885 the German enrollment had grown to 9047, and the French to 1979. Another policy shift in 1890 increased the amount of language study, and now French and German could be studied in the five upper grammar grades. In 1895 there were 3134 pupils in French classes, and 23,498 in German classes. Another change in policy in 1897 limited language study to the two upper grades, except in the Bronx, where it could be pursued for three years. In 1903 foreign languages were made optional in the last year of the course, and this plan held until World War I.

In 1867, San Francisco also tried the experiment of training elementary-school children in special schools, called "Cosmopolitan Schools," where French and German were offered in connection with the ordinary English courses. In 1871, pupils in these schools could take either language from one to one and a half hours daily in the primary grades, and 2305 were studying German and 763 French. In the grammar grades nearly half the school day was devoted to both languages. By 1878, language work was dropped in the first grade and made wholly oral in the second. That year there were 688 pupils taking French, and 2133 German, of whom all but 302 were of German parentage. In 1888, only three Cosmopolitan Schools remained, with a total of 176 pupils in French and 1451 in German. During the early nineties foreign-language study was given up in the elementary schools, and the Superintendent's report for 1892 speaks of it as being among the "educational hobbies" of the past.

From 1877 on for several years, in his "French Normal School" at Amherst College, Dr. Lambert Sauveur conducted a "training department," in which elementary school children were instructed in French in demonstration classes by members of the summer school. An attempt to introduce French into the grammar schools of Boston was made in the 1880's, when Charles H. Grandgent was director of modern-language instruction. His innovation was a great success, but he resigned in 1886 to accept a tutorship at Harvard, leaving the post of director vacant. The experiment was finally abandoned "for lack of interest, and, especially, for lack of competent instructors."

In 1893, the National Educational Association Committee of Ten, through a sub-committee, recommended that modern-language instruction

begin in the elementary school and stipulated a course of study. Acting on this suggestion, the Boston superintendent of schools proposed in 1895 that Latin, German, and French be added to the elementary curriculum. Three schools began offering French that year, and the following year there were nine with an enrollment of 656 pupils in the various grades. Unhappily, however, no adequate provisions were made to secure a capable staff or to determine any real policy. The director of French and German resigned in September 1896, and although there were 1013 pupils studying French in 1897, the whole scheme seems to have been dropped. Two years later, in 1899, the Modern Language Association Committee of Twelve stated that language study in the elementary schools should be made optional, and that it was of no value unless the pupil planned to continue it into the secondary school and unless the teachers were competent. There is no further mention in the Boston school reports of foreign-language instruction in the elementary grades until it was again introduced into the intermediate classes or the junior high schools in 1914. In 1915, a committee prepared a syllabus for French and German. At that time there were in the seventh and eighth grades thirty-two classes with a total of 1281 pupils who were studying foreign languages.

Instruction in French was found before World War I in a few other elementary schools, especially in New England. In 1909 it was reported that only three grammar schools, Worcester and Abington in Massachusetts, and Providence in Rhode Island, were offering French. It had been tried in a few other Massachusetts cities (Springfield, Winchester, Medford) but had been given up. By 1930, the teaching of French below the high-school level was confined mostly to junior high schools or to private schools, especially those for girls.

In 1918, Dr. Emile B. de Saucé inaugurated in Cleveland, Ohio, the Demonstration School of Foreign Languages of Western Reserve University. He had been invited to come to Cleveland as director of foreign languages in the public schools. Since the founding of the school, Western Reserve University and the Cleveland Board of Education have collaborated in making it unique among the schools of the country. At the very beginning a laboratory school was organized which consisted of classes in French, German, Latin, and Spanish for children from the first grade of elementary school through the senior year of high school. The laboratory school has been operated regularly through the years, with approximately 500 pupils enrolled in these classes in the summer session of 1961.

Teachers and prospective teachers of foreign languages, who are students in the Summer School of French or Spanish or in the School of Education, visit these classes frequently during the six-week session. Thus they can ob-

serve the actual application of the pedagogical principles and theories that they learn in the Methods course, which was taught by Dr. de Sauzé himself until his retirement in 1949. During the summer session, French and Spanish houses give the teachers an opportunity to live in a foreign atmosphere and to practice the languages. All the teachers of the Demonstration School, thoroughly trained in the Cleveland Plan, have been carefully chosen from among the most skilled and experienced teachers in the Cleveland Public Schools. All classes are conducted in the language studied. The Demonstration School has consisted in recent years of nineteen classes, including beginning, intermediate, and advanced courses in French for pupils of elementary-school age. The efficacy of the de Sauzé method is attested by the fact that young students are kept interested for three periods in succession (from 9:30 a.m. until 12:20 p.m.) in the same class and with the same teacher without any evidence of fatigue or loss of interest.

At about the same period important exploratory work in elementary-school language teaching was carried on at the University of Chicago High and Elementary School under the direction of Professor Arthur Gibbon Bovée. *The Modern Language Journal* of 1919 presented a series of articles, "French Course of Study," by Professor Bovée and his associates. The first course began in the fourth grade, and by the end of the seventh the pupil could complete the requirements for one unit of college entrance credit. There were five half-hour periods a week with homework assignments. The course aimed to enable the pupil: 1) to understand ordinary spoken French, 2) to use the simple forms of daily oral and written intercourse, 3) to read simple French, 4) to look for grammar rules underlying the forms learned and to apply them to daily practice, 5) to observe sound and rhythm in order to develop a feeling for correct and accurate pronunciation, and 6) to have a desire to continue the study of French as a result of enthusiastic presentation of each lesson by the teacher.

In Public School 208 in Brooklyn, French and Spanish instruction was initiated in 1931. Through the 1940's programs had been established in widely scattered regions, from Seattle to El Paso, and from San Diego to Somerville, New Jersey. In reality, however, in spite of official pronouncements and pioneering experimentation in certain schools, FLES (Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools) was, until the last decade, only a relatively minor aspect of language instruction. A spark was given to the movement on 3 May 1952 by the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Earl J. McGrath, at a meeting of the Central States Modern Language Teachers' Association in St. Louis, when he strongly defended modern language teaching—which he had previously held to be of little significance—and stressed its importance in the elementary schools.

In January 1953 Commissioner McGrath called a national conference on FLES in Washington where many successful teachers of FLES programs outlined their work. A survey by Kenneth Milderberger of the MLA revealed a total of 145 communities which had FLES programs, furnishing instruction for 145,643 pupils. Three years later the Steering Committee of the MLA issued a policy statement in which it expressed its approval of the movement but warned against its faddish aspects. It recommended that no FLES program be initiated unless provision had been made for: 1) an adequate number of skilled teachers with the necessary language qualifications; 2) available materials for each level and a syllabus; 3) adequate provisions for appraisal.

In January 1961 the MLA Advisory and Liaison Committee issued a revised statement in which it again stated that a FLES program should not be set up unless: 1) it was an integral part of a) the school day and b) the total language program in the school system; 2) there was a close articulation with later foreign-language learning; 3) there were sufficient available teachers with an adequate command of the language; 4) there was a planned syllabus; 5) the administration would support it; 6) the high-school teachers in the system would recognize the same long-range objectives and use some of the same teaching techniques as the FLES teachers.

Meanwhile FLES had become an educational phenomenon, with over 8000 schools and 1,227,006 pupils enrolled by 1959. The per cent of increase in enrollments (1959 over 1953) was 742.5. Between 1955 and 1959 the increase was over 350%. The MLA report "Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools of the United States, 1959-60" presents data on the enrollments in foreign languages through grade eight in public, private, laboratory, and parochial schools. To gather this information 6219 questionnaires were sent to public elementary schools. There was a return of 79%, of which 3863 (78.7%) reported some kind of foreign-language instruction for 1959-60.

More than 4000 public elementary schools in 1217 communities reported a total of 692,718 pupils studying foreign languages in the regular school program in fifty states and the District of Columbia. In most of the public elementary schools surveyed, instruction was given by the regular elementary classroom teacher, who had studied language in school or college. Some schools enlisted the services of a local high-school teacher, a college teacher, a native speaker, or a college major in the language. Very few of the schools reported an elementary foreign-language specialist. California had the largest kindergarten-eighth-grade language enrollment: 293,554, followed by Ohio with 40,293. Spanish led all other languages with 185,825 students. Of these more than half (288,389 compared to 3116 in French)

were in California. French had an enrollment of 184,651, the heaviest being in Ohio (30,086), New York (21,612), and New Jersey (13,147).

In the spring of 1961 two expert FLES teachers, Nancy V. Alkonis and Mary A. Brophy, made an on-the-spot evaluative survey of FLES practices for the MLA. They visited sixty-two school systems in twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia, observing new and old programs in large cities and small towns. Their conclusion was that the "state of FLES in the United States needs a lot of improvement." They observed that: 1) a majority of the programs do not fulfill the primary aim of teaching the language skills; 2) many programs emphasize such other aims as "world understanding" or "broadened horizons"; 3) the linguistic content of the programs makes a general evaluation of results using a single test or series of tests impracticable; 4) there was such a widespread emphasis on the learning of words that it appeared that teachers showed no awareness of the interacting systems of structure or pattern; 5) many programs, starting without planning or provision for the materials, were considered "experimental" with no clear statement of the conditions and terms of the experiment and no provision for the evaluation of the results; 6) the most obvious weakness was the lack of teachers with sufficient skill in the language and training in methods; 7) in the majority of the schools the program was conceived of as merely a preview or prelude to "real" language learning; 8) few programs were planned as an unbroken, cumulative sequence from the primary through the junior high school; 9) it was "perfectly clear that with an enthusiastic teacher who has an adequate command of the foreign language, materials that reflect the nature of language and how it is learned, and expert supervision, American youngsters can learn and are indeed learning foreign languages very well in our elementary schools."

Sounding also a note of caution and concern, Josephine R. Bruno and Seymour O. Simches of Tufts University, in a paper written for the Office of Education and published in the May 1962 *French Review*, point out that the figures of the 1959-60 FLES enrollment are not as heartening as they should be because "a large number of FLES programs are less than satisfactory," inasmuch as "some are little more than extended club activities," while others are merely lunch-hour programs over loudspeaker systems, or "games in the foreign language to amuse the children or to please the parents." Furthermore "the majority of these programs . . . are conducted by teachers who are frequently unqualified, and who have little or no knowledge of the foreign language they are supposed to be teaching." After stating that "no FLES program is better than a poor one, and that a poor FLES program seriously impairs the entire FLES movement," the authors attempt to answer the question: "What constitutes an 'effective' FLES program?"

An MLA report of November 1961 on "Teacher Education Curricula in the Modern Foreign Languages" shows that 711 of 758 four-year colleges and universities reporting teacher-preparation for modern foreign languages were giving training for secondary-school French teaching, while only ninety-six were offering programs for elementary-school French teaching. One of the means by which the National Defense Education Act of 1958 sought to improve instruction in American schools in certain fields of strategic importance, such as science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages, was the creation of Summer Language Institutes. In the summer of 1959, there were twelve, in 1960 thirty-seven, in 1961 sixty-eight, in 1962 eighty, and eighty again in 1963.

In 1959 no summer Institute program was devoted exclusively to the training of FLES teachers. Four, however, provided such instruction in addition to the work for secondary-school language teachers and enrolled fifty-nine FLES teachers. In 1960 there were 271 FLES teachers in ten summer institutes, one of which, at Tufts University, was exclusively for French and Spanish FLES teachers. In 1961, ten institutes offered FLES training to a total of 204 French teachers. In 1962 there were six institutes devoted exclusively to FLES teachers, of which two offered French, and eleven offering training to teachers at both academic levels, of which six offered French. The corresponding figures for 1963 are ten exclusive FLES institutes, of which four offered French, and fourteen mixed institutes, of which seven offered French. In 1962 about 150 French FLES teachers were trained and in 1963, nearly 300.

Instructional television "is causing an explosive expansion in FLES teaching" says J. Richard Reid in "An Exploratory Survey of Foreign Language Teaching by Television in the United States" (in *MLA Reports of Surveys . . .*, 1961). After pointing out that in 1960-61 there were 3.5 million school children in 7500 schools receiving part of their education by television, he stated that "foreign-language instruction accounts for a substantial share of this vast enterprise." One state FL director reported that in his state the number of FLES television programs was three times as great as in the preceding year. One French series alone (syndicated to forty-three stations) was being used by more than a million children in the elementary grades in 1961-62. Mr. Reid concludes that although television is not the whole answer to the shortage of FLES teachers, it "can be a major part of the solution of the problem" when the teaching "is done by skillful, inspired teachers, backed by sound advice from linguists and producers, and by a sound program in the schools." His survey, which is admittedly "neither systematic nor exhaustive nor complete," but which is probably "the most complete and accurate list of FL instruction via TV available,"

shows that there were 125 courses at the elementary level, 8 at the secondary level, and 21 at the college level. Spanish led with 75 TV courses listed, followed by French with 57, and German with 9. In 1962 the influential Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages gave an important place to the FLES program in its deliberations devoted to "Current Issues in Language Teaching," along with discussions of television, linguistics, and programmed instruction and teaching machines.

Teachers and administrators of this highly technical phase of language learning who wish help in their planning will find very useful the evaluations of FLES materials—basic texts, readers, films, filmstrips, integrated programs, teacher's course guides—in the *MLA Selective List of Materials* (1962). Among the more significant items are: Theodore Andersson's *The Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Elementary School* (1953), Elizabeth Keesee's *Modern Foreign Languages in the Elementary School: Teaching Techniques* (1960), Julian Harris and Hélène Monod-Cassidy's *Petites Conversations* (1956) and *Nouvelles Conversations* (1961), M. Raymond and Claude L. Bourcier's *Elementary French Series 1, 2, 3, 4* (1958–60), the *MLA Teacher's Guides for Beginning French in Grade 3* and *Continuing French in Grade 4* (1959–60), and *Parlons Français* of the Modern Language Project of the Massachusetts Council for Public Schools.

The Modern Language Project, a non-profit organization, was launched in Boston, in 1959. It was initially financed by grants from the Ford Foundation, the NDEA, the Massachusetts Council for Public Schools, and the 21" Classroom. Its major objective is the teaching of languages from the third or fourth year upward by the audio-lingual method through the use of in-school filmed or televised programs of study. A national committee of language experts and educational administrators representing all levels of study guided the Project, which is now supported by the Heath deRochemont Corporation.

RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Georgetown University, founded in 1789, offered French, Greek, Latin, and English at an early date. St. Mary's in Baltimore taught Spanish in addition to these languages in 1822. These schools usually made an extra charge of \$20.00–\$28.00 for language instruction. During the period of expansion from 1829 to 1852, many other Catholic institutions were founded. French was taught at the following schools, among others: Spring Hill, Alabama, where in 1833 there was a requirement (abandoned after two years) that the students "speak the French and English languages each successive alternate week," St. Vincent's Male Academy at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1838, St. John's Literary Institute in Frederick, Mary-

land, in 1829, Gethsemani College in Kentucky in 1851, the Pensionate for Youth in New York in 1848, the school of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine in Dubuque, Iowa, where "three good brothers . . . from France, helped by an Irishman," were having great success in 1851, St. Phillip's College in Detroit, where, in 1841, there was "a favorable opportunity to become conversant with the French language . . . in the intercourse with the pupils whose native tongue was French," and the academy connected with St. Athenasius Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1841.

Of the teaching of languages in these and other Catholic schools the *Catholic Almanac* of 1833 reported that in general great care was taken "to inculcate the rules of grammar and syntax and to render the students familiar with their application." It stressed the fact that "the intercourse of American, French, and Spanish pupils establishes an interchange of these languages equally advantageous to all." French was also taught in many Catholic institutions for girls.

Although the Louisiana territorial authorities showed much interest in education in the early years of the nineteenth century, differences in race and religion slowed the progress of public education. The region above Baton Rouge was Protestant, that below was predominantly Catholic. The Anglo-Americans demanded the substitution of English for French, and of English common law for the French-Spanish legal institutions. The Creoles—some the descendants of the original colonists from France or the Arcadian exiles of the eighteenth century, others migrants from French Canada or the Illinois French settlements or refugees from the French West Indies—preferred parochial schools operated by the Catholic Church. Here the language was French, taught for many years almost to the exclusion of other modern languages.

Several religious orders established their schools in the Louisiana territory. In 1825 the English-speaking Sisters of Loretto of Kentucky set up a school at Assumption, near Opelousas. Because of the language difficulties and the poverty and misery, it lasted only three years. In 1818 the Dames of the Sacred Heart founded a house at St. Charles, Missouri, then known as Upper Louisiana. In Louisiana proper they established several academies where the French language and customs were fostered: at Grand Coteau in 1821, in the parish of St. James in 1825, at Natchitoches in 1847, and at Baton Rouge in 1851. The parochial schools of Louisiana have long since ceased to be French schools, but instruction in French was prominent in the curriculum for many years. In 1898 French was taught in nearly one fourth of the parochial schools in the diocese of New Orleans, and in half of those in the diocese of Alexandria. Moreover, a half dozen private schools gave instruction in French in the early 1900's.

In recent times French has been taught extensively in Catholic schools in other areas of heavy French-speaking population, especially in New England, where in 1912 there were more than 200 French-Canadian parishes with 135 parochial schools and a total of nearly 64,000 pupils. In the elementary schools French instruction was given during eight or nine years. In the secondary schools and academies the following subjects were regularly taught in French: Church history, French history, catechism, grammar and composition, reading and analysis of French and Canadian authors, logic, aesthetics, and science. At that time there was some complaint that instruction in French was being given at the expense of English. To this the superintendent of the parochial schools of the diocese of Boston replied that if a just proportion was observed "the teaching of French, far from harming, helps English, especially from the theoretical side."

During World War I twenty-two states passed laws hostile to foreign-language instruction, laws reversed by the United States Supreme Court in 1923. As an example of this wartime distrust for most things foreign, the Governor of Connecticut, Marcus H. Holcomb, ordered that from 1 July 1918, "in all the public and private schools one shall use the English language exclusively in teaching the children to read, write, spell, and to teach them English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and United States history." English was also to be the language of the school administration. The only exception allowed was for the purely devotional purposes of private schools. Even today "not more than one hour in any school day may be given to any one language other than English" (1351 G.S., Conn. School Doc. # 3, Sec. 20, 1950).

From the early sixteenth century until 1939, French was the official language of the Waldensian Church of Italy, because when the Reformers Farel, Saumier, and Olivétan went from Geneva in 1532 to persuade the Waldensians to adopt their propositions, they spoke only French. And the pastors who were sent later to the Waldensian Valleys could preach only in French. Accordingly French classes were conducted for generations in the Waldensian parishes of Italy and in the colonies established abroad. The use of French was forbidden by Mussolini in 1939.

The Waldensian colony of Monett, Missouri, was established in 1875, and during its early years the official language of church and school was French, although English was used during part of the services to accommodate the Baptist and Methodist children of the district. By 1878, however, French was the only language of the school, the American families having started schools of their own. As time went by, the colony children became less familiar with French, so that by 1903 it became necessary to conduct

the Sunday School in both French and English. The Monett Waldensians have now become thoroughly Americanized and little French is heard in the homes or the church.

The Waldensian congregation of Valdeese, North Carolina, has best clung to the use of French and the old customs. When the first contingent of settlers arrived in Burke County on 28 June 1893, the first act was a service of Thanksgiving conducted by its leader, the Reverend C. A. Tron. Once the "Valdeese Corporation" was organized, the leader recorded all actions in a register called "Livre des Procès Verbaux et des Documents se référant à la Fondation de la Valdeese Corporation." This record, written by hand in French and Italian until 1923, is a valuable source for the history of the colony. During the first winter the Waldensian children began to attend school in the local one-room log cabin, but since they understood no English it was necessary to open a French-speaking school with one of the colonists as teacher. The pastor conducted his classes for catechumens in French, which remained the language of church and Sunday School until 1921, when the older members regretfully decided its use was no longer feasible. The teachers in the colony and church schools gave much attention to teaching the children to sing French songs and hymns, a practice followed even today at the annual 17 February celebration of Waldensian "Independence," when a choir made up of adults and children sings in French. The First Waldensian Church of New York offered French classes for many years. In 1940 there were still nineteen students enrolled. And the Sunday School was being conducted in French.

In 1885, to assist in converting the French Canadians of New England to Protestantism, a French-Protestant College was founded in Lowell, Massachusetts, for "the training of efficient missionaries for the carrying on of this work." During the first three years the new institution's work, in French and English, was on the preparatory level, with the hope that soon "a regular course for college students" could be inaugurated. In October 1888 the college began its work in Springfield, where several citizens had raised subscriptions and secured a building lot. Although both French and English were used from the beginning, special emphasis was given to the study of French by the French Canadians in order that they might "master the idioms of the French language." Throughout the course the work in rhetoric, English literature, logic, and public speaking was to be so conducted as to "bring the student to a knowledge of the language to a degree that he can use it, not only in a correct manner, but with force." It was decided that French texts should be used in the courses in botany and other scientific studies. In the preparatory department special care was taken "to secure a

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perfect knowledge of the French and English language." A weekly paper in French, *Le Citoyen Franco-Américain*, was published by the college for many years.

As early as 1893 there were evidences of a transition from a school for French Canadians to one for all foreign born. By 1899 students were showing an increased interest in French, partly because several of the Italian and Armenian students spoke it fluently and were exercising "a helpful influence on the French Canadians and others." Italians were allowed to substitute Italian for French, but French was still required of all others. By 1905 the institution was called The American International College and Academy. In 1906 Spanish-speaking students could study Spanish instead of French, but all others in the regular course had to take French, although they did not have "to go as far in it as native Frenchmen." In the "Classical" course, however, French, Spanish, and Italian had become elective during the junior and senior years.

Gradually the curriculum, which had emphasized the French language and evangelization, changed to one which stressed courses in English, "the keynote of which was citizenship." In 1911 the American International College was said to be "the only institution in the United States which had been established and expressly adapted to meet the higher educational needs of the foreign population." It had an enrollment of 102 men and 12 women representing 21 nationalities. Fifteen years later there were 193 students of 93 nationalities. Because of the restrictive immigration laws of 1924 the international aspect of the college has become increasingly less important, but even as late as 1944 it had 54 foreign-born students. Although French is still being taught, the American International College has long since lost its emphasis on this language and on missionary work.

A somewhat similar effort was made during the last decades of the nineteenth century at Newton (Massachusetts) Theological Seminary, where for a few years a French Department trained French Canadians for service in the preaching stations of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Because of their weakness in English, only one of the group ever received a degree from Newton.

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COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The earliest known reference to the study of French in an American institution of higher learning is found in a letter of Henry Newman, a Harvard graduate of 1687. In 1729, reminiscing to his friend Thomas Prince about the liberal policies of his Harvard tutors John Leverett and William Brattle, Newman wrote that he was allowed to learn French and read mathematical and travel books instead of studying for his Master's degree. Under President John Leverett (1708-24), Harvard students could study French from a private tutor, a Scot named Thomas Blair, whose book, *Some Short and Easy Rules Teaching the True Pronunciation of the French* (Boston, 1720) was dedicated to President Leverett with these words: "It is no small pleasure to me that I have this public opportunity of rendering you those thanks, which are deservedly due to the favour you granted me in permitting me to instruct in the French language some of the young gentlemen who are (happily) under your care . . . If I may be in any ways instrumental in serving those gentlemen, whom (by your favour) I instruct, it will be a great pleasure."

President Leverett's successor, Benjamin Wadsworth (1725-37), appointed in 1735 a French tutor, Louis-Hector Piot d'Angloiserie, who had come via Canada to Boston as a tutor in the family of Governor Burnet. After the Governor's death in 1729, the tutor received permission from the selectmen of Boston to open a French school. In 1733 or 1734 he began spending three days a week in Cambridge, where the Harvard faculty authorized him to give private lessons to college students with the permission of their parents, provided that the instruction did not conflict with the regular schedule of college duties and exercises. D'Angloiserie's tenure was short, for on 1 April 1735 the Corporation asked the president and tutors to investigate the "unsound and dangerous doctrines" which he held and delivered to his students. His offense was that he had begun to receive divine inspirations and to experience strange visions. Two weeks later the authorities forbade students and graduates to receive instruction from him "either within the college walls or elsewhere."

From the dismissal of d'Angloiserie until French became a regular branch of instruction in 1780, there was a succession of French tutors. In 1748 President Holyoke's son read *Télémaque* with a resident graduate student, Nathaniel Gardner. In 1761, in spite of a vote of the overseers, the President and faculty authorized Samuel Tappan to open a French school in Cambridge and to instruct students who had their parents' approval. In 1766 Jorgen J. Berg received permission to give French lessons after an examination by the professors. A dancing master, Pierre Curtis, "of re-

formed religion," taught from 1769 to 1771. He was followed by Louis Delille of Bordeaux in 1773 and by Francis Vandalle of Tours in 1779. Simon Poulin, who taught French from 1780 to 1782, was allowed for the first time to have fees for instruction collected by the college and to use the college library and refectory. The future Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, Albert Gallatin, lately arrived from Geneva, served for one year in 1782. French now replaced Hebrew as a required course for Freshmen and Sophomores.

In 1783 Francisco de Miranda, one of the heroes of Venezuelan independence and a French Revolutionary general, visited Harvard and was surprised that there was "no chair whatsoever of living languages" and that theology was "the principal subject taught in the college." Gallatin was succeeded in 1783 by John Mary, who, in 1784, published the first original French grammar in America, *A New French Grammar, wherein the Principles are Methodically Digested, with Useful Notes and Observations, Explaining the Terms of Grammar and Further Improving the Rules*. His authorization to teach was soon withdrawn by the Corporation, and he was followed by John Jastram, who taught French for one year.

Shortly after the appointment of Joseph Nancrede in 1787, Harvard was plagued with a wave of religious skepticism, doubtless due in considerable measure to French revolutionary ideas. Many students were atheists and rebels. In November 1791, a writer in the Boston press accused the college of poisoning the minds of its students with Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, to which President Joseph Willard (1781-1804) replied that the system taught was Abbé Millot's *Éléments d'histoire*. So great became the resentment toward France, because of the plundering of American commerce during the Directorate and the return of the "X Y Z" mission, that at the 1798 commencement a dialogue in French on natural history was omitted from the program because of the fear that the sound of French would create disorder. The teaching of French lapsed during this period, but by 1806 the freshmen petitioned the Corporation to be allowed to study French instead of Hebrew.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, French was offered or required in several other American colleges. The founder of the University of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin, who late in life said that French had taken the place of Latin "in point of universality," began to teach himself languages in 1733. He learned to read French, Italian, Spanish, and German and to speak and write French rather badly. During his stay in Paris it was said that his French had an "incorrectness" that "almost always gave an added force or grace."

In his 1749 *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*

Franklin observed that the reading of history might make students eager to learn Greek, Latin, French, German, and Spanish, and stated that "though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, and the modern languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused." For the study of medicine he recommended Latin, Greek, and French, for law, Latin and French, and for merchants French, German, and Spanish. He served as president of the Public Academy from its opening in 1751 until 1756. The 1749 charter or "Constitutions" stated that "the Trustees shall, with all convenient speed, endeavor to engage persons capable of teaching the French, German, and Spanish languages." The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 18 December 1750 mentions French in the first curriculum of the Philadelphia Academy.

In 1753 the authorities were making inquiries regarding the abilities of a certain Mr. Creamer, "a gentleman from Germany," to teach French, Italian, and German, with perhaps some painting and music on the side. The following year the Minutes of the Trustees of 9 July report that a French school had been established as a part of the College and that Mr. Creamer was prepared to undertake the work. His salary was set at 100 pounds a year. His term of service was brief, for the trustees dismissed him at their meeting of 11 July 1755.

In 1755, by a second act of incorporation, the Academy became a College with the right to confer degrees. William Smith became the first provost in 1756, and Franklin, though serving as a trustee for the rest of his life, had less influence, since there was some enmity between him and the provost. In the latter's plan of education of 1756, it was stipulated that "through the years the French language may be studied at leisure." Not until 1766 was a Mr. Paul Fook "chosen Professor of the French and Spanish tongues in the College." He continued in this position until about 1797.

In December 1782 "The University of the State of Pennsylvania" conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on two distinguished French travelers, the Chevalier de Chastellux, a young French officer who had come over with Rochambeau in 1780, and the Chevalier François Barbé de Marbois of the French legation, and the degree of Doctor of Medicine on Dr. Coste, Physician General to the French Army. When Chastellux returned to France, he urged Count Vergennes to recommend that the King send a gift of books for the Pennsylvania library, and a like gift to the College of William and Mary, where he had also been honored. The books given to Pennsylvania were largely works on science, suggested probably by the known interests of Franklin. There were thirty-three titles, one of them being the works of Buffon in thirty volumes. The Philadelphia anti-royalist periodical, the *Courrier de l'Amérique*, published a scornful and

entirely unmerited criticism of them. All but six volumes are still preserved in the University library, but all those sent to Williamsburg were destroyed by fire.

French was studied at the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, as early as 1753, as is shown in the letter of a student, Joseph Shippen, in which he wrote to his parents that his time was so taken up by the study of the classics that he had "no time scarcely to look over" his French. His studies were doubtless directed not by an officially appointed faculty member but by a private tutor, as was the case during the administration of President Aaron Burr (1748-57), in whose account books are entries showing that several of his students were studying French at a French school.

During the term of President John Witherspoon (1768-94), French was studied as an extra-curricular subject, taught sometimes by President Witherspoon himself and at other times by transient French natives. In 1803 the Princeton faculty consisted of "a President, four other Professors, and two Tutors, under whom is a teacher of French for the benefit of those who are desirous of acquiring that language and who can redeem time for that purpose from their ordinary classical studies." This unnamed teacher was the first instructor of French to be regularly attached to the faculty. The first who is listed as "Teacher of French" was I. Honoré Cousin, who was succeeded in 1805 by "M. Dufort," who remained only one year.

King's College, now Columbia University, was chartered in 1754. The first known reference to its teaching of French is in the *New York Mercury* of 26 January 1761, when a private teacher of French, William Clajon, announced that he had been examined by the Reverend Mr. Carle, minister of the French Church, and the Reverend Mr. Tetard, another French minister, in the presence of the Reverend Doctor Johnson, President of the College. Eleven years later, another French instructor, John Haumaid, in an advertisement in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, thought it unnecessary to speak of his teaching skill inasmuch as he had had "under his tuition the principal students of King's College." Norman Torrey has said of the instruction in Romance Languages at Columbia since the eighteenth century that it was given "intermittently, casually, it might often be said, haphazardly." The teachers, he added, "were invariably gentlemen of foreign birth who gave lessons in their native speech to private classes as well as to such students as desired them. As a rule they received no salaries, but were paid by their students" ("Romance Philology and French" in *A History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University*, p. 204).

On May 1, 1784, the property of King's College was turned over to the University within the state of New York. Four days later, at the first meet-

ing of the trustees, the Reverend John-Peter Tetard was appointed Professor of the French Language. (Mr. Tetard had been directing for some ten years a "French Boarding School," having previously "lived with credit in the city of New York for upwards of fifteen years.") Another measure adopted at the same meeting was to provide for "sending a suitable person to solicit subscriptions in France and other parts of Europe." On 17 May 1784 DeWitt Clinton, the first student of the college under its new name and direction, was examined for admission to the junior class and found qualified by a commission, consisting of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Secretary, the Mayor of New York, and the newly appointed Professor Tetard.

In June 1792, under the presidency of William Samuel Johnson (1789-1800), a committee of trustees reported on "what additional professorships are wanted . . . and what salaries can be allowed for their support." Among them was one for French at a salary of 100 pounds a year. The professor of French was to "teach such of the students of the college as choose to be instructed in that language," at such times as should be agreed upon by the President and professors. The fee for each student was to be forty shillings. At the next meeting of the trustees, on 9 July 1792, the professorship was filled and Antoine Villette de Marcellin was named Professor of the French Tongue. Although his courses were intended primarily for the students of the college, they were open also to other persons. Because of lack of funds the professorship was abolished by the trustees in 1799, and no further appointment for French was made until 1828, when the Reverend Antoine Verren was named professor.

Although Yale did not appoint a professor of modern languages until 1864, the establishment of a chair of the French language had been considered by the Corporation as early as 1778. In that year Silas Deane addressed a letter to President Ezra Stiles, in which, after saying that "the little attention given to the modern Languages . . . has long since been universally complained of" and that he had "experienced the many difficulties and embarrassments which a man doing business abroad labors under who is ignorant of any modern language except his own," he proposed that he be authorized to solicit assistance from some of his "noble and opulent friends in France" in order to establish a professorship in French at Yale. The president laid his communication before the association of ministers of the county, of whom all but one "were for it," and all but three desired that "more might be done than yet done by the Corporation to encourage it." That body had sanctioned an official reply to Deane which evaded a direct refusal but gave scant encouragement. "In fact, nothing more was done." P.-J.-G. Nènerède of Harvard, in his *Abeille française* of 1792, stated that

M. de la Luzerne, French minister plenipotentiary, made an offer through Deane to found a professorship of French language and history at Yale, but that "the trustees of this college refused the generous offer, alleging that such an establishment would tend to introduce popery into the state." Later on a spokesman for a group of ministers "had much conversation" with the president "upon a plan for a subscription for a professorship in French." But nothing came from it.

French was taught irregularly at Yale without any official recognition until 1825, when, for the first time, the catalogue announced that instruction in French was offered as an elective during the third term of the junior year, along with fluxions, Greek, and Hebrew. The next year M. Charles Roux was appointed instructor in French and Spanish, and one of these two languages might be taken as an optional. The Yale catalogue of 1826 states: "A gentleman well qualified to teach the French and Spanish languages is engaged by the faculty to give instruction in those branches to those students who desire it at their own expense." From this time on, courses by regularly appointed instructors of French were given, with the exception of one or two years, until 1857, when the onus of extra expense for instruction in French and German was removed.

The early regular instruction in Modern Languages at that "venerable institution of learning," the College of William and Mary, is intimately connected with Thomas Jefferson, who, as Governor of Virginia and member of the Board of Visitors of the college in 1779, effected important changes in the organization of that institution, including the substitution of a professorship in modern languages, along with one in law, and another in anatomy and chemistry, for the existing chairs of religion and classical languages. At the same time he abolished the grammar school of the college. These changes practically converted the college into a university, a distinct innovation for the day. The first holder of the newly established chair in modern languages was Signor Carlo Bellini, a native of Florence, Italy, who had come to Virginia in 1773, ostensibly to grow grapes, olives, and other Italian fruits, and had served in the Albermarle Guards. Immediately after his appointment he repaired to Williamsburg and set up the new school of modern languages, teaching French, Spanish, and Italian with apparent success. He held the position until his death in 1803.

The widespread reputation of William and Mary inspired a scheme of "dazzling brilliancy," to transport the Academy of Geneva in a body to this country, suggested to Jefferson by Professor D'Ivernois, representing the Geneva faculty. Jefferson was apparently much impressed with the possibilities, for he wrote George Washington an elaborate account of the whole matter. He had previously discussed the plan with influential mem-

bers of the General Assembly of Virginia, but they found it impracticable because of (1) the great expense, (2) the necessity of teaching American youth the French or Latin languages, and (3) the very grandeur of the enterprise, which was not in keeping with the needs and the population of Virginia.

Jefferson's views of the importance of French are given in two of his letters to William and Mary College students. On 19 August 1785 he wrote from Paris to Peter Carr, to whom he was sending a Spanish grammar and a dictionary: "Our future connection with Spain renders that the most necessary of the modern languages, after the French," and, in 1787, to Thomas Mann Randolph: "With respect to modern languages, French, as I have observed, is indispensable." The school of modern languages at William and Mary has continued, with some interruptions, to the present time. Professor Bellini was succeeded by Hugh L. Girardin, who taught also history and geography, from 1803 to 1805. In 1829 C. de la Peña served as Professor of French, Spanish, and Italian Languages, which he taught "with historical and philosophical observations," as well as with "the elements of philology applied to these languages."

In 1784 the College of Rhode Island, now Brown University, solicited the aid of Louis XVI in securing and maintaining a professor of French, but there is no evidence that the King ever received the memorial sent him. Although the first official mention of instruction in modern languages at Brown appears in the catalogue of 1838, when it was announced that French could be studied at the expense of the student, it seems probable that there had been sporadic teaching of French until about the beginning of the century. The first real provision for language study was not made until 1843, when Charles C. Jewett, the librarian, was made Professor of Modern Languages. He appears, however, not to have begun his teaching until 1846.

Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia early gave attention to the importance of French instruction when, in 1784, the Board passed a resolution that there should be "in the College at present, besides the President and Tutor of the Junior and Sophomore classes, one French master, and an English master." The records do not give the name of the appointee, but it is evident that French was being taught there the following year, for a wordy entry in the official papers reports that it was "resolved that when any of the students of the College shall, upon examination, appear to be as well acquainted with the French language as it is usual to expect that candidates for literary degrees should be acquainted with Greek, such students shall be admitted to a degree without being acquainted with Greek." This action is one of the first instances where a modern language was allowed as

a substitute for established Greek. But the authorities soon rescinded the innovation, finding that it was producing "an unfavorable effect upon the students with respect to their improvement in science." A student wrote in 1810 that he had "begun the Hebrew and French languages with a view to acquiring such knowledge of them as may enable me to read quotations and examine criticisms." He was probably studying by himself, for in the reorganized curriculum of 1812 there is no mention of French or any other modern language. By 1826, however, instruction was being given by Colonel Louis Gasperi in French, Italian, and Spanish.

The charter to Williams College was issued in 1793. A few weeks later the corporation outlined the entrance requirements and college regulations. The terms of admission, based largely on those of Yale, were not particularly demanding, as they included only a passable acquaintance with grammar and arithmetic, Cicero, Virgil, the Evangelists in Greek, or an approved French author. The candidate should "be able to read and pronounce with tolerable degree of accuracy and fluency *Judson's French Scholar's Guide*, *Telemachus*, or approved French author." This provision, which permitted the substitution of French for Greek, was not a wholly explicable innovation. President Fitch, in a sketch of the college, pointed out that students from Canada had attended the Free School, and that this concession may have been a bid for patronage from that country. The study of languages, English, Latin, Greek, and French, made up the required course for the freshman year. At the first commencement, on 2 September 1795, a French oration on the oratory of the ancients and moderns—the preference being given to the moderns—was included on the program.

Provisions for Williams professorships were completed in 1794, and the first to be actually filled, in the autumn of 1795, was that of French. A Canadian, Samuel MacKay, was the first Williams professor in active service. It is surmised that he had been a teacher of French in the local academy, known as Clio Hall, and that he had been sponsored by the pastor of the Congregational Church, who was a trustee of the college. Professor MacKay held the position only four years. To supplement his salary, which never exceeded \$400.00 a year, he established a book store and sold an assortment of American and imported works. Whatever their reasons may have been, the trustees, at their meeting of 3 September 1799, "voted to abolish the Professorship in French." It is possible that their action against Professor MacKay (whom the college prospectus called "the able and accomplished" head of the French Department and on whom the college conferred the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1801) was due to the fierce anti-French sentiment which was then widespread.

At the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, founded in 1795, the study of French was a requirement from the beginning. The new institution included a "Preparatory School" and "The Professorships of the University." In the preparatory school French and Latin were required, and before the student could enter the university the grammars of these two languages had to be mastered and several standard authors in each read. Among the several schools or "professorships" of the early university were Moral and Political Philosophy, in which Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* was prescribed, and Languages, with courses in both the ancient and modern languages. The tuition in the English department was \$8.00 a year, it was \$12.50 for instruction in Latin, Greek, and French, while \$15.00 was charged for work in the higher branches of science. In 1801 it was decreed that after 1 February 1802, no one should be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts "unless he shall have acquired a competent knowledge of either the Greek or the French language." For admission to the freshman class the applicant had to pass an examination in either Greek or French, equivalent to that required in Latin. Though in 1818 French was dropped as a requirement in the school and the college, it continued to be taught with other modern languages.

At Union College (established in 1795) in Schenectady, New York, students who were not preparing for the learned professions were allowed to enter without Greek, provided that they had a satisfactory reading knowledge of French. Once in Union College, they could take French instead of Greek, or as an extra subject, on payment of additional tuition.

Important French influence on American military educational policy was felt even before the conclusion of the French Alliance on 6 February 1778. Two years previously the Continental Congress had paid Francis Daymon of Philadelphia to translate the rules of war from French for the use of the army. Shortly textbooks appeared: a translation of *L'Ingénieur de campagne* by the Chevalier de Clairac (Philadelphia, 1776), *The Art of War* from the French of M. de Lamont (Philadelphia, 1778). Once the Alliance was in effect, the Congress reorganized its system of military instruction on French and Prussian models. For years French muskets and cannons served as models for American arms. Coastal fortifications were imitated from the French or even designed by French engineers.

The United States Military Academy, which opened with ten students in 1802, is said to have been modeled upon the Polytechnic School of Paris. The earliest instruction was restricted to mathematics, but it was soon realized that such study was not sufficient to make an artilleryman or an engineer. Accordingly, a teachership of French was created in 1803. Francis de Masson

was named, and he served until 1808. He was followed by a succession of French teachers, including Claudius Bérard of Dickinson College, who served from 1815 to 1846, when he was named first Professor of French.

Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, in his *Travels through North America* (Philadelphia, 1828), reports his exhaustive examination of the curriculum in 1825. Colonel Thayer, who was then commandant, had just remodelled the Academy after visiting French military schools. Bernhard gives a list of the textbooks then in use at West Point, which reveals how profound the French influence was. Among them were Sganzin's *Programme d'un cours de construction*, Hachette's *Traité de machines*, Lacroix's *Traité du calcul différentiel et intégral*, Biot's *Essai de géométrie analytique*, and Lacroix's *Complément des élémens* [sic] *d'algèbre*. In the classes of French, Bérard's *Lecteur français* and *Grammaire française* were in use, as were Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* and Lesage's *Gil Blas*. The model of topographical drawing was the Carnmontaigne system, as improved by French engineers (Bernhard, I, 110-117). During the 1830's the organization of the regiments, the manoeuvres and exercises of the American army was entirely in the French manner, although the commands were given in English. French works continued to be translated or adapted: Robert Anderson's *Instructions for Field Artillery, Horse and Foot* appeared before 1840, and General Scott's *Infantry Tactics or Rules for the Exercises of the United States Infantry*, a work frankly based on the tactics and organization of the Napoleonic armies, was published in 1840 in three volumes. Scott thought for a time of keeping the words of command in French.

French has also been taught regularly at the United States Naval Academy since its opening in 1845. The first faculty of seven included Arsène N. Girault, who offered the required course in French. It is recorded that for the first examination Professor Girault had prepared with great patience a student, so that he could speak something resembling French. The young man, knowing his inability to do so, memorized a collection of stock phrases from his grammar. Once the examining commodores were assembled, Professor Girault began the examination by asking in French: "Mr. Nelson, which is your native state?" "Thank you, sir, I am very well," replied the candidate. The second question was: "What cruise have you just finished?" "I am about twenty-four years old," replied Nelson. The questioning continued with equally baffling answers until, during a pause, the commodore rose with dignity and congratulated the professor on the success of his teaching.

South Carolina College in Columbia opened its doors to students in 1805. Jonathan Maxcy, a Rhode Island Baptist, served as its first president until his death in 1820. Under him the curriculum borrowed heavily from the

standard New England course of study. The first regulations of the new college permitted the election of French by Sophomores and Juniors. In 1806 it became necessary to elect a new faculty, because of the resignation of the two professors. In November Paul H. Perrault was named Professor of French by the trustees, who spent many hours wrangling about the French professorship. First it was voted to abolish it and later to reestablish it if the necessary funds could be secured from the legislature. Finally it was decided not to establish a full professorship in French, and Professor Perrault was put in charge of the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy. Nicolas Herbemont was named tutor of French in 1807. At the first commencement in December of that year the program contained a French declamation. Herbemont taught French sporadically until his resignation in 1817, at which time the board abolished the tutorship in French and replaced it with a professorship at an annual salary of \$1200, provided that the legislature would appropriate the necessary money. That body took no favorable action and French seems to have been offered subsequently only on an elective basis.

Another Southern institution that gave training in French at an early date was the University of Georgia in Athens. In 1806, six years after it opened its doors, the study of the French language was added to the curriculum, and a native Frenchman, M. Petit de Clairville, graduate of the Collège de la Flèche, was engaged to conduct the work. He served until 1810. This interest in the French people and their language was probably due to the fact that the reaction against the French (because of the excesses of the French Revolution) had never influenced the people of Georgia as it had those of other parts of the nation, and also because Abraham Baldwin, first president of the University (1785-1801), had studied French while a Chaplain in the American Army and was well aware of and grateful for the aid given by France during the American Revolution. Petit de Clairville's successor, William Lehman, was not appointed until 1831, although the trustees reported to the Senatus Academicus that they desired two new professorships, one of which was in modern languages.

As an allowed substitute for Greek, French was given a prominent place in the curriculum of Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, from the very beginning. One of the regulations of the institution was: "students who learn the Latin and Greek languages shall continue in the Grammar School until they can stand an examination in Virgil and Greek Testament. But students who do not choose to learn the Greek shall employ their second session (of five months) in the study of French." According to President William Henry Ruffner (1836-48) this permission to substitute French for Greek as a qualification for a degree was a mistake, not because

French was "generally of less practicability than the Greek, but . . . because the study of it does not so well exercise the mental faculties of a youth." The records show that in 1811 a movement was made toward the establishment of a chair in French, possibly because many educated Frenchmen appeared in Lexington seeking employment. At about this time the Prince of Joinville was advertising in the Virginia press for a position as teacher. President Ruffner recalled that among the French itinerants who obtained temporary employment as teachers of music or French, one combined instruction in French with the practice of dentistry, "and thus met two wants existing in Lexington." He taught a class at Washington Academy and was most punctilious in his politeness to his pupils, from whom he required a like civility. On one occasion he is said to have challenged a student to a duel because of his disrespect.

Modern language teaching at Middlebury College began almost from its establishment in 1800. In 1818 Robert Patton, a Ph.D. from Göttingen, was named Professor of Languages. He probably taught mostly the ancient languages, but in the 1821 catalogue, Seniors were offered instruction in Hebrew and German. In 1822 a private French school was opened in Middlebury village by John B. Meilleur. His school had no official connection with the college, but students were sent to it to study French. At the commencement exercises of 1823, there were senior orations in English, Latin, French, and Greek, and also a German colloquy. Professor Patton resigned in 1825, and the Reverend John Hough was elected Professor of Languages. Beginning in 1827, assistance was offered to all students who wished to obtain a knowledge of Hebrew, French, German, Spanish, and Italian.

In this century Middlebury has become famous for its Summer Language Schools. Two other pioneering programs are its new Doctorate in Modern Languages and its Graduate Schools abroad, planned by André Morize and Stephen A. Freeman in 1935. In 1949 Freeman established the Graduate School in France at the University of Paris. The Spanish School was begun in 1951, followed by the German and Italian Schools in 1959 and 1960. The College gives its own Master's degree for a year of supervised study in a foreign university, after a summer of preliminary and diagnostic study in Middlebury.

Bowdoin College gave prominence to modern languages as a part of the required course and established a professorship at an early date, the first holder of which was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The chair, now known as the Longfellow Professorship, was established in 1825 through the bequest of \$1000 of Mrs. Henry Dearborn, the former Mrs. James Bowdoin, Jr., for a chair in French. Instruction had been given as early as 1820 by an unnamed Frenchman who had been teaching privately in Brunswick. He was

allowed to teach in the college but had not been granted a place on the regular faculty. On one occasion, at least, the college treasurer assumed the payment of his fees. In accordance with the terms of the Dearborn bequest, the Board voted in September 1825 that "a professorship be established for the instruction of the junior and senior classes in the modern languages of Europe, particularly the French and Spanish." A professor was informally selected, a talented nineteen-year-old in that year's graduating class, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

The Board stipulated that Longfellow should go to Europe at his own expense to fit himself for his new duties. Accordingly, he sailed for Le Havre in 1826. He studied in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany until 1829. While in Europe he was informed that he was to serve at Bowdoin not as professor but as instructor at a considerably lower figure than he had anticipated, but he held out until he was offered the professorship at a salary of \$800, with \$100 additional to act as librarian. His first reactions to France were not sympathetic. Political and moral prejudices are said to have been involved here. At one point he wrote his father that he had discontinued his diary, "chiefly on account of the little interest attached to anything in Paris, and a thorough disgust for French manners and customs."

Having a real gift for languages, Longfellow profited much from his three years in Europe, learning to speak French, Spanish, and Italian, and making considerable progress in German. To attain his purpose he worked diligently. In 1826, he wrote his father: "If I had known before leaving home how hard a task I was undertaking, I should have shrunk." And in 1827 he wrote: "Do not believe what people tell you of learning the French language in six months and the Spanish in three. Were I guided by such counsellors I should return a sheer charlatan: and though I might deceive others as to the amount of my knowledge, I cannot so easily deceive myself." By the end of 1828, he sent home this summary of his achievements: "With the French and Spanish languages I am familiarly conversant, so as to speak them correctly, and write them with as much ease as I do English."

In his inaugural address at Bowdoin on 17 August 1830, he outlined his credo:

I should . . . deem my duty but half performed were I to limit my exertions to the narrow bounds of grammar rules, nay, that I had done little for the intellectual culture of the pupil, when I had merely put an instrument into his hands without explaining to him its most important uses. It is little to point one to the portals of the magic gardens and enchanted halls of learning, and to teach him certain cabalistic words at whose utterance the golden hinges of its gates shall turn—he must be led through the glittering halls and fragrant bowers and shown where the richest treasures lie, and where the clearest fountains spring. And it

will be my aim not only to teach the turns and idioms of a language, but according to my ability and as soon as time and circumstances shall permit it, to direct the student into the literature of those nations whose language he is studying.

His labors and success in his position at Bowdoin College are thus reported by one of his students, Dr. Samuel Harris:

He had secured a large place for his department in the curriculum, and he awakened great enthusiasm among his students. In studying French we used a grammar which he had himself prepared. In studying Italian we used a grammar in the French language, also prepared by the professor . . . he aimed to open to us the literature of these languages, and to arouse us to interest in it. In addition to the recitations already mentioned he gave a course of lectures on French literature. I remember these lectures as highly elaborated, and in their style highly finished and polished. . . . He did not attempt to teach us to converse in them. His literary attainments, spirit and enthusiasm did not fail to exert an inspiring and refining influence on those associated with him through the years.

Another of his Bowdoin students was Daniel R. Goodwin, his successor, who said of him:

He created an interest . . . for the modern languages, which has here never since been equalled. He was a model teacher with a special fitness, both natural and acquired, for the department. To a musical voice and singularly facile organs, to a refined taste, a ready command of the best English, and a thorough acquaintance with the languages and literature he taught, he added an affable and winning manner, a warmth of enthusiasm, a magnetic power, a ready sympathy, and an inexhaustible patience which made his lecture-room and the studies of his department a joy and a pleasure at the time and ever afterwards a happy memory.

In spite of his enthusiastic and successful accomplishments in his teaching at Bowdoin, Longfellow was not altogether happy there. He found Brunswick dull, he was not pleased with his double assignment of professor and librarian, the college was at that time in a disorganized state, his liberal religious views made him an object of suspicion. After seeking unsuccessfully positions at the University of Virginia and New York University, and elsewhere, and after having considered other work, he was gratified to receive an offer to become Smith Professor at Harvard.

In his planning for the establishment of the University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson considered the study of modern and ancient languages equally important. Being a statesman, a political philosopher, and a penetrating interpreter of the future, he foresaw that all the powerful nations would be drawn into intimate relations. He saw the necessity of equipping the minds of American youth with a knowledge of the principal languages

of Europe, believing that this would be a valuable aid in understanding the responsibilities and dangers of international relations. Seeking a suitable candidate for the chair of modern languages, he made inquiries and invited applications as early as 1821. The first foreign-born instructor to submit his testimonials was George Blaettermann, a German by birth and education, who had been recommended by George Ticknor of Harvard. Blaettermann applied again in 1823, having been collecting, in the meantime, materials for his lectures in France, Germany, and Holland.

On 26 April 1824, Jefferson wrote to Benjamin Rush: "We still have an eye on Mr. Blaettermann for the professorship of modern languages, and Mr. Gilmer [who was then in London] is instructed to engage him, if no very material objection to him may have arisen unknown to us." Before leaving London, Gilmer signed a contract with Blaettermann, his salary to begin to accrue from the day of his sailing for America. This was fixed at \$1,000, although all the other professors engaged at the beginning received \$1,500. He was to have an additional \$50 from every pupil who studied his courses only; \$30 from those who attended one other school; and \$25 from those who were students in two others. He arrived in Virginia in June 1825. There is no written word of his early months in Charlottesville, but it is certain that he was not long in revealing "a violent spleen at times." As a linguist, his qualifications were indisputable, for the School of Modern Languages of which he was the first head offered courses in French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon. Furthermore, he announced that he was equipped to offer instruction in Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and Portuguese.

By temperament Professor Blaettermann was ill fitted to teach elementary courses and to deal with American college students. On one occasion he ridiculed so harshly the written exercises of a beginning French student that the young man rose outraged and told him bluntly that he would never write another. In protest against his eccentricities "or else his chronic rudeness," many of his pupils patronized a private French school which had opened in 1827, in the vicinity of Charlottesville. In 1830, at the instance of James Madison, the trustees considered the addition of a tutorship in the School of Modern Languages, either because of the dissatisfaction of the students, which was too acute to be overlooked, or because there were too many courses for one teacher. A tutor was soon appointed, over the protests of Blaettermann, but he was conciliated by the assignment to the tutor of only such duties as he should specify. In 1832 it was decided that the subjects of the School of Modern Languages were too numerous to demand that all should be required for graduation. Accordingly the course was divided into two classes, the Romance and the Teutonic.

In 1835 Blaettermann was still being paid only his original salary of \$1,000. Disorders continued in his classroom, and, in 1838, the students submitted a formal petition for his dismissal. Two years later the chairman of the faculty reported to the rector that twice during one week he was known to have horsewhipped his wife, once on a public road. The chairman stated that "it was generally believed that few if any students will enter his school in consequence of the notoriety of his misconduct and the general indignation which it excited." The University Board convened on 14 September 1840 and removed him from his professorship by a unanimous vote.

Charles Kraiteer, a Hungarian, master of several languages, was chosen to replace him. The income from Kraiteer's professorship, which was chiefly dependent on fees, fell off so excessively that in 1843 he asked for an increase in his salary and requested that his resignation be accepted. The board had reason to believe that the decline in fees was a result of his unpopularity as a teacher, and when he attempted to withdraw his resignation, he was dismissed.

Amherst College apparently made no provision for instruction in modern languages when it opened in 1821, but by 1824 Hebrew, Greek, and French could be had by "such as wish it for a reasonable compensation." During the fall and early winter of 1825, the faculty, under the enthusiastic leadership of Professor Jacob Abbott, considered making revolutionary changes in the course of study. The trustees, on 6 December 1825, listened to a report from the faculty, containing a "specific plan," which recommended the inauguration of a new "parallel or equivalent course." The trustees gave their "cordial approbation of the general plan." At a subsequent meeting the board arranged in parallel columns the two courses and drew up an "Outline of System of Instruction Recently Adopted in the College at Amherst, Massachusetts." In their report of the meeting the trustees gave the reasons for their action: "In consequence of the demand which is at the present time made by a large portion of the public for the means of an elevated and liberal education without the necessity of devoting so much time to the study of the ancient languages, the trustees have authorized the establishment of two parallel courses of study, in one of which Ancient, and in the other, Modern Languages and Literatures receive particular attention." The new program was to "go into operation at the commencement of the ensuing collegiate year."

In the fall of 1827, of a total student body of 209, there were sixty-seven Freshmen, of whom eighteen were listed in the catalogue as students in "Modern Languages." There were difficulties in the execution of the new plan. After the first ardor which had been aroused by Professor Abbott had cooled, it turned out that the faculty members were not really interested

in organizing the new courses and were not pleased to find themselves burdened with additional instructional duties. Moreover, the first teacher of French, M. Charles Moeller, a native of France, was not successful in his teaching and was quite incapable of maintaining order in his classes, so that it was necessary to appoint one of the professors to be present at his recitations. The second, M. Ernest Revel, who succeeded M. Moeller after a few weeks, was no great improvement.

The next year, 1828-29, the freshman class dropped to fifty-two, and of these so few wished to enter the new course that no division was organized in modern languages. At their annual meeting in 1829, the trustees voted to abandon the parallel course. Thus tradition and precedent proved too much for the scheme proposed by Professor Abbott, who, disgruntled and disillusioned, resigned at the same meeting. Although this first attempt to introduce modern languages and physical sciences as an equivalent for the time-honored system of classical culture was of short life at Amherst, the study of French was made one of the regular courses in the curriculum. Apparently the students did not profit much from the work in French, to judge from a comment of a member of the class of 1839, who said that his course included "a very slight smattering of French."

In 1815 Abiel Smith of the class of 1764 left \$20,000 "as a fund, the interest or income thereof to be appropriated to the maintenance and support of a teacher, or Professor of the French and Spanish languages" at Harvard University. In July 1816 the Corporation appointed George Ticknor as the first Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Professor of Belles-Lettres. Ticknor was in Göttingen, in his twenty-fifth year, when he received news of his election to the new chair. He was born in Boston on 1 August 1791 and graduated from Dartmouth in 1807. He had read law and had been admitted to the Massachusetts bar, but within a year he had decided against the legal profession as his life work. After a trip to the southern states, where he had met Thomas Jefferson, he had sailed for Europe in 1815, and had accompanied Edward Everett to Göttingen. The letter from President John Thornton Kirkland (1810-28) gave his salary as \$1,000 and fees which would amount to \$300 or \$500. He remained in Europe until June 1819, passing several months in Paris, Italy, and Spain. On 10 August 1819 he was inducted "to the Professorship of the French and Spanish Languages and of the Belles-Lettres in the church in Cambridge."

At Harvard he began an ambitious course of lectures on French and Spanish literature, which was a body of consecutive and historical criticism, the first of that kind that Harvard had ever known. One of his important innovations was the study of contemporary writers in the Romance Lan-

guages. According to the catalogue of the day, his schedule called for five lectures a week during the second term of the senior year, then three hours weekly. During the third term he lectured to the Seniors the first five days of the week. Apparently he gave no elementary instruction, which was entrusted to instructors.

Ticknor was given a free rein in his department. He and his associates taught effectively, giving a sound grammatical foundation and a large amount of reading at the earliest possible moment. It was a distinct concession on the part of the authorities to allow Freshmen to elect modern languages in place of one half the prescribed work in Latin and Greek at a time when the ancient languages were still considered of prime importance. Furthermore, certain hours for recitations and lectures were assigned so that there were no conflicts. In reality, however, the other faculty members and the administration held modern-language study to be of little importance and hardly more than a substitute for minds incapable of mastering Hebrew, chemistry, and calculus.

Ticknor had been influential in introducing a reform which provided for the arrangement of class schedules according to proficiency. This innovation proved unpopular with other members of the faculty so that the new plan was made optional with the several departments. It was soon abandoned in all departments save Ticknor's. It has been said that if Harvard had accepted other proposed reforms of Ticknor, the result of his experiences in German universities, it would have been put a generation ahead of its American rivals.

The emphasis on beginning courses in modern languages was another of Ticknor's important innovations. Harvard students could now begin French as Freshmen and study it for four years. The sections were so small as to amount practically to a tutorial system. He suggested that alumni of Harvard and other colleges might become Resident Graduates, who, on payment of \$5, could attend any lectures and use the college library and scientific collections, a program which was continued until 1886, when the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences was established.

In 1832 he expressed his views and theories in his *Lecture on the Best Methods of Teaching the Living Languages*. The most effective way to learn a modern language, he said, was residence abroad, but if this was not possible, it should be taught as a living and spoken language. He maintained that there was no one best system for teaching a diversified group of learners and that the teacher should select from the various methods the one best suited to his students. Techniques should be adjusted to different age levels, and although the oral approach and the learning of grammar by induction were strongly recommended, he recognized that this was not

entirely feasible for the mature student. Ticknor continued as chairman and sole professor of the Modern Language Department for eighteen years, resigning in May 1835 after having firmly established a new system of instruction in language study.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow succeeded Ticknor in 1836. On 1 December 1834 he received a letter from President Josiah Quincy (1829-45), concerning "the possibility of accepting a position at Harvard at \$1,500 a year," and suggesting that he might wish "to reside in Europe" at his own expense, "for a year or eighteen months, for the purpose of a more perfect attainment of the German." Longfellow sailed from New York in April 1835, accompanied by his wife and two friends. His wife died in Rotterdam on 29 November. He had been commissioned to purchase books for the Harvard library and was advanced \$1,000 for that purpose. He requested an additional allowance, but the Corporation voted that it was not "expedient to make a further appropriation for books for the Department of Modern Languages at this time." He spent the year in northern Europe, especially England, Scandinavia, Germany, and Switzerland, and returned to Cambridge in November 1836, ready to begin work. During this second European visit he perfected his knowledge of German, learned to read Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch. He also studied Portuguese and Provençal.

Once established in Cambridge Longfellow found that his duties had not been outlined and that no specific work was assigned to him. He busied himself with the preparation of a series of lectures and with social activities. As late as 22 March 1837 he wrote his father that he had taken "no active part in college instruction." In July the Corporation named a committee to "report on the duties of the Smith Professor." Longfellow was charged with supervising the other language teachers and with visiting their classes frequently. Irked by this requirement, he asked the Corporation to excuse him "from attending the recitations of every class in the Modern Languages once a month," and to assign him a larger room for his public lectures. Again the authorities found it inexpedient to grant his request.

In his lectures Longfellow spoke admiringly of Victor Hugo, George Sand, Balzac, Molière, Chateaubriand, and Sainte-Beuve. He was wearied by Rabelais, condemned Lamartine's "long-winded raptures," found Stendhal's *La Chartreuse de Parme* "a bad book," censured Paul de Kock's *Georgette* for its "lewdness," and *Gustave* for its "indecent and licentiousness." He had visited Ferney while in Europe. Of Voltaire he said that he had "no regard nor respect for the memory of this evil spirit."

Francis-Maria-Joseph Surault, who had been added to the staff by Ticknor, was dismissed in 1838, along with another member of the depart-

ment, Hermann Bokum, who had "conducted himself unbecomingly both in the classroom and out of it." After the dismissal of Surault, Longfellow took charge of the elementary French classes, giving also the lectures required of the Smith professorship. Seeking compensation for this additional work, he approached the Corporation, which refused his request, but allowed an addition to his salary for \$8 for each student of French. In February 1840 a new instructor of French was named, which relieved Longfellow of his elementary work.

The same year the faculty voted to allow "the study of one language only," with the result that the French classes became overcrowded, while those in the other languages decreased considerably. In 1846 instructor Bachi was forced to resign because of bankruptcy and Longfellow was obliged to assume charge of his classes in Italian. He received for this an increase in salary of \$300, making a total of \$1,800. In view of this added work, which he continued for seven years, he found it necessary to devote so much time to his class-room duties that his poetic production suffered. He was putting in full days from seven or eight o'clock in the morning until three or four in the afternoon, with one hour only free at noon, three days a week. "The other days are consumed in preparation, and in doing the usual small matters which every man has to do, with the usual interruptions," he wrote. Examinations, he found, were "anguish and exhaustion." The confinement of teaching was worse than the work itself. Of this he said: "It is not the labor, but being bound hand and foot, and going round and round in a treadmill, that oppresses me." At this time (1847-48) French was required in freshman and sophomore years. Longfellow resigned his professorship in 1854, having found teaching "a dog's life," and turned his whole attention to creative writing.

Stanley T. Williams in his authoritative *The Spanish Background of American Literature* calls Longfellow "one of the first great scholars in Romance Languages and one of the most learned men of his time." Carl L. Johnson, in his *Professor Longfellow of Harvard* says of Ticknor and Longfellow: "They gave the first advanced instruction in the Modern Languages. They opened the fields of modern literature, and were the first language teachers to provide work above the level of basic grammar and elementary reading. It was a liberal, progressive step. As a result, the Department of Modern Languages at Harvard offered the first advanced training in modern literature. This pioneer work led naturally to the development of graduate study." The distinguished historian of Harvard, Samuel Eliot Morison, says of Longfellow's service at Harvard: "the gentle Longfellow . . . transcended all the tight traditions of the Harvard professoriat and used

his chair to impart to a busy and unlearned people something of the beauty and culture of the Old World."

James Russell Lowell, a graduate of 1838, was chosen in January 1855 as Longfellow's successor as Smith Professor. He had not made a brilliant record as an undergraduate, having been publicly reprimanded for excessive absence from recitations and for "general negligence." Of his language training he said in his presidential address at the 1889 meeting of the Modern Language Association: "Some of us learned so much that we could say 'How do you do?' in several languages, and we learned little more. The real impediment was that we were kept forever in the elementary stage, that we had and could look forward to no literature that would have given significance to the languages and made them beneficent."

Like Ticknor and Longfellow he was advised by Harvard to spend some time in Europe in preparation for his new duties. He remained abroad about a year, spending his time mainly in Germany, visiting Italy, and increasing his acquaintance with the French, German, Italian, and Spanish tongues. Returning to Cambridge, he began his duties in 1856 at a salary of \$1200, continuing until 1872. He was not obliged to supervise the classes of his instructors and was responsible for delivering only two courses of lectures a year. His courses were Old French, Dante, German Literature, and *Don Quixote*.

During the early years of his incumbency work was given in French, Spanish, German, and Italian. In 1858, for example, Lowell offered an elective course of lectures on modern literature to Seniors; Sophomores and Juniors had the opportunity of studying French, culminating in Molière; and Seniors could elect Italian with Luigi Monti. Lowell was devoting much of his time to his duties as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and of the *North American Review*, and to his writing. From 1877 to 1885 he was in the diplomatic service, first as Minister to Spain and later at the Court of Saint James from 1880 to 1885. He returned briefly to Harvard to give again his famous lectures. In 1886, on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of Harvard, he made a strong plea for the Humanities, saying: "Let the Humanities be maintained in their ancient right. Leave in their traditional preeminence those arts that were rightly called liberal; those studies that kindle the imagination, and through it irradiate the reason; those studies that manumitted the modern mind; those in which the brains of finest temper have found alike their stimulus and their repose, taught by them that the power of intellect is heightened in proportion as it is made gracious by measure and symmetry."

At the seventh annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, in

his presidential address, after stating that he had rather his grandson "should choose Greek than any modern tongue," Lowell expressed his view of the usefulness of modern languages as avenues to literature for those minds of "softer fibre, and less eager of emprise." "May we not conclude," he said, "that modern literature and the modern languages as a way to it [a more ethereal air] should have a more important place assigned to them in our courses of instruction, assigned to them moreover as equals in dignity, except so far as age may justly add to it, and no longer be made to feel themselves inferior by being put below the salt? That must depend on the way they are taught, and this on the competence and conscience of those who teach them. Already a very great advance has been made."

Of Lowell's career at Harvard, Samuel Eliot Morison says: "A poetic, fanciful, eclectic garnerer in the field of letters, he ventured even into the mysterious Middle Ages. His pupils, never many, had the privilege of contact with a mind original and richly furnished." Concerning his position as a significant and thorough pioneer in hard factual scholarship, Bliss Perry, at Lowell's anniversary in 1919, said, in the presence of such world-renowned scholars at Kittredge, Ford, and Grandgent: "It is certain that if our Division of Modern Languages were called upon to produce a volume of essays matching in human interest one of Lowell's volumes drawn from these various fields; Dante, Old French, Chaucer, Shakespeare, we should be obliged, first, to organize a syndicate, and second, to accept defeat with as good grace as possible."

During the early years of the presidency of Charles William Eliot (1869-1909), many important changes were made in the entrance requirements and the curriculum of Harvard. Entrance examinations in French and German were inaugurated in 1875, and in 1887 advanced examinations in French and German were put on a par with those in all other subjects. Eliot's influence on American education was widely felt. His changes in entrance requirements made it necessary for the secondary schools to raise their standards to meet the situation. At Phillips Exeter Academy, for example, the schedule was modified in 1873 to include study of French, English, and science. Eliot gave another important impulse to the cause of language teaching in 1885, when, at the third annual meeting of the Modern Language Association at Boston University, he spoke of the necessity of introducing modern-language teaching into the schools which were preparing students for college, and urged the members "in forcible language" to direct their efforts toward a thorough reform in this branch of the educational system "as the surest basis for improvement in the colleges."

From James Russell Lowell's resignation until 1907 the Smith Professorship remained vacant. Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford, author of many

scholarly works on philology and Spanish literature, occupied the famous chair until his retirement in 1943. In 1957 the present incumbent, Herbert Dieckmann, became Smith Professor of French and Spanish.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century many colleges were established in all sections of the country by religious bodies or local and state administrations. For a time the teaching of modern languages seems to have lagged in many of the new institutions and in some of the older ones which had introduced it into their course of study. There were doubtless several reasons: the traditionalists objected to the intrusion of a new subject; the teaching was often ineffective; there was a reaction against the influx of French skepticism, resulting from the teachings of Voltaire, Paine, and Volney; there were those who questioned whether modern languages could be taught successfully in the college classroom.

In the East there was considerable discussion in Connecticut as to the advisability of allowing the establishment at Hartford of another church college so close to Yale, but on 16 May 1823 the state legislature passed an act of incorporation of Washington College, since 1849 Trinity College. In the catalogue of 1824 and the interesting *Remarks on Washington College and on the "Considerations" Suggested by its Establishment* of 1825 it was stated: "Students of the regular course [Latin, Greek, mathematics, chemistry, etc.] may apply themselves to the study of the French or Spanish Languages in lieu of such of the foregoing studies as the President may think proper to dispense with for their accommodation." In 1829 the Reverend Samuel Fuller, Jr., A.M., served as "Professor of Modern Languages." French was a requirement for Freshmen and Juniors could substitute Modern Languages for mathematics. It appears not to have been taught consistently at the college, however, for in the catalogue of 1835 students who wished "to acquire a knowledge of the Modern Languages of Europe" were informed that they might "be attended by a competent teacher from the city."

In Geneva, New York, Hobart College was founded in 1825 by Bishop John H. Hobart as a church school by uniting Geneva Academy with the Fairfield Theological School. French was taught in that year by Professor Henri-Lafayette-Villaume Ducoudray Holstein, a General who had served under Napoleon and under Bolívar. The following year J. N. Faribault served as Instructor in Modern Languages.

West of the Alleghenies French was taught at Vincennes, Indiana, by 1810, and at Miami in Oxford, Ohio, by 1821. After eight years it was dropped from the Miami curriculum. President Bishop explained that the teacher, Mr. Eckhert, was a man of "capacity and fidelity," who had done "his best," but that "he failed from the single fact that an interest in the

study of a Modern Language cannot be kept up with any class more than three or four months at one time." A single individual "who has some definite object of a practical nature immediately in view may study a Modern Language with vigor till he is completely master of it." To make a college class do so, concluded the president, was "both a natural and a moral impossibility."

In Michigan the little secondary school known as "The Catholespistemiad, or University, of Michigania," founded in 1817 by Father Gabriel Richard and a group of four prominent citizens of Detroit, was succeeded in 1841 by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. In 1846 Louis Fasquelle, a native of Calais, was appointed Professor of Modern Languages and Literatures. He was a dominant and illustrious figure in Ann Arbor until his death in 1862, and became nationally known through his readers, his editions of Dumas and Racine, and his *French Grammar*, which saw at least forty editions.

The importance of modern-language study was recognized early at the University of Wisconsin, where, in 1850, the Regents decreed: "That there be hereby constituted a Professorship in Modern Languages and Literature, and that it be the duty of the chair to render stated instruction in German and French to the regular classes." In 1885 Dr. J. P. Fuchs, a protégé of Carl Schurz, was named. His instruction is said to have been "highly and justly appreciated." The Wisconsin faculty has won an enviable reputation for its innovations, high scholarship, and successful training of teachers. In 1918 a French House was established, the first institution of its kind in America for the practical use of French outside the classroom. In the same year the direct method of teaching French was advocated in the required methods course. In 1924 one of the first language laboratories in America began operation. The department began broadcasting weekly French radio programs in 1937, and it sponsored French classes in the elementary schools of Madison in 1953.

One of the liberalizing movements of the first half of the last century was the expansion of the facilities for the higher education of women. Especially after 1825 the incorporated female seminary, with a substantial program of studies, began to multiply rapidly. Some of the seminaries, the forerunners of present-day collegiate education for women, were destined to be short-lived. Others were to survive and become the foundation of liberal-arts colleges. Many offered modern languages at an early date: French at Mount Holyoke in 1837, at Wheaton in 1840, and in 1842 at Augusta in Staunton, Virginia, which later became Mary Baldwin College. It was an elective at Wellesley from its establishment as a female seminary in 1870.

In the southern states several of the newly organized colleges and univer-

sities included French in their early curricula. At the University of Alabama, M. François Bonfils was named Professor of Modern Languages in 1831 and taught one French lesson a day to Sophomores and Juniors. The Citadel, organized in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1843, based its curriculum on that of West Point, with a four-year course made up mainly of mathematics, sciences, and French. When the Virginia Military Academy opened in 1839 in Lexington, orders had already been placed for copies of French grammars, reader, and dictionaries. At the first annual examination in 1840 the work in French of Professor John T. L. Preston "gave peculiar gratification to the Board of Visitors." At Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy, which opened in Pineville in 1860 under Superintendent William T. Sherman, French, Latin, and mathematics made up the entire course of study. E. Berté de St. Auge, a former officer in the French marines, was greatly admired by his students because he had fought many duels and was reported to have killed seven men and wounded others. When the institution was re-opened after the Civil War one of the four professors was Father Jean-Pierre Belier, a former chaplain in the Confederate Army. Student opinion was that he could fill any chair at short notice. Emory College opened its doors in Oxford, Georgia, in 1835. French and German were required subjects during the early years of the new and struggling Methodist institution. The aim of the language work was to enable the student "to learn to read and write the language with tolerable facility." French was first taught at Davidson College, North Carolina, in 1858 by the Reverend Stephen Frontis, a native of Cognac, with training in Geneva. In 1835 he had served on the committee of pastors to select a site for the new Presbyterian institution. When, in 1840, a committee was named to draw up a college seal, it turned to a mysterious Frenchman, Peter Stuart Ney, who taught in the neighborhood and was held by some to be none other than the celebrated Marshal Ney. He submitted a hastily made drawing which was adopted as the official college seal.

On the Pacific Coast, French was offered as early as 1853 at Contra Costa Academy, which was to become the University of California. By 1862 the faculty was forced by financial difficulties to consider "whether French or Spanish or both should justly be dispensed with." In 1869, when the University of California opened in Oakland, one of the ten faculty members was a Professor of Modern Languages. During the early years of the territorial universities of Washington—opened in 1861—and Oregon—opened in 1876—French or German were allowed substitutes for higher mathematics at Washington and for Greek at Oregon.

When Johns Hopkins University opened its doors in Baltimore in 1876, no appointments of full professors in Modern European Languages were

made. A. Marshall Elliott, a native of North Carolina, who had studied at Haverford and Harvard and had spent eight years in Europe studying languages, tutoring, and writing travel sketches, was named Associate in Romance Languages, and Hermann C. G. Brandt, a native German and alumnus of Hamilton College, received an associateship in German. Modern languages were accorded a position of greater respect in the undergraduate department than in most American colleges of the day, but the trustees hesitated to include them among the major graduate studies. The first teacher of undergraduate French was Leonce Rabillon, a native of France and a lover of *La Chanson de Roland*, who gave a series of public lectures in French. The trustees never considered him a scholar around whom a department could be formed and they were planning to terminate his lectureship at the time of his death in 1886.

It was for A. Marshall Elliott to create the Romance Language Department which was destined to serve as a model of scholarship for many an American university. Elliott had originally considered Romance Languages an interest secondary to Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. During his first two years at Hopkins he had taught Italian, Spanish, and Persian. In 1878 he began to add courses in Old French and Provençal, and later in modern French. The executive committee of the university had been somewhat casual in requesting him to take on these additional duties. When, in 1878, President Daniel Coit Gilman (1875-1901) had considered establishing a professorship in Romance Philology, he seems not to have thought of Elliott for it. When he was asked to teach the courses in French, he answered by promising "to thoroughly organize the Department of Romance Languages." He requested assurance that he would not be ignored in future planning, and that he would have the same privileges in buying books and "apparatus for scientific investigation" as the other language departments. In 1879 he and his associates in German and English sent a formal communication to the President, urging further development of modern language instruction. In 1880 Philippe B. Marcou was added to the department as assistant.

In December 1883 Elliott had a leading part in the founding of the Modern Language Association of America, and he was elected its first Secretary. This recognition seems to have impressed the authorities, and Elliott was soon promoted to an associate professorship. He had initiated seminary work as early as 1881, but he did not announce it until 1884. Only his most advanced students were admitted to the regular meetings of the seminar, which concentrated on an exhaustive analysis of single documents, the students using facsimiles of manuscripts. All graduate students of Romance Languages, however, attended meetings every two weeks at which original

papers, journal reports, and professional correspondence were read and discussed. Thus the examination of original documents was done by a few students with a thorough preparation, while the reading of reports and essays afforded excellent training for a larger group of beginners in research. In 1886 Elliott was named first Managing Editor of the highly useful *Modern Language Notes*.

In more recent days the Department of Romance Languages at Johns Hopkins has been made illustrious by such men as Henry Carrington Lancaster and Gilbert Chinard. Of their coming to Hopkins in 1919, the *Modern Language Journal* said: "The Romance Language Department at Johns Hopkins University has been revived by the appointment of Henry Carrington Lancaster of Amherst and Gilbert Chinard of California as Professors of French Literature. Professor Lancaster will assume headship of the department. These two appointments are full of promise for the future of Romance studies at Hopkins, and go far toward consoling the friends of the department for the loss sustained three years ago in the departure of Armstrong, Marden, and Shaw."

The above discerning prophecy of "promise for the future" was proven to be fully valid. Lancaster trained scores of French college and university teachers, turned out a remarkable collection of studies on the French theatre, and served until 1954 as Editor of *Modern Language Notes*. Chinard, the outstanding scholar on French-American relations and President of the Modern Language Association in 1956, left Hopkins in 1936 and, after one year at the University of California, continued his brilliant career at Princeton, becoming professor emeritus in 1950.

In 1849 the New York Central College, one of the precursors of Cornell University, opened in McGrawville. Of the initial staff of six, two were "Professors" of French, one of whom, popular Charles L. Reason, was the first Negro ever to teach as an officially appointed instructor in a white institution of higher learning. When Cornell University was launched in Ithaca in 1868 its first President, Andrew D. White, was especially concerned with the work in modern languages, remembering with resentment the inadequacies of his language training at Yale, which he called "a broad farce." At the University of Michigan where he had served as professor from 1857 to 1867, he had noted some improvement, but there, as in the other institutions of the day, the language work was wholly on the elementary level. In a letter to W. T. Hewett in 1894 he wrote that at Cornell "the experiment was first really tried of giving importance to these courses in modern languages and literature and making them equal in dignity with the courses in ancient languages."

One of Andrew D. White's many innovations was the selection of non-

resident professors, who would, he believed, check the provincialism of a faculty living in rural Ithaca, and bring a "constant influx of light and life from the great centers of thought and action." In January 1868 he wrote Ezra Cornell that he had secured "James Russell Lowell, the foremost literary man in the United States, as one of our non-resident Professors." The early teachers of languages at Cornell were generally men of capacity, well travelled, and experienced. As Morris Bishop observes in his history of Cornell: "They were less inclined than we are today to bother about pronunciation, but they were much more punctilious about grammatical structure. One has the impression that they were determined to prove that French and German grammar could be just as hard and just as disciplinary as the grammar of Greek and Latin."

A drastic reorganization of modern-foreign-language instruction occurred in 1946, when the former departments of German and Romance Languages became departments of German and Romance Literatures, and all language teaching as such was entrusted to a new Division of Modern Languages, under the direction of J. Milton Cowan, formerly in charge of the Intensive Language Program of the Army Specialized Training Program. This new experiment, financed in part by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, was an attempt to adapt to college classes the wartime experiences in teaching languages to members of the armed forces. The program was based on the theory that college language courses should emphasize both speaking and reading, rather than be limited to only one of these objectives, and that the most effective procedure was to stress speaking more heavily during the early stages, and reading more heavily later on. To attain the first objective three things were held to be needed: a carefully graded set of learning materials, native speakers to present them, and ample time for practice. To provide for practice, the traditional class of some twenty-five students meeting three times a week was obviously inadequate, yet the wartime class of about six students meeting four hours or more a day was impossible. A compromise solution provided for an elementary two-term course, meeting an hour a day, six days a week, in small drill sections of not more than ten students, and twice a week in groups of around forty for grammatical analysis. The Cornell staff believes that this system, altered somewhat in 1950 because of the need to economize and the desire to experiment with playback machines, produces satisfactory results and that the students, at the end of the elementary course, can read as well as those of any other college, and that they can understand and speak a good deal better.

Early during World War II the United States Armed Forces, realizing our national lack of personnel able to speak foreign languages, called upon fifty-five institutions of higher learning throughout the country to set up

Levy of New York City College said: "In truth there was no 'Army method' as such in the ASTP. The military authorities set up a purpose and allowed each training center to use the methods it thought most conducive to the performance of the function" (*MLJ*, xxix, v, 403-410). Elton Hocking of Purdue University, refuting some of the findings of an American Council on Education commission on implications of the Army educational program, said: "This Utopia of language study probably did not exist on any of the fifty-five campuses involved . . . What the armed services did in this new (to it) field was like much of our war effort in those hectic years: it was hastily improvised, enthusiastically begun, unaccountably and almost criminally kicked around in Washington, and then suddenly 'liquidated' in mid-career." He mentions as some of the weaknesses of the program: 1) the trainees' morale was often low because of repudiated promises of commissions, the uncooperative attitude by some local commanding officers and staffs, the sudden and arbitrary withdrawing of separate men or whole classes in the middle of a term, long periods of indecision about the program and its trainees, and the sudden termination of the program; 2) the selection, aptitude, and prior proficiency of the participants had been overrated; 3) although the officially specified "planned environment" existed in some institutions, especially in the first months, the trainees generally stopped living the language outside of class when morale collapsed; 4) relatively few institutions owned and used phonographs and other audio aids; 5) moving pictures were regularly used in a certain few institutions, rarely elsewhere; 6) the "oral approach" was sometimes resisted by those whose training and tastes made them prefer the traditional, analytical kind of language study; 7) some of the directors flouted the spirit of the directive and made their courses a mere routine of grammar and translation (*MLJ*, xxxii, vii, 512-516). Theodore Huebener, Director of Foreign Languages in the New York City schools, appraised the program as follows: "The general effect of the ASTP was rather salutary, for it stimulated a wide-spread desire to acquire quickly a practical knowledge of a foreign language. It also had a wholesome pedagogical influence in stressing the oral phase of foreign languages, and in emphasizing the fact that a modern language is, after all, a living medium of communication" (*MLJ*, xxix, v, 411-413).

On 21 May 1944 the MLA Commission on Trends in Education, made up of several of the leading modern-language teachers of the day, reported that it took "deep satisfaction in the results of the ASTP in preparing thousands of our soldiers to use foreign languages in the national service. . . . Many persons have been led to believe that these striking results were attained through the discovery of a magical new method . . . On the contrary, they were the fruits of the application of well-tried practices. Nor

were the results achieved under the direction of linguistic magicians. The entire language program was designed by teachers of foreign languages in consultation with the War Department, and in the fifty-five colleges and universities to which the trainees were assigned the program was entrusted to foreign-language departments, which organized the work, gave instruction to the soldier-student, and engaged and supervised the assistants required for the emergency. In short, the impressive results of the Army Program were due to no miraculous formula, but to a liberal allowance of time, and to the opportunity for students to practice the language of the country in the intimacy of a small group" (*MLJ*, xxviii, vi, 514).

In a later report the same committee reviewed the successes of the program and made recommendations that intensive language courses be set up in American schools and colleges. "There was complete agreement among all who participated in the Army Language Program—teachers and trainees alike—that the general success achieved was due first and foremost to its intensive character. A language course pursued through twelve-week terms of fifteen contact hours per week under proper supervision did produce noteworthy results." It summarized the accomplishments in this way: 1) "The student after nine months had learned to understand the language as spoken by natives on a variety of subjects; 2) He was able to speak intelligently on a wide range of subjects; 3) He was able to read the language with considerable facility; 4) He was able to write the language with reasonable skill."

Looking to the future, the committee "wholeheartedly" recommended "the adoption of intensive courses in beginning language instruction." "An ideal intensive course," it added, "would consist of fifteen contact hours—not credit hours—weekly. To a large extent the time formerly used for outside study would be spent in drill work under a native or a bilingual speaker." After stating that "the acquisition of all-round language proficiency, including ability to read, involves a command of the spoken language as an initial objective," the committee made several specific recommendations for the improvement of the teaching of foreign languages on high-school and college levels in the post-war era: 1) a large number of weekly contact hours; 2) very small classes (ten students or less) for drill work; 3) some outside preparation for grammar classes, little or none for drill sessions; 4) the use of native or completely bilingual speakers for drill work; 5) the use of supplementary aids, such as motion pictures, phonograph records, recording machines, radio, and telephone; 6) provision of a living background for the study of the language, such as language houses, language tables, and language clubs.

It pointed out, also, that certain types of teaching materials, at that time not generally available, were needed: 1) new textual materials specially

designed: elementary grammars with less emphasis on translation, and with material keyed to drill work in conversation, collections of reading materials, representing various aspects of the foreign culture, adequate word-lists; 2) audio-visual aids: records designed to teach pronunciation, records incorporating the drill material of the text, efficient recording machines, films to be integrated with the language instruction; and 3) new devices and methods for objectively testing aural and oral proficiency.

Certain of the above recommendations were carried out in American schools and colleges in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The Army method was adapted to academic teaching in a few universities, certain school and college teachers put more emphasis on speaking skills, and language laboratories were installed in a number of institutions. But in most places, as William Riley Parker says in *The National Interest and Foreign Languages* (p. 61), "foreign language teachers settled back with a sigh to cope anew with their ancient, formidable enemy, lack of time." Although the MLA committee of 1944 had made as their first recommendation the allotting of more contact hours for language instruction, no one "in authority," said Parker, proposed that "we now follow European example, or learn the main lesson taught by the 'Army method,' and allow sufficient time for language study to make its results meaningful." But even if the success of the intensive language program of the Armed Forces did not bring about an immediate and complete reform of modern-language teaching, the wide publicity given to it did do a great service, as Parker says, in that it "made countless people aware for the first time of the fact that foreign-language study, like physics, had a direct and demonstrable importance to our national welfare," and that, "in a suddenly smaller world," Americans "had better learn to speak the other fellow's language as a first step toward understanding him."

These truths were reflected in the establishment of the highly effective Army Language School at Monterey and the State Department's Foreign Service Institute in Washington, were brought into clear focus by the Foreign Language Program of the MLA, and became urgently real with the launching of Sputnik I on 4 October 1957.

The United States Army Language School was founded a month before Pearl Harbor in 1941 as an eleventh-hour measure to provide Army intelligence units with linguists skilled in Japanese. Its first home was an abandoned hangar at the Presidio of San Francisco, from where it moved to Camp Savage and later Fort Snelling, Minnesota. By June 1946 the school had graduated more than 6000 men. Now permanently located at the Presidio of Monterey, California, it has become a leader in the field of language training. Up to October 1960 it had graduated 26,615. Today it offers instruction in twenty-eight foreign languages, ranging from Arabic to

Ukrainian and Vietnamese. It has more than 2,100 students and about 412 instructors representing more than forty nationalities. Classes are limited to eight students who meet six hours a day, five days a week, and are expected to study at least three hours a night. Full time is devoted to language learning. The course in French and other commonly taught languages requires twenty-four weeks or 600 contact hours.

The audio-lingual method of teaching prevails at Monterey, since the primary objective is to teach the student to understand and speak a foreign language. The school has prepared and printed its own textbooks, has developed new proficiency tests in thirty-four languages, and is now revising several foreign-language military dictionaries. Secondary course materials include printed film teaching units, foreign-language tapes and recordings, and varied types of realia. In the language laboratory each student booth is equipped with a dual-channel machine, a mixer, a set of earphones, a microphone, and an annunciator. A closed circuit TV system carries foreign-language film material to many classrooms.

As William Riley Parker points out in the third edition of *The National Interest and Foreign Languages* (1961), the decline of language study in the 1920's and 1930's was partly responsible for the lack of a language requirement for admission to certain institutions of higher learning. That an improvement is gradually taking place is shown by a 1952-53 survey of 216 institutions, which showed that in half of them at least 50 % of the freshmen presented two or more high-school units of foreign language, and in 41 institutions between 90 % and 96 % of the entrants did so. Recently, at least twenty-six institutions have restored the foreign-language entrance requirement. Beginning in 1962, Vassar College's entrance requirement is four years in one language or three in one plus two in another. Cornell, which dropped its entrance language requirement in 1951, requires three units beginning in the fall of 1962. A recent study of admission figures from six Eastern women's colleges showed that three-fourths of the students had studied two foreign languages in preparatory school, and, of the class of 1963 at each college, from 54 % to 74 % offered five or more language units for entrance. Of 899 accredited colleges and universities that grant the A.B. degree, 284 (31.6 %) have a modern-language entrance requirement.

Of the 899 institutions referred to above, 772 (85.9 %) require modern-language courses or proficiency for the A.B. degree. Since 1952 there has been a trend toward the inauguration, restoration, or strengthening of the requirement. At least forty-two institutions in twenty-one states have initiated or restored such a requirement. At least seventeen others, notably Cornell, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, Vermont, and Yale, have strengthened or extended their former degree requirement.

"Of the sixty-one accredited liberal arts colleges in New England, only

two, Bennington and Hillyer, lack a foreign-language degree requirement. In the District of Columbia, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Montana, South Carolina, Utah, and Wisconsin—to mention States in other areas—all colleges granting the A.B. require foreign languages for the degree, as does the one accredited institution of higher learning in Alaska, Hawaii, Nevada, and Wyoming. However, it is a nice question whether or not the degree requirement in most institutions is sufficient to make the proficiency acquired meaningful enough in terms of the national interest (to say nothing of education). In few places is the requirement expressed as a test of *proficiency*; in most it is, conventionally, a matter of hours and credits—and not many of either,” wrote W. R. Parker, drawing facts and statistics from the sixth revision of “Foreign Language Entrance and Degree Requirements” (*PMLA*, LXXV, Sept. Part 2, 1960, 14–28). In 1960 Warren J. Wolfe reported that, of 568 accredited institutions granting the degree of Bachelor of Science, 131 (23.1%) have a foreign-language degree requirement. Of those lacking this requirement, many require language study in a number of major fields (*PMLA*, LXXIV, Sept., Part 2, 1960, 34–44).

Parker, in *The National Interest and Foreign Languages*, notes that much of the instruction in college “continues to be literary and scholarly in its objectives: much of it continues to stress reading and grammar rather than listening and speaking. College teachers, particularly those also giving advanced instruction, tend perhaps to see future college teachers in their students, and therefore give insufficient stress to the kind of training needed by the future elementary- or secondary-school teacher, or by the student who will not become a teacher” (pp. 41–42). Unhappily, in many, if not in the majority of institutions of higher learning, Mr. Parker’s apprehensions are justified. Those who have observed the success of modern practices in the NDEA summer language institutes will heartily endorse his statement that the act remembers “almost everybody . . . except the teachers of tomorrow’s teachers.” Under the present law there is no support (except through research) for the improvement of current college and university instruction in the commonly taught languages: French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

It is regrettable that all American colleges and universities can not benefit from the institute teacher-training programs, as do their sponsoring institutions. Kenneth W. Mildemberger says: “An important by-product of the institutes is the effect they are having on regular language instruction at the sponsoring higher-education institutions by focusing attention on the need for improving language-teaching methods.” He adds, perhaps too optimistically, since some of the questionnaires he addresses to college presidents are answered by Department Chairmen or Institute Directors,

"Many college and university presidents are reporting that changes are taking place in the regular college language curriculum during the academic year as a result of the success of modern methods at the summer institutes" (*MLJ*, Nov. 1961).

Coming now to the current situation, it will be seen in the latest MLA FLP report on college enrollments that there were in the fall of 1961 more than 600,000 students of modern foreign languages in 1226 four-year colleges and universities. Language enrollments were increasing at almost twice the rate of institutional enrollments (13.2% versus 7.7%). Graduate registration in modern foreign languages went above 6% of the total graduate institutional enrollment for the first time in 1961. In 1958 and 1959 it was below 5% each year. In 1958-59 the graduate schools of New York State awarded sixteen Ph.D. degrees in French. Those of California and North Carolina gave six; those of Pennsylvania and Texas, five; those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin, four; and those of Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and New Jersey, three. New York led also in the number of A.M. degrees in French with forty-one, followed by Massachusetts with thirty-six, California and Illinois with sixteen, and New Jersey and Wisconsin with thirteen. The 1961 increase in graduate language enrollments over 1960 (275%) is encouraging, "but additional efforts are necessary to maintain a high rate of increase yearly, if the national need for professionally trained teachers of modern languages is to be met" (John Harmon in *Report for Fall 1961*).

Mr. Harmon's report shows that in the colleges and universities of America, French is the most widely taught modern foreign language. In the fall of 1958 there were 157,730 students of French. In 1959 there was a 14% gain over the previous year, with 179,756 French students in 998 institutions. This represented 37.1% of all modern-language registrations. In 1960, in 1206 four-year colleges and universities, there was a French enrollment of 205,686, or 37.7% of the modern-language registrations. In 1961, in 1226 institutions, French, with a registration of 240,092 (an increase of 14.4% over 1960) had 38% of all modern-language enrollments. The percentage figures for the other languages were: Spanish 28.6; German, 24.0; Russian, 5.1; Italian, 1.9; and other languages, 2.4. By states the heaviest French registrations were: New York, 32,266; Pennsylvania, 16,442; California, 13,454; Massachusetts, 13,469; Ohio, 12,373; Illinois, 10,718; North Carolina, 9,407; Texas, 9,270; Michigan, 9,107; Indiana, 7,021; and Virginia, 6,907.

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COMMERCIAL LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

The president of one of the oldest and most successful commercial language schools recently said: "United States businessmen have learned that it pays to learn the customer's language." Some companies have set up their own language training programs, but most have turned to specialists in the field. "Language schools are rapidly becoming one of management's best friends," said *Business Week* in 1953. Helen M. Mustard, in a 1961 MLA survey that covered ninety-three self-supporting schools in ten major cities, reported that the largest enrollments for 1955 and 1960 were in Spanish, French, German, Russian, and Italian, and that New York was first, Washington second, and Boston third. Nearly all these schools employ only native speakers as teachers.

High on the list of these private establishments are such oldtimers as Linguaphone Institute of London and New York and the Berlitz School of Languages, which in 1958-59 did a \$4 million business. At that time Berlitz reported thirty-five schools with some 15,000 students in this country. With its foreign schools administered from Paris, the firm grossed an estimated \$10 million from students, teach-yourself texts, and records (*Time*, 12 May 1958).

The Berlitz Schools were founded in Providence, Rhode Island, by Maximilian Delphinus Berlitz, who came to this country in 1869. After teaching French and German in a theological seminary, he opened his own language school. He began teaching French in the usual way, explaining everything in English. A short time after beginning operations he fell ill and left his school in charge of a Frenchman, M. Joly. On his return he was amazed at the progress of his students under M. Joly, who did not know a word of English. Berlitz switched immediately to the system whereby one learns a foreign language as one learns his native tongue, by listening and imitating. In all Berlitz schools only the language being studied may be used, and only natives are permitted to teach. There are no bilingual vocabularies in the Berlitz language books. The first lessons are object lessons, by means of which the student learns the name of objects as they are pointed out or handled. Later on, other instructional principles are used, such as teaching by association of ideas, or teaching grammar by examples and demonstrations, instead of by rules and exceptions.

Berlitz assumes that it takes about 100 hours in semi-private classes of up to six students to learn a Western language. At a cost of \$300 to \$350,

a student can acquire an active vocabulary of 800-1400 words. For private instruction the fees run from \$300 to \$500 for 60 to 100 hours. The most popular languages are French, Spanish, and Russian, in that order. "Here and abroad," said William Riley Parker in 1957, "Berlitz books have sold an astronomical 28 million copies so far." The New York Berlitz school is prepared to teach sixty different languages. In 1957 it taught thirty-seven, with French the most popular. Within the five-year period from 1953 to 1958, registration at American Berlitz schools doubled, largely because industries sent their "foreign bound employees to language schools in wholesale lots" (*Time*, 12 May 1958).

Among the many other commercial language establishments which have advertised their systems, records, and publications for many years in the American press are the Hugo Language Institute of London and New York, the Toussaint-Langenscheidt series of foreign-language correspondence lessons of Berlin, the Linguaphone Institute, and the Cortina Academy of Languages of New York. The Hugo and Toussaint-Langenscheidt systems were both based on the use of literal translations printed with the foreign text. Whereas the Hugo advertising in such respectable papers as the *New York Times Book Review* and *Herald-Tribune Books*—which brought a heavy sale in the early decades of the present century—was "presented in a ridiculous form" (W. T. Couch in *MLJ*, xiv, i, 20), that of Toussaint-Langenscheidt constantly emphasized the necessity of consistent, maintained effort, and had none of the blatancy of other promoters. For its course of eighteen lessons, it specified two hours of study daily for a period of nine months.

The Cortina Academy of Languages of New York conducted its activities with success during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early 1900's. It was one of the early schools which stressed the use of the phonograph. The home-study course of its extension teaching department offered work in French, Spanish, German, and English. *French in Twenty Lessons* went through forty editions from the 1890's to 1933.

SUMMER LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

An important contribution to the teaching of French is the summer language school. Today there are many such schools in this country and Canada where the spoken language is insisted upon at all times and where courses by native teachers are available for both undergraduates and graduates. Of these only two can be discussed here, the Sauveur Summer School at Amherst College from 1877 to 1900, and the Middlebury French School from 1916 to the present time.

In 1877 Dr. Lambert Sauveur opened his "French Normal School," which

stressed the teaching of languages by the direct or "natural" method and in which he used his own texts with exercises and drills somewhat comparable to the audio-lingual materials of today. He had conducted "The School of Languages" in New Haven and Boston, where he had taught French and other languages "on the natural method of Dr. Sauveur and Professor Heness." During the summer of 1876 he had managed the first summer school of languages in Plymouth, New Hampshire. On 10 July 1877, his "French Normal School" began its sessions in the buildings of Amherst College. There were three courses, one in French literature, another for beginners, and a third for children. There was also a "training department," an early type of demonstration class, in which children were taught by members of the school. Some lessons in Latin were given "to illustrate the application of the new system to the teaching of ancient languages." The Sauveur method is described in the catalogue of his "New York School of Languages" of 1878: "Its peculiar character is to teach as a parent teaches by ear, not by eye, speaking French from the first lesson, and never using a single English word in the school. For this reason grammar is not taught in the beginning, but at the end, when the pupils are familiar with the spoken method." The ten weeks' term at Amherst cost \$15.00, and board could be had for \$5.00 a week.

The first summer in Amherst was a distinct success, for the following year 214 students, mostly from New England, but with several from as far as Illinois, Ohio, and Louisiana, had been attracted to "Dr. Sauveur's Summer School of Languages." During the second season a fourth class was added "for those who read but do not speak French." The faculty, numbering fifteen, taught French, German, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, and Sanskrit. A semi-weekly paper, *The Electric Pen*, "devoted to the interests of the Normal School," was published. In 1879 the "Normal School of Languages" was held on three campuses: Amherst, Lafayette, and Wooster. Ubiquitous Dr. Sauveur announced that he himself would instruct the classes for beginners in French, Latin, and Greek at each of the three schools "in order to illustrate the *natural* method."

From 1880 through 1883, the Sauveur school flourished at Amherst. Walter Damrosch attended the 1880 session and wrote favorably of the experience in *My Musical Life*: "A very remarkable Frenchman, Dr. Sauveur, had perfected a new system of teaching French and Latin, and Amherst College had turned its buildings over to him for a summer course. My days were certainly busy ones. In the morning I attended the sessions of Dr. Sauveur in French and Latin, and in the afternoon I practiced piano." Amherst College, apparently envious of the success of the enterprise and

annoyed by Sauveur's autocratic methods, organized in 1884 a "Summer School of Languages at Amherst College," under the direction of Professor Montague. The curriculum was expanded to include chemistry, English, drawing, painting, and vocal music. There were twenty-two members of the faculty, with 222 students from twenty-two states, of whom 114 studied French and 130 German. Some of the Sauveur texts were used, although Dr. Sauveur had no connection with the school. Amherst continued to operate its summer language school from 1884 through 1893, but for the 1894 session Dr. Sauveur made arrangements with Professor Montague whereby the Amherst Summer School joined the Sauveur School of Languages under the direction again of the founder. The School continued its program with a reduced curriculum through the summer of 1900, when there were four teachers of French and 125 students.

The Middlebury Summer Language Schools date back to 1915, when Lillian L. Stroebe and Marion Whitney of Vassar transferred their summer German camp to the Middlebury campus. The next year Henry Williamson, who had a summer school in a château in France, returned to Middlebury, where he had taken his Master's degree in 1897, and began the French Summer School. The following summer, a Spanish School was opened on the same pattern by Professor Julián Moreno-Lacalle. The German School was forced to close in 1917, because of the war hysteria, but the French and Spanish Schools have continued without interruption to the present day. The German School reopened in 1931 in Bristol, Vermont, and returned to Middlebury in 1951. The Italian School began in 1932 and the Russian School in 1945.

From the very beginning the Middlebury Summer Language Schools were devoted to a thorough training in the use of the foreign language, both spoken and written. They insisted upon a mastery of the language for use, facility in speaking, and accuracy in writing, as well as coordinated knowledge of the literature and the civilization and culture of the foreign country. Their students have been for the most part teachers, but they have provided language training for all types of professions: government agencies, the armed forces, international organizations, libraries, and scientific research. A model for other summer programs, they are the oldest and largest of such schools. In 1961 the enrollments were approximately 375 in French, 265 in Spanish, 200 in German, 142 in Russian, and 75 in Italian. The Middlebury regulations are strictly enforced: the students are pledged to avoid the use of English, and there is complete concentration upon the foreign language in and out of the classroom and careful attention to the needs of each student.

THE JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD PROGRAM

Americans have been studying abroad since colonial days, when many sons of prominent families pursued their law studies in England. In the nineteenth century foreign study tended to be either specialized graduate study for the German Ph.D. or idle residence abroad. Though some American undergraduates had studied in Europe independently and had received credit from their home institutions, such study had not been looked upon with great favor by parents or colleges, or by certain European universities, especially the British, who held that American students were immature socially and intellectually.

Furthermore, for many years American undergraduates had found it difficult to combine foreign study with their work for the bachelor's degree. European study for undergraduate credit became possible and feasible only in 1923, when the University of Delaware sent carefully selected American Juniors to study in France for a year under strict supervision. Full credit was to be granted by the students' home institutions on their return to America. In 1923 seven Delaware Juniors and one Senior were permitted to go to France under the supervision of Raymond W. Kirkbride, who had urged the undertaking as early as 1919 and who had been sent to France in 1922 for a year's study of educational conditions there in relation to American undergraduate instruction. He served for four years as the first Professor-in-charge. The interest of other colleges in the plan was aroused immediately and in the Delaware group of 1925 six colleges were represented, in 1926 nineteen colleges, and in 1927 twenty-five colleges. Kirkbride was followed by George E. Brinton, who had also been instrumental in launching the program, and by Edwin C. Byam, another strong supporter of the plan. Generous financial support was given during the early years of the venture by the Service Citizens of Delaware, and later by Pierre S. du Pont.

The directors of the Delaware project early adopted an excellent study plan, which assured the maintenance of high standards and inspired confidence on the part of the students' American colleges. The group went to the University of Nancy and, in later years, to the Institute of Touraine in Tours for a preliminary period of two or three months of orientation and familiarization with the language. Then it proceeded to Paris toward the end of October for the opening of the University in early November. In Paris the students followed a combination of regular university courses, special university courses for foreigners, and special University of Delaware courses.

The Delaware Junior Year in France program enjoyed such a success that each year until the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1939, a growing

number of American juniors participated, in groups varying in size, according to the world financial and political situation, from five in 1924-25 to ninety-two in 1931-32. In 1939 forty-two students from twenty-seven institutions sailed from New York on 19 August but returned on 30 September, to re-enter their respective institutions. In 1946-47 the program was resumed, but because of the difficult conditions then prevailing in Paris the Delaware program was transferred to Geneva. The last Delaware group, made up of thirty-nine juniors from twenty-six colleges, also went to Geneva. On 11 December 1947, the University of Delaware announced that it had decided to terminate its sponsorship for administrative reasons. From 1923 to 1948, 739 American students took part in the Delaware program.

On learning of Delaware's abandonment of the plan, Joseph E. Barker of Sweet Briar College in Virginia, who had served as Professor-in-charge of the Delaware group in 1934-35, proposed that Sweet Briar assume responsibility for the French Junior Year program, and he served as its director from 1948 until 1957, when he was succeeded by Robert John Matthew. The Sweet Briar pattern is essentially that of the Delaware plan. Each year an American professor of French serves as Professor-in-charge, assisted by an American woman professor or administrator. The program is endorsed by two agencies of the Institute of International Education in New York: the Council on the Junior Year Abroad and the Advisory Committee on the Junior Year in France, made up of representatives of institutions which have regularly sent considerable numbers of students. The present chairman of this committee is Dean Georges May of Yale. The Professor-in-charge is aided in Paris by a French advisory committee, whose chairman is M. Jean Sarrailh, Rector of the University of Paris.

A major difference between the pre-war and post-war patterns is in the composition of the groups. In the Delaware program nearly all applicants were French majors. Now about half are French or Romance Language majors, and the others are majors in other subjects. For all, however, French is the exclusive language in the classroom, in the French families with whom the students are housed, and among the participants wherever they may meet. During the past thirteen years 1083 students from 147 colleges and universities have enjoyed the advantages of the Sweet Briar Junior Year in France.

Two other long-established programs accept students from other colleges. One, for a relatively small group of women students, has been conducted for over twenty-five years by Rosary College of River Forest, Illinois, at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland. And beginning in 1925, when it sent a group of more than thirty of its own students to France

under the director of its modern-language staff, Smith College has sponsored the largest junior-year-abroad program, with students in Paris, Geneva, Florence, and Madrid. Fordham, Georgetown, Earlham, and Hamilton have more recently inaugurated programs in French-speaking countries, sending students to Paris, Louvain, Avignon, and Fribourg. All are open to undergraduates from other institutions.

Several colleges conduct academic-year programs open only to their own students, most of them started within the last ten years. Among them are Adelphi, College of New Rochelle, Hollins, Lake Erie, Marymount, Ohio University, Principia (one quarter only), Sarah Lawrence, Trinity (Washington, D. C.), Tulane-Newcomb, and Antioch. The most unusual programs are those of Lake Erie, Hollins, and Antioch. Lake Erie sends its entire junior class to Europe to spend the winter term in "one of several centers established in cooperation with European universities," where the students are under the direction of a committee of Europeans at that center. Hollins takes a sizable group to Paris in the middle of the sophomore year, to return a year later. There is no language requirement for admission to this group. Antioch's program began in 1957 and is an extension of that college's basic design—a combination of study, work, and travel.

Within recent years a constantly increasing number of institutions have permitted or encouraged their undergraduates to study abroad independently in foreign countries of their choice, after arranging an approved program of study in advance. Several have established individual scholarships for their students or have arranged reciprocal exchanges with foreign institutions. In 1957-58 a total of 432 undergraduates were reported studying abroad independently. According to the 1961 MLA report on "Language Learning in American Colleges and Universities," there were 117 four-year institutions of higher learning with foreign-language programs abroad.

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Texts, Techniques, and Teaching Equipment

EARLY TEXTBOOKS

FRENCH textbook making is by no means a modern art. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries some ten French grammar books are known to have been published in France and England, among them a treatise of about 1300 which Gauthier de Biblesworth made "pur aprise de langage." As Handschin says in his *Methods of Teaching Modern Languages* (p. 99), about 650 French grammars appeared between 1500 and 1800, many of which bore the subtitle "A New Method." Because only a few such texts were published by American teachers before the nineteenth century, our early French teachers had to rely on texts imported from France or England or reprinted here. Teaching methods were naturally influenced by those of the foreign textbook makers. Schoolmasters thought that the proper way to learn Latin was by studying a grammar and a dictionary. The same method was applied to learning modern languages, "for it required a minimum of talent and exertion" (Kroeh, *PMLA*, III [1888], 169) by the teacher and the learner.

The grammar method for teaching languages has had its advocates from very early days. In the fourth century Aelius Donatus, tutor of St. Jerome, who might be called the first "grammarian," wrote a treatise *Ars grammatica* which outlined the basic rules of Latin grammar, and which became popular as a school-book in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, there were early proponents of a more natural method. Johann Amos Comenius, or Komensky (1592-1670), a famous Moravian bishop and writer on education, history, and religion, disgusted with the pedantic teaching of his day, insisted that the teaching of words and things must go together, and that languages be taught, like the mother tongue, by topical conversation, and with the use of pictures and objects. His *Orbis sensualium pictus* of 1658 is the first children's picture-book. "Every

language must be learned by practice rather than by rules, especially by reading, repeating, copying, and by written and oral attempts at imitation," he wrote. Like later writers on language learning, Comenius recommended and practiced an original method in teaching Latin and Greek, parallel columns of sentences in the vernacular and the language to be taught.

Michel de Montaigne (1533-92) also opposed the grammar method in favor of the more natural system by which he had learned to speak Latin, which he outlined in Chapter 25 of Book I of his *Essais*. When hardly more than a baby, his father put him in charge of a German master who knew no French but was well versed in Latin. He was continually in the hands of his tutor, assisted by two compatriots of lesser competence who also spoke no French. Furthermore, neither his parents nor the servants ever used a word of French in his presence, but "jappered" only the few Latin words and phrases which they knew. By the age of six he spoke a pure Latin "without artificiality, without a book, without grammar or rule, without the whip, and without tears." As an aid in learning modern languages Montaigne proposed that a parent should take his child on visits to foreign countries "from his tenderest youth."

It seems probable that the experiences of John Locke as a schoolboy at Westminster suggested to him the warnings which he gave in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) against learning by rote and beginning the study of languages with grammar. In this classic work on education, after asserting that the best way to teach French was "by talking it" into children in constant conversation and not by grammatical rules [Sect. 162] and that this plan should be followed also, if possible, for the study of Latin, he proposed that if a satisfactory tutor "cannot be got" to teach children to speak Latin "by talking it into them," the next best way was to take "some easy and pleasant book, such as Aesop's *Fables*, and writing the English translation (made as liberal as can be) in one line and the Latin words which answer each of them over it in another. Then let him read every day, over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin, and then go on to another fable" (Sect. 167). This interlinear method was also proposed in 1722 in *Exposition d'une méthode raisonnée pour apprendre la langue latine*, by César Chesnaux, Sieur du Marsais, who applied it to the teaching of modern languages in his 1731 abridgement of a fable by Father Joseph Jouvenci. As examples of his interlinear editions, one may see his *Poème séculaire d'Horace, mis en versions interlinéaires* and *Appendix de diis et heroibus poeticis par Joseph Jouvenci, mis en versions interlinéaires*. D'Alembert praised this interlinear system in his "Éloge de M. Du Marsais" in Volume VII of the *Encyclopédie* in

these words: "Rien ne paraît plus philosophique que cette méthode, plus conforme au développement naturel de l'esprit, et plus propre à abrégier les difficultés."

There were, then, two instructional procedures—the scholastic and the interlinear—known in the eighteenth century, although the interlinear method did not receive attention in this country until early in the following century. It is not to be assumed that all early American teachers of French could make use of already published texts, which were often hard to come by, for many were obliged to devise their own methods and, in some cases, write their own school books, such as Thomas Blair's *Some Short and Easy Rules Teaching the True Pronunciation of French* (Boston, 1720), Thomas Ball's *A French School Book*, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* 16 April 1730, Peter Papin de Prefontaine's *A Direct Guide to the French Language*, advertised in the same gazette on 28 October 1756, Francis Daymon's verb chart, which he advertised for sale in 1770, and C. Carré's *A Table of French Verbs . . . together with Remarks on Their Particular Irregularities: Inscribed to the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1780), and *Fables choisies, à l'usage des enfants et des autres personnes qui commencent à apprendre la langue française, avec un index alphabétique de tous les mots traduits en anglais* (Philadelphia, 1784). The same author also prepared for the benefit of French émigrés a *Tableau de sons & accents de la langue anglaise*, published in Wilmington in 1794, and in 1822, *A New and Expeditious Method for Learning the French Language, Exemplified by an Interlinear Translation* (Philadelphia). The first known American printing of *Télémaque* was made by the well known Philadelphia booksellers and printers, Boinod and Gaillard, in 1784.

Among the imported works commonly used and advertised in the gazettes of the eighteenth century were those of Boyer, Chambaud, and Perrin. Abel Boyer (1664–1729) was a Huguenot refugee in England, where he became an arrant Whig. He aroused the ire and contempt of Swift, who called him "a little whiffing Frenchman." Boyer retorted by sneering at *Gulliver's Travels* as "extremely diverting to all Nurses, Chambermaids, and School Boys." There is a mild reference to him in Pope's *Dunciad* (Book II, line 413). His *Compleat French Master for Ladies and Gentlemen*, first published in London in 1694, was frequently reprinted (1717, 1750, 1788, 1794). Henry Miller printed an edition in Philadelphia in 1774. It was an impressive *vademecum* of information, containing long lists of useful phrases and dialogues, verbs and nouns, collections of idioms, proverbs, and specimens of prose and verse. *Le compagnon sage et ingénieux, anglais et français, ou recueil de bons mots, pensées ingénieuses, prompts reparties, railleries fines, et aventures agréables des personnes illustres, tant*

anciennes que modernes of 1707, 1741, etc. appeared in many London printings and enjoyed a good sale in America. His *Dictionnaire royal français-anglais* and *The Royal Dictionary* had many printings in London, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Paris from 1727 to 1816. It was twice (1827, 1830) printed in Boston as *Boyer's French Dictionary, comprising all the improvements of the latest Paris and London editions*. There were also London abridged editions in French and English, and a new version (London, 1848) combining Boyer and Delatourville. His *Grammaire française et anglaise* appeared in many editions, the best being those of 1700 and 1756.

Louis Chambaud (-1776) was a prolific maker of textbooks and dictionaries, much used in America from 1750 on. The date of the first edition of his *Grammar of the French Tongue* is unknown; the third (1764), the thirteenth (1801), and another (1864) were all published in London. It was advertised in the *Philadelphia Gazette* in 1756. Many of his other works, such as *Exercises to the Rules and Constructions of French Speech, etc.*, *Fables choisies à l'usage des enfants, etc.*, *The Idioms of the French and English Languages*, *Nouveau dictionnaire français-anglais et anglais-français, etc.*, *The Rudiments of the French Tongue*, and *Thèmes français et anglais*, were used extensively and sometimes reprinted in this country.

The Grammar of the French Tongue, Grounded upon the Decisions of the French Academy, by Jean-Baptiste Perrin (-1786), first appeared in London about 1760. American editions were published in Philadelphia in 1799 and in New York in 1800 and 1819. It was long a favorite text in America and continued in use here well into the nineteenth century. His *Practice of the French Pronunciation* came out in Philadelphia in 1780. *Fables amusantes avec une table générale et particulière des mots et de leur signification en anglais* was frequently reprinted in this country, with editions in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore in 1804, 1807, 1823, and 1829. In 1871 the work was entitled *A Progressive French Reader* (Philadelphia). Perrin's method of learning French is outlined in the introduction as follows: "lay a good foundation by becoming well acquainted with its rules, and then read proper books or converse with those who speak it in its purity: but neither reading nor conversation will ever enable him to speak or write it with propriety and elegance if he be wholly unacquainted with the fundamental principles." The first edition of his *Entertaining and Instructive Exercises with the Rules of French Syntax* appeared in Philadelphia in 1781. Succeeding editions were printed in New York in 1802, 1810, and 1817. In 1794 he published his *Elements of French Conversation*.

Of Perrin's and the other grammars of the day Bagster-Collins states that "books of exercises, fables, stories, and the inevitable *Télémaque*

were used to supplement the learning of grammar. Translations from and into the foreign language made up the fundamental exercises. The time-worn practice of literal word-for-word or phrase-by-phrase translation and parsing were the task of the beginner. The method also involved much sheer learning by heart, not only of forms, but also of sentences which had first to be translated. The fact that there is so much material in the form of dialogue would indicate that it was to be memorized." Perrin's works were the basis of many of the publications toward the middle of the century by Anthony Bolmar of Philadelphia.

John Mary, "French instructor of the University at Cambridge" (1783-85), is generally credited with being the first American to write an original French grammar. In 1784 he published *A New French and English Grammar, wherein the Principles are Methodically Digested, with Useful Notes and Observations, Explaining the Terms of Grammar and Further Improving its Rules*. The work has three sections: (1) The Rudiments of the French Tongue, (2) Instructive and Entertaining Exercises, with the Rules of French Syntax, and (3) Exercises upon Bad French. The "Rudiments" are followed by several pages of useful words and expressions, and "Familiar and Easy Dialogues for Young Beginners." The second part has simple noun and verb drills with exercises in interlinear translation from English into French. In the section devoted to "Bad French," words which are wrong, not in right order, or omitted are to be "altered according to the rules of syntax." In order "to render this grammar useful to every individual, and for the satisfaction of the officers of the marine," there is a collection of marine phrases, some of which are the names of sheets, sails, pulleys, etc. of a sailing ship, while others are in question form. A copy of this grammar is in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress.

Paul-Joseph-Guérard de Nancrede, "Maître de langue française" at "the university of Cambridge" (which he also termed a "seminary"), published in Boston, in 1792, the first foreign-language reader in America concerning which full information is available. It was entitled *L'Abeille française, ou nouveau recueil de morceaux brillans des auteurs français les plus célèbres: ouvrage utile à ceux qui étudient la langue française, et amusant pour ceux qui la connaissent, à l'usage de l'université de Cambridge*. For a detailed treatment of this early reader one may consult Albert Schinz' "Un Rousseauiste en Amérique" in *MLN*, xxxv, 10-18. There are copies in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress and in the library of the University of Vermont. In 1797 De Nancrede published an edition of *Télémaque*, revised and corrected, and dedicated by him to the youth of America.

TEXTS AND TECHNIQUES SINCE 1800

It would be a Gargantuan and unrewarding task to attempt to describe the mass of French grammars, anthologies, readers, composition books, and conversation guides that have rolled off American publishers' presses during the past century and a half. Some are good, some are of little or no value. Of many the only *raison d'être* would seem to be that the harassed teacher was hard pressed either to supplement his meagre income or to fulfill the administration's demand that he publish. Some of these publications have been short-lived and of restricted distribution, others have dominated the market, at least for a while. Many differing methods and approaches have had their adherents and their assailants. Here we can consider only those with special interest.

In 1804 Nicolas-Gouin Dufief, a teacher of French and bookseller in Philadelphia, published a new method of teaching French which he called *Nature Displayed in Her Mode of Teaching Languages to Man*. His students were to begin by memorizing sentences and were to be introduced to formal grammar only after having gained some practical knowledge of French. Thomas Jefferson was well impressed with the new text—which laid much stress on oral drill—and ordered six copies for members of his family and recommended its purchase for the University of Virginia Library. By 1821 *Nature Displayed* had gone through four editions in the United States and England, and French and Russian versions had appeared in Paris and St. Petersburg. Twenty years later there had been eight American and nineteen English editions. Dufief published also *Dictionnaire nouveau et universel des langues française et anglaise*.

In 1805 the first American edition of Nicolas Wanostrocht's *A Grammar of the French Language with Practical Exercises* was printed in Boston. By 1821 six American printings had appeared, and reprintings were frequent until 1860. It follows a plan similar to that of the widely popular books of Johann Valentin Meidinger (1756–1822), whose *Praktische Französische Grammatik* appeared in Germany in 1783. According to this "altogether new and very easy method" the thing to do in acquiring a foreign language is to learn and practice rules. There is an abundance of exercises in the several chapters of grammar in the form of detached sentences to be put into French. The generally difficult material requires frequent footnotes and interlinear aids. This method entailed a great deal of copying and memorization. Longfellow included many exercises from Wanostrocht in his French textbooks. Wanostrocht's *Recueil choisi de traits historiques et de contes moraux* was also a popular text.

The second and third decades of the nineteenth century saw the publication of several essays on the best methods of teaching foreign languages

and a multiplication of textbooks and other teaching aids. James Hamilton's *An Essay on the Usual Mode of Teaching the Languages and the Possibility of Teaching French or English in Forty-eight Lessons*, the second edition of which was printed in New York in 1816, outlined the methods of this London-born teacher, who practiced his art in New York and other American cities for several years with great success. The Hamiltonian system was based on the method by which he had learned German with a French émigré, who began, not with grammar (the standard practice of the day) but with word-for-word translation. Hamilton's two master principles were that language should be presented as a living organism by translating into the student's language words, phrases, and sentences, and that its laws should be learned inductively by observation, not by rules, from the very beginning. He was among the first to edit modern-language textbooks with an interlinear translation. His idea of the "very easiest" book with which to train beginning students was the Gospel according to Saint John, which he published in an interlinear edition, as well as Aesop's *Fables* and *Epitome historiae sacrae*. Many books of the time were falsely issued as Hamiltonian, for he had nothing to do with them.

A contemporary of Hamilton, Jean-Jacques Jacotot, although he never taught in this country, greatly influenced the methods of language instruction here and was largely responsible for the widespread use in American schools and colleges of Fénelon's *Télémaque*. As Professor of French at the University of Louvain he perfected a system called "émancipation intellectuelle" to teach French to his Flemish and Dutch students. Using an edition of *Télémaque* with a translation in Dutch on the opposite pages, he required his students to learn the first book by heart, then to repeat it every day, to retell the following books, and finally to begin to speak like the characters in the text. He outlined his method in *Enseignement universel, Langue maternelle, and Langue étrangère*. His motto was "Tout est dans tout," and in accordance with this belief he began his instruction in French with a coherent "whole," the reading of *Télémaque*, from which he led his students to derive for themselves all grammatical knowledge.

The influence of Hamilton and Jacotot was shown by the publication in Philadelphia of two new French grammars in 1822. John Thomas Carré's *A New and Expeditious Method for Learning the French Language. Exemplified by an Interlinear Translation . . . of the First Six Books of Télémaque* and Arnaud Texier de la Pommeraye's *An Abridgement of a French and English Grammar* made use of *Télémaque* with interlinear translations. "By dint of hearing the master read over and over" both the French and English, the students attained "the most rapid proficiency."

An addition to these Philadelphia publications was an 1822 Boston

edition of M. M. Hentz's *A Manual of French Phrases and French Conversations, Adapted to Wanostrocht's Grammar*. The author asserted that "the surest method for the learner is to commit to memory a great number of phrases employed in conversation." He arranged his phrases as far as possible according to some fixed principle, beginning with the simplest. As examples of the phrases employed in conversation one finds such banalities as: "Les hommes vivent de végétaux et de chair," "Les femmes aiment la parure," and "Les jeunes personnes recherchent le plaisir."

Three important works appeared in 1826: Claudius Bérard's *A Grammar of the French Language, Compiled from the Best and Latest French Grammars*, an American edition of Charles-François Lhomond's *Éléments de la grammaire française*, and the first American version of Lévizac's *A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the French Tongue*. The 1780 Paris original of Lhomond enjoyed great popularity and was followed by a "prodigious number of editions." The Harvard Houghton Library has a copy of the first American edition with notes in Longfellow's hand. In 1830 Longfellow published his first translation in Portland, Maine. Its full title is *Elements of French Grammar by M. Lhomond . . . Translated from the French with Notes and Such Illustrations as Were Thought Necessary for an American Pupil. For the Use of Schools. By an Instructor*. Frequent printings were made in Boston from 1831 to the 1860's. Longfellow also published *French Exercises, Selected Chiefly from Wanostrocht and Adapted to the Elements of French Grammar* in Portland and Boston from 1830 to 1834, as well as an edition of Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, and *Selections in French Poetry*, containing a tragedy by Racine and extracts from Boileau, La Fontaine, and others. For details on Longfellow's French, Italian, and Spanish textbooks one may consult Theodore Huebener's "Longfellow's French Grammar" in *French Review*, xxii, vi, 443-451, and Carl C. Johnson's *Professor Longfellow of Harvard*, Eugene, Oregon, 1944.

Jean-Pons-Victor Lecontz de Lévizac, a French émigré, published in London many French teaching aids which were much used in America. His grammar, dictionary, and readers appeared in New York, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. The Regents of the State of New York reported in 1844 that Lévizac's grammar was in use in eighty-four academies in that state. The plan of the grammar is much like that of Wanostrocht, with voluminous practice in translating sentences from English into French. A popular and widely used reading text appeared in Philadelphia in 1828, when Antoine Bolmar published *A Selection of One Hundred of Perrin's Fables, Accompanied with a Key*. The *Key* is in the familiar interlinear form. It provided aid in pronunciation by means of a "Figured Pronunciation" (le vi-la-joi é l sèr-pan), and literal and free translations. Bolmar was the

author of many other popular works: *A Collection of Colloquial Phrases*, books on French nouns and verbs, and editions of *Télémaque* and Lévizac's *Grammar*.

In the 1830's there were several important French grammars, "systems," and readers. In 1831 F.-M.-J. Surault of Harvard edited *A Practical Grammar of the French Language* by J. Rowbotham, and, four years later, *An Easy Grammar of the French Language for the Use of Schools and Colleges*. Although one cannot agree with Surault that these texts are adapted "to produce a habit of speaking the language," they may well be considered improvements over earlier works, such as Lévizac, which was "crowded with philosophical and metaphysical discussion," and Wanostrocht, which was "confused, awkward, and ill-arranged." Joseph F. A. Boeuf's *A New and Complete Grammar of the French Tongue* (1831) had 360 pages, with "one hundred new rules upon very important difficulties which have never been treated by former grammarians." It was accompanied by *A French Reader, or a Step to Translation by Progressive Exercises on a New Plan*, of 1831 and 1834. *An Oral System of Teaching Foreign Languages* by John Manesca (1774-1837), which appeared in six editions from 1834 to 1845, and *A Philosophical Recorder, Adapted for the Oral System* were important competitors of the Lévizac, Bolmar, Noël and Chapsal, and Ollendorff grammars. To him alone, said his son Louis in 1851, "is due the merit of the discovery of a system of teaching the languages, which is now replacing everywhere the old grammar system."

William B. Fowle, instructor and later principal in the Female Monitorial School of Boston, was a prolific producer of school texts on many subjects. He was the author of three popular beginners' books: *The Practical French Accidence* (1828), *Exercises in Writing French, Adapted to the Accidence* (1829), *The French Class* (1832), and *An Etymological Grammar of the French Language* (1833), prepared to counteract "the bulky works commonly used," in which "pupils often experienced . . . difficulty in finding the information they sought, not because it was not in the book but because there was so much else." Other prominent works of the time were Alexander G. Collot's *Progressive French Series* of editions of Lévizac, a pronouncing reader, an interlinear reader "on Locke's plan of instruction," and dialogues and phrases, and Charles Picot's series of school books, consisting of *First Lessons in French* (1840) and many readers intended to enable a student "to speak French fluently" by relating in his own words "the substance of the most interesting and instructive authors."

François-Joseph-Michel Noël, French inspector of public instruction, and Charles-Pierre Chapsal wrote school manuals that enjoyed great

success in France and abroad. Their *Nouvelle grammaire française* appeared first in Paris in 1823, then in many other countries, including the United States. American versions appeared in 1843 and 1858.

In 1846 Appleton of New York published a work which was to be widely used and to appear in many reprintings, revisions, adaptations, and imitations, H. G. Ollendorff's *New Method of Learning to Read, Write, and Speak the French Language*. Charles Frederick Kroeh says in an 1888 issue of *PMLA* (III, 169) that the Ollendorff books "embody another protest against the grammar and dictionary method. . . . Their leading idea is practice before theory, and although they have been subjected to much well deserved ridicule for the puerility of their examples, they mark an important advance in the art of teaching languages. They contain a very large vocabulary of common words and phrases with their translations, and two kinds of exercises, one to be turned from the foreign language into English, and the other for the reverse process. No grammatical aid is given except what may be gathered from the appendix and a few footnotes." As Bagster-Collins says: "The pompous, informative sentences of a generation ago have disappeared and with them the need of interlinear help." The language material consists of an interminable number of questions and answers, such as: "Have you many knives?" "I have a few," and "Have you many pencils?" "I have only a few." By this method of question and answer Ollendorff was able to get an immense amount of repetition. But nothing could be more monotonous than the hundreds of pages of this so-called conversation. It was largely from Ollendorff that scoffers learned their jibes at "your old uncle's green umbrella," but many students of the book got a solid grounding in language study. Among the later versions were those of Alain-Auguste-Victor de Fivas (1847) and Victor Value (1851).

Theodore Robertson (1803-71), who had practiced teaching in Paris for over thirty years, published in the 1850's and 1860's a series of texts in the Robertsonian system, based on methods used by Toussaint and Langenscheidt in their *Unterrichtsbrieft*, which were a development of the Jacotot-Hamilton methods. The Robertsonian system was a modification of the interlinear plan with notable improvements. A continuous story is given in forty short sections, each accompanied by an interlinear translation and also an idiomatic translation into correct English. The teacher was directed to read the first lesson five or six times to the pupil, who was then to familiarize himself with the spelling and the meaning of the words, until he could write them correctly from dictation and memory. Each lesson is followed by a series of questions and answers, made up of words and phrases already learned, and by a series of sentences to translate from French to English and back again.

Professor Louis Fasquelle of the University of Michigan published for use in his classes a series of texts which gained wide popularity in their day. His *French Method*, *French Reader*, *Manual of French Conversation*, editions of Alexandre Dumas' *Napoléon*, and *Chefs d'oeuvre de Jean Racine* appeared in many printings. By 1858 there were forty editions of his grammar, "a plain and practical way of acquiring the art of reading, speaking, and composing French . . . embracing both the analytical and synthetic modes of instruction."

In 1864 appeared the first American edition of Dr. Emil Otto's *French Conversation Grammar* with additions and revisions by Ferdinand Bôcher of Harvard. The original had appeared in Heidelberg in 1859. Later American editions came out in 1875 and 1884, with many reprintings, with minor corrections or suggestions in each edition. Many subsequent beginners' books for the study of French or other languages were either directly or indirectly influenced by the Otto text. The lessons are usually prefaced by grammar rules and a vocabulary of new words. There are three types of exercise: reading, a theme to be translated, and conversation. Bagster-Collins states that there is, on the whole, a distinct improvement in the quality of the sentences, as compared with previous types. Among the later popular revisions of Otto's original text were Edward S. Joynes' *The Joynes-Otto Introductory French Lessons*, *The Joynes-Otto First Book in French*, and *The Joynes-Otto Introductory French Reader*, all of which were widely used.

The "Mastery System" of Thomas Prendergast of London began to occupy an important place in American French instruction during the late 1860's. The second (1868) edition of *The Mastery Series: French* was followed by a New York printing in 1870. In this method the study of grammar was wholly excluded as being antagonistic to the natural process. The 200-300 common words in any language were arranged in a sufficient number of lengthy and complicated sentences to illustrate all the constructions in use. The beginner was not allowed to construct any sentences for himself. He was the recipient of a stock of practical sentences which in due time became models for other sentences.

Claude Marcel's "Rational Method," by which a student was to learn to read, speak, and write French by "following Nature step by step," was similar in some respects to that of Prendergast. Marcel considered the ability to understand the spoken language and to read it of more importance than speaking and writing. He would have one begin the study of language by reading at once, dispensing "at the outset with grammar, exercises, versions, dictations, mnemonics, and in a great measure with the use of a dictionary and the advice of a teacher." The order to be followed was: reading, hearing, speaking, and writing. His many books, which

were printed in London, Paris, and New York, bore such titles as: *Language as a Means of Mental Culture* (London, 1853), *Rational Method. Following Nature Step by Step to Learn How to Read, Hear, Speak, and Write French* (New York, 1876), and *Study of Languages Brought Back to Its True Principles* (New York, 1869). Other prolific producers of French grammars, beginning readers, and editions of French authors were Edward Hicks Magill, one-time president of Swarthmore College, and Professor Jean-Gustave Keetels of the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute. Keetels' publications from 1858 through 1873, which stressed the oral method, were "written with a view to suit different classes of students," from elementary school through college.

In 1866 Gottlieb Heness, the rediscoverer or reinterpreter of the "natural" method, opened a small private language school in New Haven. His *Der Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache* (1867) was a healthy reaction against the grammar-translation method of Ollendorff and others. He was joined a few years later by Dr. Lambert Sauveur, author of *Introduction to the Teaching of Living Languages without Grammar or Dictionary, Causeries avec mes enfants*, and *Petites causeries* (1875). The two general theories on which the plan was based were that the learner's interest can be most easily aroused by the spoken use of the foreign language and that he should learn a language as an infant learns his native tongue, hence the name "natural." As practiced by Heness, Sauveur, and their followers, the method consisted of a series of monologues by the teacher, interspersed with questions and answers between teacher and pupil, all in the foreign language. Except for the fact that the easier discourses and dialogues came first and the more difficult ones last, there was little order in the arrangement. The mother tongue was strictly banned. The student was not permitted to see the foreign language in print before a considerable familiarity with the spoken idiom had been attained. The study of grammar came later. Composition consisted only of the written reproduction of the phrases which had been acquired orally. The report of the Committee of Twelve said of the "natural" method that it "is a principle, rather than a plan; and its products depend, to a greater extent than those of any other school, on the personality of the instructor." After stating that the purely imitative process is wholly inadequate for teaching inflections, syntax, and phraseology, that this style of teaching provides little discipline for the intelligence, that it affords the poorest kind of mnemonic training, that it favors vagueness of thought and imprecision of expression, and that it sacrifices the artistic interest of language study to a so-called practical one, the report acknowledges that the method does awaken enthusiasm among its disciples, that it stimulates and holds the attention, and that the results of the movement "have been mainly good."

Among the advocates of the "natural" method, with adaptations, was James H. Worman, professor of modern languages in Adelphi Academy, and later in Vanderbilt University. Even before the successful use of the method by Heness and Sauveur, Worman had published a manual of French conversation: *L'Echo de Paris. The French Echo: Dialogues to Teach French Conversation* (1870). Use of this book, said the author, would "enable the learner to master the French heard in business, or travel, at a hotel, in the chit-chat of society, or in the common conversation of every-day life." His most important contribution to modern-language teaching was his series, known as the Worman or Chautauqua series of texts for the study of French, German, and Spanish. The series was widely used and extravagantly praised. The *Journal of Education* called the author "able" and "scholarly" and stated that "his authorship after the natural or Pestalozzian system places him in the front rank of American educators."

In the 1880's Joseph D. Gaillard of New York published a series of French school texts, including *Modern French Method Based on the Principle of the Association of Ideas* of 1884. In the preface he asserted that the modern method, "combining mental drill with the study of French as here developed, is a complete innovation in the art of language teaching, there being no other work extant by which the habit of thinking and the power of speaking and writing idiomatic French may be so thoroughly acquired." Like Theodore Robertson of the 1850's, he used a continuous story, but, unlike him, he first taught pronunciation and the elementary principles of grammar, including the verbs, and then gave a section of his story without the connecting words. The teacher supplied the missing words, making a connected narrative. The students committed the groups of words to memory, and this material formed the basis of classroom dialogues and conversation.

Francis Gouin, a French teacher who was little known in his native country, enjoyed his greatest successes abroad. His experiments of the 1880's serve as a preliminary to the direct method of more recent days. Dissatisfied with the inefficiency of conventional methods of instruction in modern languages, he invented a "series" system, a series of statements that describe the successive states of an action or event.

The movement known variously as the "new," "reform," "phonetic," or "direct" method of language instruction originated and gained prominence in Europe several decades before it became widely known in America. In *Methods of Teaching Modern Languages* (p. 89), Handschin points out that, just as in the case of Latin and Greek, little attention had been paid to pronunciation until speaking the language became a desideratum. In 1878 and 1880 Moritz Trautman and Wilhelm Viëtor of Germany, believing that the pronunciation of modern languages as taught in the schools was appalling,

emphasized the necessity of starting from sound, and demanded that the teaching of accidence be based upon it. In 1882 Viëtor published an anonymous pamphlet, *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren*, which was "a veritable thunderbolt" and which "acted like a trumpetblast, excellent for awakening sleepers." He referred to the criminal neglect of phonology, the dull pedantry of language textbooks, and the lifelessness of existing language teaching. His insistence on phonetic drill remained as one of the leading characteristics of the "reform" method, as practiced in Europe. In the United States there were a few early advocates of the plan, but here, wherever it was put into effect, there was usually much less emphasis on phonetic drill. Many American teachers had an insufficient knowledge of the science. Others preferred to stick to the old and easier method of grammar analysis and translation. The main tenets of the system were: (1) phonetic drill was used in the elementary stages of instruction, (2) the medium of instruction was the foreign language, (3) reading formed the center of instruction, but there were also daily conversation lessons, (4) grammar was taught inductively, (5) the teaching of composition was limited to "free composition," (6) translation into the mother tongue was minimized, (7) object teaching was used in the early stages, (8) realia were used extensively.

French teachers were not long in recognizing the advantages of the movement. Among the early leaders were Paul-Edouard Passy of the *École des Hautes Études*, and Abbé Jean-Pierre Rousselot of the *Collège de France*, author of *Principes de phonétique expérimentale* (1897). Passy, the founder of the *Association Phonétique Internationale*, which developed the well-known phonetic alphabet, was the author of *Le français parlé* (1886), *Lessons du français* (1887), and, with Hermann Michaelis, of the *Dictionnaire phonétique de la langue française* (1897).

At the 1887 annual meeting of the MLA it was recognized that "the study of phonetics is inseparable with the work of us all." A committee, under Edward S. Sheldon of Harvard, was named "to consider the advisability of organizing a phonetic circle or section of this Association." Such a section was set up under the chairmanship of Alexander Melville Bell of Washington, whose many writings on speech were frequently reprinted. At the 1893 meeting the Association listened to a paper, "The Value of Phonetics in Teaching," by Adolph Rambeau of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. One of the early planned projects of the phonetic section was the publication of an occasional phonetic periodical. This plan was never carried out, however. Other early American advocates were Charles Hall Grandgent of Harvard, who published *A Short French Grammar Based on Phonetics* (1894), John Ernst Matzke, author of *A Primer of French Pro-*

nunciation (1897), and Edward G. Ward, who prepared phonetic cards to accompany the *Rational Method in Teaching*, often issued from 1894 to 1908.

In 1911 Max Walter, director of the Musterschule in Frankfort-on-the-Main, gave a demonstration of the direct method in elementary teaching at Teacher's College, Columbia University. His *French Lessons*, recorded word-by-word in the classroom, were published in 1911. With Anne Woods Ballard he prepared *Beginners' French*, which appeared in three editions from 1914 to 1918. In 1900 the Fraser-Squair grammar appeared in a new edition which used the symbols of the Association Phonétique Internationale. This practice has been continued regularly in subsequent editions, including *Foundation Course in French* of 1957. Another popular text, Chardenal's *Complete French Course*, appeared in a phonetic edition in 1923, "prepared in response to a demand for a book that should . . . treat the subject phonetically." Many French texts published in the United States in this century use phonetic symbols. For example, Harris and Lévêque, believing that the International Phonetic Alphabet "is admirably simple and enormously useful," have included a phonetic transcription in a special section of their *Basic Conversational French*.

Realia had an important place in the reform movement. In American institutions French instruction which adopted their use aimed to give to the pupils a knowledge and understanding of the more important details of the history and geography of France, of its legends, folk-lore, and civilization, of its government and institutions, and of the manners and customs of ancient and more recent times. Early texts which stressed these matters were Rippman and Buell's *French Daily Life* (1901), an adaptation of Richard Kron's *Le Petit Parisien*, and Kron's *En France*. The reports of the Committee of Ten (1893) and the Committee of Twelve (1896) are silent on the subject, but in July 1914 the report of the Committee on Modern Languages of the NEA observed: "It is probably wise to draw upon this source for most of the material for the first year. . . . An ideal text for the first year might be described as one that . . . gives attractive glimpses of the common life and scenes in the foreign land, with bits of its history, natural features, inventions, and folk-lore." Handschin has tabulated the early American writings on this phase of modern-language teaching (pp. 107-134). He noted that the first articles on the subject appeared in 1896 and that their number has increased steadily. In a 1911 study he discovered that nearly half the colleges were well supplied with maps, charts, illustrations, slides, and realia books. And the number of courses on foreign civilizations was increasing rapidly.

The famous Coleman report of 1929 observed that "there is in the prevailing reading course very little material dealing explicitly on the foreign

country and its civilization" and listed as one of the desired objectives "progressive development . . . of a knowledge of the foreign country, past and present, and of a special interest in the life and characteristics of its people" (p. 137). This recommendation resulted in the immediate production of texts whose reading material aimed at adding to the student's knowledge of French civilization, such as *Language, Literature, and Life: French Book I, II* by Smith and Roberts (1930), *Aventures par la lecture* by Bovée (1932), and *Une aventure en français* by Bovée and Lindquist (1934). The list of French grammars and readers which contain cultural materials has grown rapidly and steadily: Chinard's *Scènes de la vie française* (1938), Lévêque's *Histoire de la civilisation française* (1940), Bagley and Diller's *La France d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui* (1951), and Carlut and Brée's *France de nos jours* (1957).

The "authoritative" Coleman report of 1929 was the signal for the publication of many beginning books and readers prepared to enable the student to "read French with accuracy and enjoyment" (Du Mont, *Introductory French: A Reading Approach*, 1941). In the beginning books the grammar lessons were usually "based strictly on the texts." Students were to be encouraged to read the texts "as rapidly as they can read them comprehendingly" in order to arrive "at the goal of reading directly, with ease and enjoyment" (Coleman, *Intermediate French Course*, 1938). "Reading is of primary importance The ability to read ordinary French with the occasional use of a dictionary is the objective," said F. C. A. Jenneret in *Pour lire avec plaisir* (1942). Due reverence was paid to the word-lists and word books of Vander Beke, Tharp, and Henmon, as well as to Cheydleur's idiom list, although one editor was bold enough to say in the preface to his reader that "no attempt has been made to calculate in accordance with word counts the number of common words in good pedagogical standing." Rather, he chose to "present the prose of the masters" (Kurz, *Intermediate French Grammar and Readings*, 1939).

The prevailing attitude of the day was reflected in the titles and descriptions of the texts. As noted above, the student's work was to be "easy" and "pleasurable." A typical reader bore the title *Easy French Readings* (Havens and Moore, 1936). To make the work less arduous, series of graded French readers appeared, such as the well known Bond texts. These aimed at developing a basic vocabulary, "shown by frequency counts to be fundamental to all general use of French." Visible-vocabulary texts were prepared to make "the introductory study of a language more attractive and more profitable." The advantages of a visible vocabulary, we are told, were quite "manifest, especially at a time when increasing emphasis is placed upon a large amount of extensive reading" (F. B. Barton, *Six contes choisis*

par Guy de Maupassant, 1936). One author remarked that "with the growing emphasis on rapid reading and its encouragement to 'guess' at the meaning of its similar—and presumably familiar—counterpart in English, it seems desirable to warn the student that some cognates are very deceptive." Arthur Gibbon Bovée, strong advocate of the oral method, in referring to the Coleman report and its admonition to "reduce considerably the amount of oral work and devote the time thus gained to reading," wrote caustically of the encouragement to "guess" at the meaning of a word. "A profound silence swept over the French classrooms of the country. The student was required to recognize the thought, which he did by interpreting, for example, 'il fait des éclairs' as 'He makes creampuffs.' 'Qu'avez-vous?' was translated 'What have you?' and the reply expected was 'Coca Cola and root beer.' Thus was the power of inference developed."

Two popular series of French beginning books have long succeeded in maintaining a leading position in the face of the many texts, representing varying theories of teaching, which have flooded the American market: Fraser and Squair and Chardenal. William H. Fraser and John Squair of Toronto published in 1891 the first number of their series, *High School French Grammar*. The success of the Fraser-Squair texts has been phenomenal and persistent. They have been a best-seller in this country in schools and colleges since the first American edition by D. C. Heath in 1901. By June 1944 over two million copies had been sold. They have appeared under many different titles and with the collaboration of three American French teachers. The first Fraser-Squair grammars present an earlier, more conventional type of manual than the books based on the "natural" or the Bétis-Swan system (an adaptation of the Francis Gouin series for English and American use). In the later editions the publishers have made many changes in order to keep abreast of current trends in teaching. The 1931 *Brief French Grammar*, for example, shows the impact of the Coleman report. Its principal aim is "to present a concise treatment of the essentials of French grammar in a form especially adapted to early reading." *The Modern Complete French Grammar* of 1942 reveals the influence of the then popular word lists. The preface says: "The most important feature of the present revision . . . is the use of a carefully controlled vocabulary, consisting largely of high-frequency words from Tharp's *Basic French Vocabulary*." *Foundation Course in French* (1957) underscores the growing emphasis on correct pronunciation and a speaking knowledge of the language. Special drills in pronunciation have been added, irregularities and exceptions to rules have been kept at a minimum, and the oral approach is provided for by an oral introduction, dialogue, or anecdote in each lesson. In view of the importance of electronic devices the pronunciation drills and one passage

of each of the first twenty lessons have been recorded on LP records. Four reels of tape are available for loan or for sale.

To a lesser degree the eleven versions of C. A. Chardenal's French grammar have enjoyed steady sales in the United States, beginning about 1887, when special editions were published in Paris for import by John Allyn of Boston. The succeeding editions have undergone many changes in form but have followed in general the traditional pattern. Their success has been due perhaps to their simplicity, thoroughness, and careful gradation.

The French textbooks needed for the objective of the Army Specialized Training Program, "a command of the colloquial spoken form of the language," were a complete reversal of the manuals and readers of the 1930's and they were destined to exert an important influence on later publications. When the program opened in 1943 few texts stressed listening and speaking. The colleges and universities that offered this training in French either had to use the books then on the market, such as the Fraser and Squair series, or prepare new materials, often on a day-by-day basis.

The Metropolitan Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of French and the New York City Board of Education issued in 1943 an 83-page mimeographed book of lessons, *Materials for a War Course in French* (Columbia Univ.). This early text, made up of war lessons, vocabularies, conversations, documents, etc., went through two editions in as many months. By early spring of the following year four editions had been made.

During 1943 the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies developed twenty-two courses, known as the *Spoken Language Series*, for the use of the U. S. Armed Forces Institutes, which were adopted by the Area and Language Section of the ASTP. François Denoeu and Robert A. Hall in 1944 prepared War Department Manuals EM 500-501-502: *Spoken French, A Self-teaching Course*, and *Manuel du Guide for Spoken French*. An identical edition for the general public had appeared in 1943. The sole purpose of *Spoken French* was to teach students to speak accurately fluent French in as short a time as possible. The subject matter was France and the French as they were to be approached by an American soldier. The students were to have a native speaker, called the "Guide," or the set of twenty-four phonograph records, spoken by Professor Denoeu, which reproduced the text and the exercises. The "Guide" or the records served as models in pronunciation, intonation, and as a basis for observation and correction. The thirty units of the course were each divided into six sections, each of which demanded a class period of not less than fifty minutes, the total class time thus requiring at least 100 hours. Although *Spoken French* with its limited goal was acknowledged not to be the ideal text for school study, its insistence upon the first function of

language was oral expression, oral communication between individuals—a truth which modern-language teaching in America had not denied, but which it had frequently sought only halfheartedly—was bound to have its effect on later texts and methods. As a reviewer of 1944 said: “The lessons we can draw from a book like this one and from the ideas behind it may be the source of a refreshing reorganization and recapitulation of language teaching” (Harris H. Thomas in *French Review*, xvii, v, 289).

Professor Denoeu also published in 1943 *Military French*, of which a World War I Intelligence Division officer said: “No candidate in our Armed Forces for a position in liaison, intelligence censorship, or interpreting work with the French can afford to be without this book” (Major Coleman D. Frank in *French Review*, xvii, ii, 108). In 1943 the War Department issued *Military Dictionary English-French French-English*, which contained, in addition to the dictionary, an appendix, made up of the numerals, authorized abbreviations, weights and measures, idiomatic expressions, divisions of time, and “Essentials of French Grammar” (pp. 792–805).

Conversational French for Beginners by Julian Harris and André Lévêque (1946) represents the authors' attempt “to adapt for civilian students the intensive method of teaching foreign languages which was developed during World War II” at the University of Wisconsin. Since several members of the post-war staff had not had experience in the military program, it was found necessary to provide in advance daily mimeographed lessons or “feuilles d'information” for the guidance of the inexperienced teachers. These lessons were printed in the spring of 1946 in oblong format under the above title. The book was made up of forty-six conversations and twenty-nine grammar units, so arranged that the students had “to learn concrete examples before attempting to understand abstract rules.” In 1953 a shorter edition called *Basic Conversational French* was issued in answer to the demand of teachers whose weekly class time did not exceed four hours. In 1958 a second revision was published, and in 1962 a “new and greatly improved version” appeared. Records and magnetic tapes with everything transcribed are available for purchase and loan. In 1960 appeared a second-year text, *Intermediate Conversational French*, with recordings.

One has only to read the advertisements and reviews in our language journals to realize how many texts stressing the audio-lingual approach are being published at the present time. It would seem that every American textbook publisher has its contribution. Some are older works, now equipped with discs and magnetic tapes, others are just appearing. Moreover, in addition to this profusion of the more familiar type of text, several integrated programs are already on sale or are in the course of preparation. In 1959–61

the *Pathoscope-Berlitz Audio-Visual Language Series* appeared, made up of 40 lessons with filmstrips filmed in France, recordings of dialogues by native speakers, teacher's guide, and scripts. Listening comprehension tests are available. The filmstrips are "attractive and colorful, showing aspects of French life and interesting to students." The recordings are "a valuable cultural supplement if used discriminatingly . . . most serious defect is the excessive length of some sentences that students must repeat" (*MLA Selective List of Materials*, p. 18).

LaVelle Rosselot's three-year program, *Je Parle Français*, made up of 120 film lessons and 120 5" tapes, with student's and teacher's manuals, is "a well integrated program that any school would be proud to own and use" (*MLA Selective List*, p. 18). Earle S. Randall says in the May 1962 *French Review*, p. 600: "It is a unit—a very different matter from a textbook for which recordings are available . . . Here the films supply the situations and give meaning; they were planned to assist step by step in the language learning. The tapes follow up the films with drills suitable for use in the classroom or language laboratory. These are beautiful films. They bring France into the classroom as no other medium can do . . . *Je Parle Français* has been planned and executed by experts. The result is impressive." P. Rivenc, P. Guberina, and others published in 1961 *Voix et images de France*, thirty-two filmstrips of 40-100 frames each, thirty-two 5" tapes with native French voices, and a textbook. This series was developed at the research center of the *École normale supérieure* of Saint-Cloud. "Excellent materials for use as supplement to a basic course," says the *MLA Selective List*, p. 18.

The Modern Language Materials Development Center in New York is preparing five new programs, based on the audio-lingual approach, under a NDEA contract. They are being developed from the Glastonbury, Connecticut, materials and have been tested in NDEA institutes and pilot schools. Levels I and II of *A-LM French* are already in use with some quarter of a million students of first- and second-year French in secondary schools. Levels III and IV will be published in the fall of 1963 and 1964. *A-LM French* consists of a student text, teaching tests, practice record set, classroom/laboratory record set, classroom/laboratory tape set, teacher's manual, and teacher's desk materials. Of it the *MLA Selective List of Materials* says (p. 18): "Highly effective program, when used by a trained teacher, for developing audio-lingual facility in average students. Interesting and well planned units and the recordings of French voices are excellent. Procedures are apt to become boring for good students. Practice records are intended for student homework. Level I is appropriate for a typical school year's work of five 45-minute periods a week."

To guide the present day elementary-school, high-school, and college teacher in his search for suitable teaching materials, useful bibliographies have been published in the *French Review* and by the MLA. These may be supplemented, if desired, by reviews of French texts which appear regularly in language journals, especially the *French Review* and the *Modern Language Journal*. Earlier bibliographies of French textbooks published in the United States were printed as *Supplements* to the May 1941 and May 1945 *French Review*. More recently the MLA, under a contract with the U. S. Office of Education, has published two most important lists of foreign-language materials. The first, *Materials List for Use by Teachers of Modern Languages*, came out in the fall of 1959, while a new and enlarged revision, which contained evaluations of all teaching materials (including textbooks, which were not evaluated in the first edition) was published in April 1962, under the title *MLA Selective List of Materials for Use by Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages in Elementary and Secondary Schools*. As the title indicates, the new list, like its earlier version, is intended for use by school rather than college teachers. The latter, however, will find this critical bibliography quite useful in most categories. The some twenty pages devoted to French materials contain evaluations of all types of textbooks, books on methodology, dictionaries, discs and tapes, films and filmstrips, maps, periodicals, pictures and wall charts, supplementary materials, and teachers' course guides.

THE LANGUAGE LABORATORY

A list of the American teachers of French who were pioneers in the use of audio-visual language-teaching aids and in the development of the language laboratory would include many of our most respected names. Leaders as well in other areas of French teaching, their contributions to what we now think of as a commonplace and necessary adjunct of every well equipped institution are eminently worthy of note. "Experimentation with auditory aids to language teaching is almost as old as the 'talking machine,'" says William Riley Parker in the third edition of *The National Interest and Foreign Languages*. "A French conversational course was produced in England on an Edison cylinder as early as 1904, and this new device was soon being tried on classes at Yale University and elsewhere" (p. 67). To use the cylinders, however, earphones and tubes were necessary, and relatively few foreign-language teachers utilized the phonograph as an auxiliary to instruction until disc recordings and a higher quality of sound reproduction were available.

In December 1918, Charles C. Clarke, Jr., of Yale advocated the general classroom use of discs as a device for teaching accurate pronunciation, and

several firms (Victor, Cortina, Rosenthal) were advertising the utility of discs for language learning. In 1919 a drill laboratory was set up at the University of Utah by George Oscar Russell, making use of Dictaphones and Ediphones. The minimum essential drill equipment consisted of a dictating machine, a shaver, a transcriber, a table with testing equipment, and a number of cylinders. The instructor made a Dictaphone record of a passage from one of the textbooks used in class. The record was left in the phonetics laboratory, where it could be played by the student until the correct pronunciation of the passage was familiar to him.

Six years later the same director initiated a "practical phonetics laboratory" at Ohio State University, making use of dictaphones and, later, discs. In the fall of 1931 some 1000 students were using the laboratory to "study their lesson through the sense of hearing" (R. E. Monroe in *MLJ*, Dec. 1931). It was found that those whose test sentences had entered their consciousness "through the ear" in the laboratory did far better than those who used only a book. "The development of practical phonetic laboratories in schools and colleges, radio lessons for high schools broadcast from state universities . . . will soon remove the very reason for which phonetic transcription was introduced in elementary instruction," predicted R. E. Monroe (*French Review*, Feb. 1931).

In 1924 Madame Jeanne Harouel Greenleaf of the University of Wisconsin, who had been trained at the Institut de Phonétique de Paris, set up a rudimentary language laboratory in Madison in which she used a recording machine with wax cylinders. She recorded all first-year students of French each semester, and all students of phonetics twice each semester. The "laboratory" acquired better equipment for recording and listening as soon as it became available.

In 1929 a pioneer laboratory was set up by Professors Stephen A. Freeman and Marcel Vigneron at Middlebury College, in which they had ten individual booths, equipped with phonograph play-backs, and a large studio equipped with a recorder cutting aluminum discs with a diamond point. They also had a kymograph for recording oscillations on a smoked drum, as well as a variety of other instruments. By 1940 they were using wire recorders.

Although the pioneers were using at that time such terms as "studio," "phonetics laboratory," or merely "laboratory" for their installations, the idea of the language laboratory or language learning laboratory was already born. "There should be a 'practice' requirement in the language courses, just as there is in the music courses or laboratory requirement in the scientific courses: schools where the students acquire only a reading knowledge of music would be utterly ridiculous. Why not provide a 'laboratory' or a

'studio' for the language department?" asked an experienced French teacher, Tatiana W. Boldyreff, in the *French Review* (Jan. 1929). Referring to an article in *MLJ* of March 1928 which stated: "An adequate supply of realia in the way of maps, pictures, magazines, and phonograph records is no less essential than is proper laboratory equipment for the chemist or the biologist," she went on to say that she had had better results from the use of a phonograph and a carefully selected collection of records, such as the Student Educational Records or the artistic series of Victor records, than from phonetic transcriptions.

A decade was to pass, however, before any real development of practical laboratories was to take place. One reason may have been that some language teachers believed that the emphasis on the reading objective would relieve them of any further trouble with the pronunciation of French or other foreign languages. A few teachers in schools and colleges, however, continued to expect speaking proficiency from their students, using as aids the available mechanical teaching devices. In 1932 a writer in the *French Review* praised the new Weeks-Allard orthophonic records of the Victor Phonograph Company: "the finest records thus far produced for instruction in French." In 1935 Jeanne Varney Pleasants was experimenting with recordings on aluminum discs by her students. "Depuis quelque temps déjà un certain nombre de collèges et d'universités possèdent des appareils d'enregistrement phonographique permettant l'analyse minutieuse de la prononciation des étudiants," she wrote in the *French Review* of April 1935. Her series of four double-faced 10" records was being advertised in the *French Review* of April 1938. In 1937 her "laboratory," consisting of record players and four listening positions, had its first permanent home in the Maison Française and was used in her courses in phonetics and intensive French at Columbia University. In 1952 the record players were supplemented by four tape recorders. A colleague, Pierre Oustinoff, helped to establish a small, well-equipped language laboratory, with listening booths, sufficient for the needs of the college students. In 1959, through Professor Pleasants' persistent endeavors, a completely modern laboratory of university size was installed.

In 1939 instructor W. D. Fling was operating a "speech laboratory" at Hamilton College. His equipment consisted of a kymograph, a recorder, a phonograph with headphones, and a sound-proof room. The instructor made recordings of the French lessons to which the students listened while following the vocabulary and reading lesson in the textbook. Studying French "the modern way" the student was able "to pronounce the language better after five weeks than would have been the case after an entire year's study by the usual methods" (*Hamilton Alumni Review*, January 1940).

Mr. Fling invented and made several copies of an ingenious and accurate lifting device for the playing arm of a phonograph. This allowed the operator to get many repeats on the same groove, or to come back immediately to a certain spot during a subsequent playing of the record. It was very useful in drilling or finding a particular spot on the master record and correcting a student's record with no ambiguity as to just what passage or utterance was referred to. It was manufactured commercially for a time by the Fairfield Camera Company under the trade name of "Language Master." In 1947, the University of Pennsylvania installed fifteen Language Masters in semi-isolated booths and initiated a four-week pre-reading program for all beginning French sections. It was also used by Frederick D. Eddy in the Hood College laboratory, beginning in 1950, but became obsolete with the advent of magnetic tape.

During the 1940's further experimentation and development continued. In 1941 at Coe College, Boyd Carter, feeling that the tragedy of 1940 brought a "poignant realization of a lost opportunity," decided to overhaul his methods and do a better job of teaching. He listed the physical equipment: two broken-down phonographs, a set of fifteen Linguaphone *Travel Course* records, an album of the *New Fraser and Squair Elementary French Grammar* records, ten "French by Sound" records, and a few records of the "Disque Gramophone" series. A model of the Wilcox-Gay Recordio was procured. The Linguaphone *Travel Course* was used in class as a text.

In 1941-44 at Green Mountain Junior College, Frederick D. Eddy conducted an experiment "to provide intensive individual oral and aural training." He chose to call his experimental language laboratory a "studio," to avoid confusion with instrumental phonetics research laboratories. For equipment he had home-made and Linguaphone "Brush-Up" discs, a disc-cutter, a disc play-back, loud speaker, and headphones. He used this equipment in an empty classroom, requiring the students to spend at least fifteen minutes a day at "Studio." Their efforts were recorded periodically with the disc-cutter. He found the results of the experiment "encouraging" and "promising." The cost of the Studio program was about \$390 for two years.

Princeton started its laboratory in 1942-43 with two used but serviceable phonographs and one standard disc-cutter. From this equipment they shifted to plastic disc dictating machines from which they advanced to the simplest type of wire recorder. Finally they converted to the tape recorder when it "seemed safely past the diaper-and-teething stage" (A. T. MacAllister in *PMLA*, April 1955, pp. 15-22). New York City College was experimenting with its "workshop" method for several years before the ASTP began to make wide use of audio-visual aids. Its workshop was provided with a sound projector and recording machine (*MLJ*, Oct. 1946).

In the ASTP phonographs for listening and recording were commonly used. A provision for active drill rather than passive listening by the insertion of pauses on the discs was an important innovation. This device allowed the students to repeat immediately the phrases which they had heard. Tri-purpose projectors for silent movies, slides, and film strips were used. At about the same time the Army began experimenting with the magnetic wire recorder. Transcriptions of foreign-language short-wave broadcasts were recorded and studied.

During the spring of 1943 a foundation grant enabled the language department of Birmingham-Southern College to buy a portable phonograph and three sets of records, including the Linguaphone *French Conversational Course*. This "laboratory" equipment was installed in a rarely used room on the top floor of the library, where the students went at odd hours and listened through earphones. The second step was removal to an unused basement room of the library and the creation of a "Record Room," which was followed by the establishment of a "workshop" (*MLJ*, Nov. 1945).

Meanwhile exploratory work was going on in certain other institutions. In the fall of 1943 at the University of Wisconsin a new section of French Intermediate Composition and Conversation, known as "French 25 Laboratory" was initiated. The most interested students from various sections of French 25 signed up for two extra hours a week for one additional credit. They were seated about two tables with a "resultant atmosphere of informality." The textbooks used were the Linguaphone *Cours de Conversation*, a series of thirty lessons on fifteen records, and Kany-Dondo *Intermediate French Conversation*. Students could record their pronunciation on a Wilcox-Gay Recordio (Karl G. Bottke in *French Review*, Oct. 1944).

The following year the modern-language department of the University of Oklahoma decided to try the experiment of a course which began by replacing books by discs. "Les premiers résultats paraissent excellents," wrote Pierre Delattre in the *French Review* (Dec. 1944). The method demanded the exclusive use of one classroom with a modern electric phonograph with a light head so that soft-cut records could withstand hours of playing without much wear. The high quality of the results was soon apparent, although the material conditions for the experimental class were not ideal. "They should have had private sound-proof cabins, equipped with both a phonograph with head-phones and an automatic device for repeating and stopping, and a magnetic wire recorder to test their own voices." Before the end of the year, moreover, the "records" students had covered more material than those in the regular sections. As part of the final examination the students listened to a recorded story in French and answered the questions which ended the record.

At about this time a teaching device known as the "Mirrophone" was in

use in some language rooms, studios, workshops, and "laboratories." For one minute or longer the machine recorded magnetically the spoken words on a continuous steel tape. Once a switch had been turned by the operator, it played back the last recording while removing the old material from the tape. "The whole process is really quite economical," reported an enthusiastic user (*MLJ*, Oct. 1945). Early experiments with the wire recorder, "a sort of super-microphone," were made by George Scherer at Stephens College in 1946. It was "a single-unit device which magnetically records sound on a delicate wire. At any point the wire can be reversed . . . and the recorded passage is ready for the replay. The same wire is used over and over again: as new material is recorded, the old is automatically erased" (*MLJ*, May 1948). The General Electric Company advertised a completely new type of wire recorder in April 1947 for \$300. "Army experimentation with the magnetic wire recorder suggested infinite possibilities to some language instructors who were dissatisfied with discs, and at least sixty-seven colleges or universities invested in this new equipment (one purchasing thirteen machines)" (Parker, 3rd ed., p. 67).

Meanwhile a new development was announced in the form of a paper-tape recorder (paper strips coated with iron oxide), which had been produced in Germany during World War II. The reporter predicted that this device "promises to be the favorite sound recording method because of its cheapness" (*Science News Letter*, 31 Aug. 1946). It was being manufactured in this country by 1947. "With its discovery many language teachers who were following these developments felt that they had at last found an adaptable and efficient machine to increase their effectiveness" (Parker, p. 67).

Lois S. Gaudin described her practices at Brooklyn College in "The Language Discothèque" (*MLJ*, Jan. 1946). She stated that "a phonograph is all the equipment needed" to make records available to students in a small group, but that it had been necessary to establish a lending library of records to satisfy the needs of off-campus students. "The ideal set-up," she stated, "is to have a phonetics room equipped with several listening booths, such as are used by most music departments," where students could listen without the annoyance of earphones.

Purchasers of recording machines were advised in the May 1947 *MLJ* that there were available "a great array of recording machines." The first type, using wax cylinders, had long been familiar in office equipment. A second variety, using plastic, acetate, or paper discs, included small dictating machines such as the well known "Soundscriber," phonographs that would cut amateur records, and semi-professional or professional equipment for making phonograph discs. The third type, which had been de-

veloped more recently and was known chiefly through its use in radio broadcasting, made use of wire, film, or paper tape. All these were said to be "adaptable in varying degrees to language work, but because most of them are sold as office dictating machines or for use in radio transcription they are built primarily for these purposes."

In 1946 the Germanic and Slavonic Languages Department of Louisiana State University began using audio aids under the direction of Alfred S. Hayes in one of the German classrooms, equipped with twenty booths, a disc playback machine, magnetic headphones, and crystal microphones. This installation "was not intended for recording, but strictly for 'audio-active' purposes," in order to strengthen reading, not conversational ability (letter of Alfred S. Hayes, 9 Aug. 1962). By the fall of 1947 the Department of Romance Languages was stressing the aural-oral aspects of French and Spanish, using redesigned equipment in a new 126-position laboratory in Allen Hall. This facility, costing \$28,000, was doubtless the first fully equipped laboratory housed in a room other than a classroom, which "made it feasible to provide regular practice with authentic native voices, yet did not require the presence of a staff of native speakers" (Joseph C. Hutchinson, *The Language Laboratory*, U. S. Dept. of HEW, 1961).

Wayne State University put a new audio-visual installation in operation in February 1948. A classroom for twenty students was equipped with a Peirce wire recorder (which had replaced a Sound Mirror found to be too complicated), four microphones, a Klanty Sound System record player, connected with an amplifier which fed records into twenty individual headsets. In the front of the room was a control table. The laboratory was not sound-proofed except for carpeting. A record-cutting room had a Presto record cutter with the necessary blanks and needles. Two hours of work a week were required in the "laboratory" under the direction of a native informant (*MLJ*, Dec. 1948).

Laboratories were being installed in the late 1940's in many other institutions of higher learning, including Texas, Northwestern, Otterbein, Cornell, Yale, Tennessee, Georgetown, Florida, Brooklyn, and the American Institute for Foreign Trade. Installations which attracted much attention at the time and served as patterns for other laboratories were those of the Institute of Languages and Linguistics of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University and of Poulton Hall on the main campus, both masterminded by Leon Dostert. The former, made up of three small laboratories, where each of the sixty booths had its own machine, opened in 1949. One was an audio-visual and recording laboratory, another was a multilingual conference room which permitted the simultaneous use of five languages, and the third was the student listening facility. In 1950 the

Poulton Hall "Electronic Language Laboratory" was christened. It was equipped with 130 individual semi-sound-proof booths, each of which contained an IBM language selector switch as used in the simultaneous interpretation system of the United Nations, enabling the student to select any one of six tapes then being played at the console. Each booth had a set of headphones. Twelve tape playbacks were installed in the console. There were also ten recording booths for making tapes and for student listening.

The high schools were beginning to become interested in the laboratory movement. A committee report on the "Place and Function of Modern Languages in the Public Schools of New York City, 1947," Jacob Greenberg, Chairman, recommended that: "Each school in which foreign languages are taught should have at least one language laboratory for practice, speech analysis, and for serving as a clearing house and repository of audio-visual aids The language laboratory should be equipped with a still projector, a sound projector (if possible), a projection screen, and dark shades or curtains Other essentials are practice and recording booths with appropriate equipment The educational value of the foreign language laboratory has been amply demonstrated at the various colleges and schools where it has been instituted. The committee feels that the full implementation of its recommended six-year course would require the use of audio-visual aids as described above" (Newmark, p. 459).

Greenwich (Conn.) High School was using audio-visual materials in 1948, as was Lake Forest Academy in Illinois. At Greenwich the equipment consisted of a record player, a recording machine, and a set of commercial records. The records were played several times in class, following which there was conversation based on the subject matter. Students whose work justified it were allowed to make their own recordings. They were "more alert to their mistakes in pronunciation, intonation," and could "more easily correct such mistakes by repeated listening and proper study and practice," said the teacher, who asserted that the "use of student-made recordings should become a common teaching technique in language classes now that many practical recording devices—disc, wire, and tape—are available." (Frances Malone in *Educational Screen*, p. c. 1948). Lake Forest Academy had two recorders equipped with extra turntables plugging directly into the amplifier of the recorder, making possible the silent cutting of copies of the master records. The recorders were used as playback machines in the classrooms. Auxiliary to this equipment were a desk microphone, a standing microphone, and a listening room equipped with six playback machines. Paper-backed records and sapphire cutting needles were used to reduce the cost. "The time necessary for recording is not great, and is easily made up in the greater efficiency gained," observed the teacher (*MLJ*, March 1948).

A survey conducted in the spring of 1948 shows to what extent audio-

visual material was being used at that time. A questionnaire on the use of instructional phonograph records was sent to a hundred junior colleges in the North Central States. Only twenty-eight replied. Of these, seventeen had at least one set of records, and nine language departments had access to a recording machine. Five of the nine reported that significant results had been achieved with recorders in the improvement of pronunciation. Several spoke of the desirability of a special laboratory room, but only a few said they had one. The surveyors concluded their report in this manner: "Is it too bold to suggest that, if audio-visual techniques and materials could be improved and prove their worth, they might cease to be regarded as extraneous, and the laboratory techniques might become as integral a part of the class work as they are in the natural sciences?" (*MLJ*, Jan. 1949). "In the decade 1948-58 there was increased interest in the use of mechanical and electronic equipment in modern foreign language teaching and the word 'laboratory' came into general use" (*Foreign Language Laboratories in Schools and Colleges*, U. S. Dept. of HEW, 1959). In 1950 the need of economy in the Cornell language program resulted in combining two drill classes into a "laboratory class" with intensive English-to-foreign-language drill and repetition and drill with a playback machine. During the first two years plastic records on an office-type playback machine were used, but in 1952 a shift was made to tape machines" because of their higher fidelity reproduction." (William G. Moulton in "The Cornell Language Program," *PMLA*, LXVII [Oct. 1952], 38-46). Purdue University, which has since become one of the leaders in laboratory technique and training, installed its first laboratory in 1951. A second was put in operation in 1954, so that all beginning classes in French, German, Russian, and Spanish could hold two of their four weekly meetings in the laboratory. The laboratory sessions alternated with the more orthodox class periods and were drills on their materials (Elton Hocking, "The Purdue Language Program," in *PMLA*, LXX [Sept., part ii, 1955], 36-45).

In the May 1954 issue of *School and Society*, George Borglum of Wayne State University pointed out that: "hundreds of laboratory programs, with equipment costing from a few hundred to many thousands of dollars, have been put in operation all over the country. Plans for a new high school in an eastern city will contain specifications for a language laboratory, and there now exist companies specializing in the installation of such laboratories. Recorders and projectors have been developed which answer all the language teacher's needs including that of being fool proof—the latest being, among tape recorders, a two headed machine which will record on and play back parallel channels on the tape with complete flexibility, from one channel to another."

In 1955 a committee of the Northeast Conference, Jeanne Varney Pleas-

ants, Chairman, presented an important report setting forth twelve principles of FL laboratory theory and practice, followed by nine demonstrations of materials and equipment. The *Education Index* of June 1955 to May 1957 carried for the first time a classification "Language Laboratories," and listed ten articles dealing with FL instruction in seven educational journals. In the 1956 *Northeast Conference Reports* a committee, headed by Frederick D. Eddy of Georgetown University, made a detailed report on the "Secondary School Language Laboratory: Some Observations on Present Practice and Long-range Possibilities." At that time they found in the Northeast only six secondary-school laboratories (four public, two private schools) that satisfied the minimum criteria for FL laboratories, published in the *MLA FL Bulletin No. 39: The Language Laboratory, Report No. 1*, September 1955. This "pitifully small number" is eloquent testimony both of the looseness with which the term "laboratory" was used, and the long years it took for the FL laboratory to win serious attention in secondary schools.

A survey made in 1957-58 revealed that 240 colleges and universities throughout the country were using language laboratories. Sixty-four secondary schools in twenty-three states and the District of Columbia had laboratories. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Michigan, and California reported four or more high-school laboratories, and New York, Pennsylvania, and California had fifteen or more college installations. The college laboratories were being used for forty different languages, with French, Spanish, and German in the lead. In 1961 the U. S. Office of Education estimated that about 700 colleges and universities and about 2500 secondary schools had some sort of language laboratory. At the present time Specialist Joseph Hutchinson estimates that there are "well over 5,000 secondary schools with some kind of LL and approximately 900 colleges and universities with LL facilities" (letter of 8 April 1963).

Two important and exceedingly useful brochures, *Foreign Language Laboratories in Schools and Colleges* by Marjorie C. Johnston and Catherine C. Seerley and *Modern Foreign Languages in High School: The Language Laboratory* by Joseph C. Hutchinson, were published by the Office of Education in 1959 and 1961. They trace briefly the history of the laboratory movement and contain indispensable information on the purpose, distribution, equipment, planning, function, and teaching techniques of the language laboratory, the widespread introduction of which into secondary schools throughout the nation is, according to Hutchinson, "one of the most dramatic changes in American education within the past two years."

PROGRAMMED LEARNING AND TEACHING MACHINES

The development of programmed instruction and teaching machines is still in the experimental stage, with relatively few programs available. Yet,

as affirmed by a recent statement by a joint committee of the American Educational Research Association, the American Psychological Association, and the NEA Department of Audio-Visual Instruction, "The use of self-instructional programmed learning materials in teaching machines and similar devices represents a potential contribution of great importance to American education."

Since some teachers may not understand the significance of the two terms, we define them here, using the words of *What's What: A List of Useful Terms for the Teacher of Modern Languages*, compiled for the MLA by Donald D. Walsh and published in 1963. Programmed instruction is "an arrangement of a block of material into steps, usually small, that must be mastered in sequence and that give the learner immediate confirmation of his correct answers and immediate correction of any errors. Also called auto-instruction" (p. 27). A teaching machine is "a device that mechanically handles programmed material that a student is using by himself. It is unfortunately named, for it implies a complicated mechanism when in reality it merely gives the student a chance to respond before he sees or hears the correct answer. The simplest teaching machine is a moving hand or a piece of paper that uncovers a page one line at a time. What is most important in programmed learning is the program, but an efficient machine can increase the effectiveness of the learning" (p. 30).

Recognizing the importance of this new development for the teaching of French, the American Association of Teachers of French appointed in 1961 an ad-hoc committee, Victor E. Hanzeli of the University of Washington, Chairman, to assess professional activity in the field and to investigate how the principles, hypotheses, and procedures of the "programmers" may apply to the learning and teaching of French. This committee reported at the 1961 annual meeting of the Association that there were some dozen projects undertaken in preparing materials for French, eight of which could be called major projects. After listing the principal investigators—Eliane Burroughs of Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Pierre Delattre (Univ. of Colorado), Victor E. Hanzeli (Univ. of Washington), Alexander Lermontoff (Center for Programmed Instruction, New York), Fernand Marty (Hollins), Marcel Moraud (Hamilton), Theodore Mueller and F. Rand Morton (Institute for Behavioral Research and Programmed Instruction, Ann Arbor), and Albert Valdman (Indiana)—Professor Hanzeli said that "none of the major programs are currently available" and that the "only sample of things to come" was the French phonetics course of the Encyclopaedia Britannica Films. The Hollins, Michigan, and Indiana programs were expected to be completed in the near future. The Colorado, CPI, and Washington programs were continuous propositions currently being used and revised.

The committee found that the "most refreshing aspect of current research in programming for French is, perhaps, the extreme individuality of the projects," and that the specialists engaged in programming "are mostly preoccupied with finding their own answers to the major pedagogical problem of our entire profession: How to extend the benefit of language learning to the ever-increasing waves of incoming students without lowering our standards. Their approach is varied and their work is still largely experimental, open to scrutiny, criticism, and improvement. Subject matter is their basic concern: when they discuss teaching machines, they mean teaching first and only then machines." As for the use of machines, it had been found that most programmers in French "are not concerned with hardware at all," even though the utilization of many programs, especially in foreign languages, "is facilitated and made more efficient by the use of some machinery" (Victor E. Hanzeli, "Programmed Learning in French: Work in Progress," in May 1962 issue of the *French Review*, pp. 587-89).

Since reading the above report, I have had several written and oral accounts on the progress of programmed learning in general and in the teaching of French in particular: James D. Finn and Lee E. Campion published in January 1962, as occasional paper No. 3 of the NEA, *Teaching Machines and Programmed Learning, 1962: A Survey of the Industry*. Some 156 companies in the field are listed, with illustrations of 85 machines. It was said that about 80 programs in many fields were then available. The only French program listed was *Elementary French*, by the General Programmed Teaching Corporation, mentioned in *Programs, '62: Guide to Programmed Instructional Materials Available to Educators by September 1962*, published in the summer of 1962 by the CPI, under a contract with the USOF, with descriptive information and sample frames of each of the 122 programs listed. A 1963 volume is in press. *Elementary French* has 202 pages and 2510 frames. It is a re-useable program designed for high-school or college beginners. It can be used in two types of machines. There is a teacher's manual with full instructions. It makes no attempt to teach the French sound system.

In the February 1963 *French Review* (pp. 419-22), Albert Valdman discussed the current research in foreign-language programming by Fernand Marty at Hollins College and the Encyclopaedia Britannica Films' *Programmed Course in French Phonetics*. Professor Marty's monograph, *Programming a Basic Foreign Language Course: Prospects for Self-Instruction*, "is more the description of one researcher's attempt to program a basic French course than an introduction to the application of operant conditioning learning theories to second language learning," said Valdman. "The monograph is divided in three main sections: (1) an outline of programmed

learning principles; (2) a description of the various components—including syllabi and electro-mechanical equipment—of a 90 per cent self-instructional course in elementary French that Marty is developing at Hollins College; (3) a list of techniques used in the described course." Valdman finds Marty's fundamental aim not to be "replacing human teachers by gadgets," but rather "the organization of the material in such a way that the student acquires the desired linguistic skills in a minimum of time." He approves the "explicit, objective definition of the terminal behavior expected of the subject who completes the program successfully," and the author's description of his partial self-instruction course which reveals "an imaginative and bold attempt . . . to exploit new technology and modify the learning environment to fit course objectives."

The *Programmed Course in French Phonetics*, "the first programmed course distributed commercially, consists of 1000 constructed answer frames presented through a simple device: a binder equipped with a sliding mark; a set of three tapes constitute an integral part of the course." Valdman criticizes the course on several counts: the terminal behavior of the subject is nowhere stated in objective terms; there are examples of artificiality of language, inaccuracies, and poor pedagogy; the recorded material technically "leaves much to be desired."

The programmed French course of the Center for Programmed Instruction is currently being tested in a New York City school. "An audio-lingual approach to teaching French at the secondary school level based on the most recent research conducted by European and American centers of applied linguistics," it "is being programmed for a synchronized sight and sound presentation" by "native speakers and experienced teachers of French." The most important characteristic of the course is that "it follows the syntactical, morphological and phonological habits of the users" (letter of Sara N. Thompson, 3 May 1963).

Under a contract with the USOE Albert Valdman is developing the Multiple Credit Elementary French Project at Indiana. Its purpose is "to determine in part to what extent the classroom teacher can be freed from the mechanical and routine tasks which constitute the major portion of the teacher's work in conventional FL instruction (traditional, New Key, or other)." It is a programmed course "in which each student moves at his own pace, learning by progress through minimal sequential steps." The student's ten-hour (45-minute-period) minimum week is spent in the laboratory with the exception of one large-class lecture and three twenty-minute display sessions. "Through library-type use of the lab, the student has an increased amount of individual practice and hears authentic native models . . . drilling phonological and grammatical structures and presenting

dialogues and narrative material His learning is guided, sequenced and paced by the recorded material and by a printed programmed workbook; he is provided with explanations of the spoken and written language as needed, with constant and varied review. The trained lab monitor sees to it that mistakes in sound perception and pronunciation do not become habitual. Testing also takes place in the laboratory." The remainder of the work week "is the province of the live teacher in contact with the individual student." The display sessions give the teachers the opportunity to work with each group of three or four students, "grouped homogeneously on the basis of MLAT scores, then changed according to student progress." Each student receives a great amount of individual attention from the teachers. The planners of the program believe that "the student needs to be led to use small sets of linguistic elements as he acquires them: he needs to be led into the rewarding experience of really speaking the FL rather than merely parroting basic sentences and pattern drills. No machine can make the student feel himself a part of the social situation; no machine can bring the student to recall and apply successfully to this situation his constantly growing stock of structural patterns and vocabulary; no machine can, while maintaining the rapid-fire pace of mutual conversation, tactfully seize the human occasion and spontaneously apply the exact language bridge as needed to sustain the flow of each student's contribution to the conversation" (Marian Walter, "Redefining Teacher Role," a paper read at the Kentucky FL Conference, 26 April 1963).

Asserting that "the best possible teaching machine [is] a teacher," Marcel Moraud of Hamilton College also stresses the use of programmed French courses and teaching machines as an aid to, not a substitute for the teacher. "The role of programming is to help the teacher, not try to replace him." Teaching machines and programmed FL courses "are not designed for classroom situations, but for individual learning." He is not sure that they can be used effectively in all individual learning, because "few persons have sufficient motivation to tackle a programmed course in a foreign language." In preparation for a language class, however, the machine can be very useful.

At the Kentucky FL Conference on 26 April 1963, Moraud outlined the present status of the program in his paper, "Teaching Machines and Programming of Foreign Languages." "The field of teaching machines and programming is somewhat chaotic," he said. After remarking that tape-recorder industries have adopted a standard reel which may be used by all recorders, and that the film industry has limited itself to three sizes of films, he stated that "teaching machines come in all forms and manners, and programmed material which is fed into these machines is presented in about

every shape and manner ever invented." In spite of the multiplicity of different types of machines and the limited number of available programs, he believes in "the future of teaching machines and programming," because "out of the present confusion will emerge an important contribution to education."

He pointed out that programmed instruction in foreign languages can be presented in three different manners: 1) in the generally used visual method, where "pictures or written questions are presented to the student and he is to work out the correct answer which he writes on an answer sheet. The visual type of frame can be presented in the many media available—mimeographed or printed material, films and film strips as well as slides." The visual frame "can be used in many aspects of language learning," for example, in vocabulary build up and in the teaching of grammar; 2) in the oral method where records and tapes are used. This method allows a student to "go through a dozen oral frames in the same time it would take him to complete a single visual frame." It does not require a special teaching machine, "as an ordinary tape recorder is quite adequate"; 3) in the most widely used method, "a combination of the above two methods." Moraud favors this method for "it is both pedagogically sound and linguistically acceptable to have a student learn simultaneously how to hear, speak, read, and write."

Answering those who hold "that the oral approach is the natural approach," since a child learns the oral language before it attempts to read and write, he remarks that an adult "should use all of his knowledge and experience to acquire a command of a foreign language. Since he knows how to read and write, since he has a command of English, since he has developed analytical and synthetic powers, he should use them."

This combination method requires an audio-visual teaching machine which must synchronize a visual frame with a recorded oral frame; it must repeat the oral frame as long as the student wants to hear it; it must register not only the written response, but also the oral response; it must then furnish the correct written and oral responses and allow the student to make the appropriate corrections; it must be simple in operation; and it must be reliable and not skip the visual or the oral, but remain perfectly synchronized.

Language Associations

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE first meeting of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Columbia College, New York, in December 1883, with forty members in attendance. "The first germ of founding" the new Association may well have been an account of the 1882 meeting of a section of modern languages of the German Philological Society, which the founder of the MLA, A. Marshall Elliott of Johns Hopkins, had almost certainly seen. The times were right for the formation of a strong association of modern-language teachers. In June 1883 Charles Francis Adams, in his Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, "The College Fetich," had scathingly arraigned preparatory and college training for practically excluding modern foreign languages and English in favor of Latin and Greek. Other factors prompted the calling of the convention: 1. The founding of Johns Hopkins in 1876 had given a great impetus to American graduate instruction. To Hopkins men and others prominent in the formation of the new society the organization of a national association of language teachers seemed the most effective way to improve the status of modern-language study. 2. Graduate instruction at Johns Hopkins was strongly influenced by Germanic scholarship and teaching methods. In Germany, where more and more American scholars had gone for advanced work, modern-language study was more highly regarded than in this country. Moreover, the German scholars were great organizers. 3. Modern-language teachers in America had an earnest desire to improve their academic status, to win public esteem for their work, to develop scholarship in their field, and to have a publication which would furnish a natural medium for American scholarship. 4. Modern languages had previously been held in slight regard, while the classics had been considered essential ingredients of education. In the days when popular education was bringing great increases in school population and a vast expansion of curricula, there was a spirit of "educational awakening and questioning and experimentation," which led to the growing tendency

to discard the classics and allow modern languages to fill the gap in the curriculum.

The address of welcome of the first meeting was given by President F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia, who expressed "his full sympathy with the objects of the meeting" and contrasted the opportunities for modern language study in 1883 as compared to his student days at Yale in 1828, when he had "no instruction in the subjects represented in the convention," and had had to study "painfully and alone the two languages, French and German, necessary to unlock the books his profession required him to know." It appears that no lady scholars attended the convention and that teachers of English were outnumbered about three to one.

As the first order of business, two committees were appointed: one to report on the expediency of a permanent organization, the other to draft an order of business for the session in progress. The second committee presented five topics for discussion, but time allowed only three to be treated: 1. The present condition of English, German, and French in our colleges, their needs as to the time and place they occupy in our systems of instruction, and requirements in these languages for admission and in college; 2. the methods of teaching the modern languages (inductive, deductive, eclectic); 3. the best expedients for raising the standard of these studies, and the chief material obstacles in their way.

The new Association concerned itself at its first meeting almost exclusively with pedagogical problems. Research, which was eventually to be the main interest of the MLA, was given slight attention. A member offered a resolution that it be the sense of the meeting that colleges teach *conversation* in German and French, but that this not interfere with the theoretical study of the languages. This resolution was tabled since it was felt that no practical action should be taken at the moment. A second resolution was then offered to the effect that no student should be graduated bachelor of arts without demonstrating facility in reading French and German. This was "enthusiastically" discussed until it became necessary to adjourn.

The second session concerned itself largely with a discussion of college entrance requirements in foreign languages and the status of language teaching in the secondary schools. A year later, A. Marshall Elliott summarized the first two sessions: because the North, West, and South varied so materially in the opportunities offered for language study, and because the systems of education were so diverse, and the age at which boys took up a foreign tongue was so varying, "it would seem at present impracticable to recommend any uniform rule for entrance to college." A strong feeling prevailed, however, that "it will not be long before some requirement in

the modern languages, just as for the classics, will generally be made by all institutions of good standing, and . . . that a reading knowledge of French and German should form one of the requisites for the degree of Bachelor of Arts."

The third session was devoted to methods of teaching modern languages: "empirical, inductive, historical, and eclectic." Several thought it was a disgrace to many who had studied French and German that when they went to France or Germany they were unable to make themselves understood. The Secretary said of this session: "Whatever is done must be done with the wants of our practical life kept constantly before us, and hence the struggle fairly entered upon here, between the purely practical and purely theoretical systems of teaching these languages. The old traditions have been severely shaken by the newcomer, the so-called Natural System, especially for the children, and the field is now divided into two hostile parties. . . . It is . . . most gratifying to see that the predominant opinion of the New York meeting was in favor of an eclectic system of instruction for the modern idioms; but for the advanced instruction, the members recognized the paramount importance of sound historical training as contrasted with the parrot-like procedures of the strictly Pestalozzian system."

The final session was devoted to the best expedients for raising the standards of the study of modern languages, and the chief obstacles. The question of an association journal was discussed. This was considered one of the most pressing needs: "it was urged that some one should set out upon the enterprise, and the support and encouragement of the members were assured" (*Proceedings* of 1884). Professor Edward L. Walter of the University of Michigan introduced the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously: "That, in the opinion of the Association, the chief aims to be sought in the study of modern languages in our colleges are literary culture, philological scholarship, and linguistic discipline, but that a course in oral practice is desirable as an auxiliary."

The report of the Committee on Organization was submitted and approved. A president, secretary, and executive council of eight were elected. President Franklin Carter of Williams College was elected president. A. Marshall Elliott of Johns Hopkins, Professor of Romance Languages, was named secretary. On the executive committee were such prominent teachers of French as H. C. G. Brandt of Hamilton College, Edward L. Walter of Michigan, and Alonzo Williams of Brown. Other French teachers who were present were Adolph Cohn of Columbia, Henry A. Todd of Johns Hopkins (President, 1906), James Henry Worman of Vanderbilt, and probably Charles F. Kroeh of Stevens Institute of Technology, the

originator of the "Living Method" of modern language instruction, and an early contributor to the *Proceedings*.

Among the prominent French teachers who were members during the early years of the Association were Alcée Fortier, Tulane (President, 1898), Edward S. Joynes, South Carolina College, A. Melville Bell, James Russell Lowell, Harvard (President, 1887-91), Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard (President, 1901), and Charles H. Grandgent, Harvard (Secretary, 1902-11, President, 1912). Many teachers of French, other than those already mentioned, have served as President of the Association: Frederick M. Warren, Yale, 1908, Edward C. Armstrong, Princeton, 1918-19, Raymond Weeks, Columbia, 1922, T. Atkinson Jenkins, Chicago, 1926, William A. Nitze, Chicago, 1929, Colbert Searles, Minnesota, 1935, H. Carrington Lancaster, Johns Hopkins, 1939, Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Oberlin, 1946, Gilbert Chinard, Princeton, 1956, and Henri Peyre, Yale, 1960.

The three first volumes of the official organ of the Association were called *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*. With volume four the present name, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (PMLA)*, was adopted. The historian of the Association recounts the various dangers through which it passed in the early years: the foreign fencing master and dancing master (i.e. the ubiquitous, unscholarly native teacher who taught the languages merely as an accomplishment), the natural scientists, who wished to make of modern language a handmaid of science, the advocates of catchy methods of instruction, and the extreme philological tendency.

In 1884 the Association commissioned two reports on the "present condition of instruction in modern languages in American colleges," one for the North and the other for the South. The report for the North states that the entrance requirement, if any, was too meager (only elementary grammar), that in about half the colleges canvassed language was not begun until the sophomore or junior year; that a third of the colleges had no foreign-language requirement at all, and that German was at a disadvantage compared to French. The report on the southern states revealed conditions inferior to those in the North but laid the blame chiefly on the dearth of preparatory schools. During Elliott's term as secretary, 1884-92, the Association had a slow but steady growth. The *Publications* printed many pedagogical papers, which decreased gradually in number as the cause of modern-language study prospered in the colleges. James W. Bright of Johns Hopkins followed Elliott as Secretary (1893-1901). At the beginning of his term there were only 367 members and 30 subscribing libraries. In 1894 *PMLA* accepted advertising for the first time.

After eighteen years at Johns Hopkins, the headquarters of the Associ-

ation were moved to Harvard, where they were to remain for another eighteen years. Charles H. Grandgent served as Secretary from 1902 to 1911. During this time the character of the Association underwent a gradual change. In 1903 the Pedagogical section disappeared, and by 1911 the Association was so absorbed in the advancement of research that it left to others all talk about teaching problems and enrollment. In 1927 the Association's official statement of purpose was to be changed from "the advancement of the study of the modern languages and their literatures" to the "advancement of research in" these fields. This exclusive concern with research was to continue until December 1946, when the following resolution by Secretary Long was unanimously adopted: the Association "in devoting itself to research does *not* abandon its original purpose, the advancement of the study of modern languages and literatures; the Association is opposed to curtailment of these subjects in the curricula of colleges and secondary schools; and it regards the mutual understanding of peoples through understanding of their languages and literatures as essential to the implementing of the social international obligations which our country has undertaken." It was not until 1951, however, that the Constitution was changed to redefine the purpose of the Association: "to promote study, criticism, and research in modern languages and their literatures." The latest version of the official instrument adds (1961): "and to further the common interests of teachers of these subjects." It further provides for "special investigations, or campaigns for public enlightenment," authorizes the raising of funds for this purpose, and makes the Advisory Committee of the Foreign Language Program a standing committee.

Charles H. Grandgent was succeeded in 1912 by his colleague, William Guild Howard, who served until 1919. The affairs of the Association were "for the most part quiet and uneventful," according to the following secretary, Carleton Brown. Secretary Howard, intent upon leaving the Association on a sound financial basis, established life memberships and a Permanent Fund. Andrew Carnegie, grateful for the Association's vote to use simplified spelling in its official publications and correspondence, gave \$5,000. During this period Latin enrollments in high schools were dropping and modern-language enrollments were increasing.

Under Carleton Brown (1920-34) the MLA became a large and vigorous learned society. The membership grew from 1487 in 1919 to 4267 in 1932. In September 1928, when Brown joined the New York University faculty, the headquarters were transferred to Washington Square. Brown collected funds to start a Monograph Series in 1926 and received \$5,000 from the Carnegie Foundation for a Revolving Fund Series. The annual bibliography

of American Scholarship was begun in 1922. At the suggestion of President John Manly, the program of the annual meeting was revised and research groups were added. The Association and its annual meetings became increasingly devoted to research activities, in accordance with the President's expressed desire. The Carnegie Corporation gave \$25,000 for general support over a period of five years. In 1920 the Association became affiliated with the American Council of Learned Societies, and as a consequence, in 1934, it created a Committee on Research Activities. The Association stood officially aloof when the Carnegie supported Modern Language Study (1923-28) attempted to analyze and remedy the deteriorating situation of modern-language study.

From 1935 to 1947, Percy W. Long's task as Secretary was to consolidate the previous gains and to hold the Association together during World War II. Partly with the aid of subsidies from the ACLS, he inaugurated a third general series of books and edited and published a total of fifty-one titles. In 1936 he supervised the compilation of an index to the first fifty volumes of *PMLA*. In 1942 and 1943 the annual meetings were canceled. Membership increased rapidly after the war.

Over the years the Association had named several important committees and commissions whose reports had far-reaching influence on the policies and methods of modern-language teaching. In 1896 a "Committee of Twelve" was appointed with Calvin Thomas of Columbia as chairman, and three years later, in cooperation with the National Education Association, it issued an influential report on modern-foreign-language study that advocated the same method as that proposed by the Committee of Ten of NEA of 1893: extensive reading, really translation of graded texts, reinforced by the study of grammar, and a small amount of oral drill. It detailed the work for the first two years of language study rather fully but gave only a sketchy account of that of the third and fourth years. This gave the unfortunate and erroneous impression that two years of language study were to be considered the norm for the typical secondary school. The report, endorsed by the NEA, had a tremendous influence upon the teaching of modern languages in America. It served as a handbook of method for many years. Bagster-Collins says (p. 46): "When it appeared there was little material readily accessible in this country dealing with the teaching of modern languages. In brief compass, the report contains well-put statements of values . . . and brief but admirable analyses of various language methods then employed; the grammar, natural, psychological, phonetic, and reading methods."

In 1939 the Association appointed a Commission on Trends in Education, which held numerous meetings and made annual reports. It published

several pamphlets, including *Language Study in American Education* (1941), *The Study of Literature in American Education* (1941), and a survey of the ASTP language classes (1944). In the annual report for 1950 the committee made a strong declaration: "The research of the MLA cannot exist by itself; it must rest upon a broad base of work in the schools and colleges of the country. The promotion and support of the study of English and of foreign languages at all levels must therefore be a matter of continuing concern to the Association."

In 1947 William Riley Parker, a Milton scholar, began a brilliant nine-year term as Secretary of the Association. As Edwin H. Zeydel has said in *The Teaching of German in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present*, "The choice of Parker was indeed a happy one. He was devoted to scholarship; he bristled with ideas, he was dynamic and had a facility for getting things done; he was persuasive and gifted with a delightful sense of humor. Moreover, he deliberately turned his back upon the tactics of previous champions of language study. He did not attack or ridicule the opponents, but used a strictly positive approach. A tireless worker . . . he had quickly realized the seriousness of the situation in which the foreign languages found themselves. This despite the fact that they were hardly germane to his own professional interests." Being a teacher of English and having no vested interests in modern foreign languages, he was in a strategic position as the leader of a strong and respected learned society. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with professional educators, graduate school deans, the ACLS Board of Directors, and the Executive Committee of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, of which two bodies he was a member.

Parker welcomed the resolution of December 1946 as a statement of the Association's long range policy and immediately set out to put it into effect. He wished to continue and strengthen the Association's efforts to advance scholarship, to make more evident the essential unity of an Association devoted to the promotion of *all* modern languages and literatures, and to see the Association broaden its perspective and assume a leading role in redefining and reasserting the importance of humane studies in American life. On 27 April 1952, supported by the Executive Council of the Association, he requested from the Rockefeller Foundation a grant to make possible an ambitious Foreign Language Program. His basic assumption was that "the active part that the United States is now taking in world affairs makes it desirable that a greater number of Americans than ever before have a knowledge of foreign languages and cultures." Happily the Rockefeller Foundation shared his views, and in June of that year it made a grant of \$120,000 for the period 1952-55, to which it later

added \$115,000 for 1955-58. (See Parker's "Report on the Foreign Language Program" in *PMLA*, March 1954.)

As Director of the FL Program, Parker had the advice of a committee known first as the Steering Committee. Three of the seven members of this committee taught French: Theodore Andersson, Stephen A. Freeman, Howard L. Nostrand. Beginning in 1955 the AAT's were asked to appoint liaison representatives to the Committee. The AATF representatives have been Renée Fulton, James Grew, Gordon Silber, Elton Hocking. In 1958 the committee was formally divided into an Advisory Committee of five members appointed by the MLA Executive Council, and a Liaison Committee of five members, one appointed by each AAT. Austin Fife of Utah State University and Laurent LeSage of Pennsylvania State University are the current representatives of French on the two committees.

In his "Report on the Foreign Language Program" in *PMLA*, March 1954, Parker outlined the activities of the first years of the program as follows: "we proposed to survey the foreign language situation in the United States and to see what can be done to improve it. We allowed ourselves three years to learn the most important facts and to *begin*, at least, the long process of persuading both the public and our own profession that a changed world demands changed attitudes toward foreign language study." During the four years that he directed the program, *PMLA* printed over 400 pages of material dealing with the progress of the undertaking. *FL Program Bulletins* were sent regularly to teachers and administrators in every state.

To enable the Program directors to speak with precision about the neglect of languages in our public schools, the FL Program began to publish, in September 1955, a series of Statistical reports: FL entrance and degree requirements, for B.A., B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees, language laboratory facilities, radio and television FL courses, and a study of the teaching of languages in colleges of education. Before Parker left the directorship he had the satisfaction of seeing the Executive Council of the MLA declare "the essential elements of the current FL Program to be a permanent concern of the MLA, eventually to be included in the annual budget." In his "What's Past is Prologue" in *PMLA*, April 1956, in answer to his own question, "Is the FL Program, so opulently supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, succeeding in its purpose?" he gave a qualified "Yes." "Improvement is actually taking place, both in the teaching of languages and in the public attitude toward language study," he said. Admitting that some of these changes would have occurred "had the MLA never poked its nose outside the library," he added that "the FL Program was born at exactly the right moment. It provided a national forum for scattered voices

of sanity; it placed alert fingers on the changing pulse of public opinion; it offered language teachers at all levels of education a center, and a sense of coordinated effort toward common ends. In sum, it gave us the means to direct and accelerate various forces that were already working vaguely in our favor."

For a succinct account of Secretary Parker's contributions to the Association and to the cause of language study one may read George Winchester Stone's report in the Seventy-fifth Anniversary issue of *PMLA* (December 1958), where he speaks of his many articles, his "enlivening speeches," his service in representing the MLA on many councils and planning committees outside the scope of the Association, his discovery and presentation of innumerable facts about the status of foreign-language teaching, and his influential UNESCO booklet, *The National Interest and Foreign Languages* (1954, revised in 1957 and 1961).

Another important accomplishment was the decision to invite the regional MLA's to affiliate formally with the national Association. The presidents of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, the Rocky Mountain MLA, the South Central MLA, the South Atlantic MLA, and the newly established Midwest MLA now attend and take part in the meetings of the MLA Executive Council. "Since 1952," says Stone, "a new vibrancy now animating the teaching of foreign languages has appeared, along with a new impetus toward cooperative efforts and effective action made possible only by the participation of many persons." Over 300 teachers, educators, and administrators came to the MLA offices for a series of conferences. With the help of these and others a network of communication was established throughout the country for promoting the study of foreign languages. During Parker's term the membership nearly doubled. Important additions were made to *PMLA*: a news and editorial section, "For Members Only," annual lists of department chairmen, a directory of useful addresses, a list of fellowships and grants available to members, and a valuable finding list.

The first Associate Director of the FL Program was C. Grant Loomis of the University of California at Berkeley, who served in 1952-53. He was succeeded by Donald D. Walsh of the Choate School (1953-55), Theodore Andersson of Yale (1955-57), and Kenneth Mildemberger (1957-58). When Mildemberger joined Parker in the Language Development Section of the U. S. Office of Education, Archibald T. MacAllister of Princeton was pressed into emergency service until June 1959, when Donald Walsh returned as Director of the FL Program, now located at 4 Washington Place, New York 3, N. Y. Under Parker's successors the activities of the FL Program have continued unabated. Printed reports have been

sent regularly to a long list of key persons. Lists of high-school teachers of modern languages, with their addresses, were assembled and supplied without charge to the other language associations, such as the AATF, to aid materially in increasing their membership. Helpful hints on realia and their use have been distributed. The Program has encouraged and helped develop the use of audio-lingual-visual aids. It deserves due credit for its support of the FLES movement. The FL Program regularly sends newsletters to editors of state foreign-language bulletins and to state foreign-language supervisors. Late in 1961 it published its 326-page *Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages*.

The MLA Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington was established in 1959 on a three-year experimental basis to serve as a clearing house and informal coordinating body in the application of linguistic science to practical language problems. Its principal areas of emphasis are the teaching of English as a foreign language, the teaching of Asian and African languages in the United States, and the incorporation of the findings of linguistic science into the American educational system. The Center publishes a bimonthly newsletter, *The Linguistic Reporter*, which contains news stories, book notices, announcements of positions open in the field, and schedules of meetings. It maintains a library, a roster of linguists, an information service, and it conducts numerous conferences. It has already published an impressive list of special language materials. It is financed primarily through grants from the Ford Foundation: \$200,000 for a three-year experimental period, 1959-62, and \$1,300,000 in October 1961 in support of the Center for the next five years. It has undertaken contracts with the U. S. Office of Education, the International Cooperation Administration, and other government agencies. Charles A. Ferguson, appointed by the MLA Executive Council, is its director.

One of the most important results of the FL Program was its help in creating the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Parker's *The National Interest and Foreign Languages* was the chief discussion paper at the March 1957 Office of Education conference on language needs in government agencies, attended by fifty-six officials representing twenty agencies. This conference resulted in the initial formulation of Title VI of the NDEA. The same book furnished most of the arguments subsequently presented to the Congress. It was indeed fortunate for the cause of foreign-language study that when, a few months after the President had signed the Act on 2 September 1958, authorizing something over \$1 billion in Federal aid, Parker, then Distinguished Service Professor of English at Indiana University, was willing and able to serve as Chief of the Language Development Section (Title VI) of the Office of Education, charged with carrying

out the provisions of the Act. From November 1958 until July of the following year—when he was relieved by Kenneth Mildenberger, already an Office of Education consultant—he commuted weekly from Bloomington, Indiana. Had it not been for the experience and lessons of the MLA FL Program gained by Parker, Mildenberger, Marjorie C. Johnston—first specialist for foreign languages in the Office of Education—and their associates, there would have been endless confusion and a multiplication of false moves in implementing the provisions of the NDEA.

Secretary George Winchester Stone, Jr. (1957–63), could say, as had Parker of Percy Long, that “it fell to his lot to consolidate the gains made by his predecessor.” He saw as his task the execution of “the jugglery of simultaneous consolidation and advancement.” In the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Issue of *PMLA* he listed his chief duties: 1. organizing the staff, 2. meeting with as many MLA committees as possible, 3. discussing with foundation representatives support for projects which the humanistic and linguistic activities of the Association had generated, 4. obtaining foundation support for a series of conferences of editors of learned journals, 5. providing humanistic scholarship in the modern languages and literatures with a single current bibliography, international in scope and comprehensive in coverage, 6. putting into execution the directive of the Executive Council to develop a program for improving the teaching of English language and literature, 7. insuring that the Association play its part in the best interests of international understanding, and 8. editing *PMLA* and reducing its backlog (*PMLA*, December 1958).

The new Secretary could hardly have foreseen at that time that there would be many additional duties which would fall to his lot during the years of his tenure. At the 1960 annual meeting of the Association he reported on the activities of his office. There were then 11,610 members. *PMLA* had printed seventy-nine articles during the year, of which fifty-seven were studies in English, thirteen in French, ten in German, and four each in Spanish and Italian. The Association had published a number of books and booklets, the most significant of which was *Modern Spanish*. New and revised teacher's guides in French, German, and Spanish had appeared. The Center for Applied Linguistics had published bibliographical tools for teaching English as a second language and for basic courses in linguistics and in the neglected languages. It had reprinted, with the permission of the Foreign Service Institute, Unit One of *Spoken French*. In a cooperative venture with Holt it was preparing a paperback volume, *Issues, Problems and Approaches in the Teaching of English*. It had produced fifteen reels on the teaching of languages in cooperation with Teaching Film Custodians. It had arranged many committee meetings and

conferences, several charter flights to Europe, and had conducted a very useful faculty exchange at its annual meetings (*PMLA*, March 1961). At the same meeting the Executive Council urged the government to carry out a program which would include: 1. the continuation and expansion of the Language Institute Program, the Center Program, and the Research Program; 2. the extension of fellowships on a broader basis, including undergraduates; 3. increases in fellowships for foreign-language study abroad; 4. creation of an Institute program for improving the teaching of English domestically and for including the teaching of English as a second language; and 5. supplying aid to other elements in humanistic studies.

Secretary Stone's term of office has been marked with great activity and the successful execution of many intricate tasks. Under him the membership has grown rapidly: there were 12,950 members in 1961, and 15,000 in 1962. In the spring of 1963 the offices were moved from the quarters furnished without cost by New York University at 6 Washington Square North to rented offices at 4 Washington Place. On 1 September 1963 John Hurt Fisher, a former MLA treasurer and recently Professor of English of Indiana University, assumed Secretary Stone's labors.

THE NEW ENGLAND MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

Whereas the "teachers who founded the Modern Language Association of America in 1883 were . . . determined to make their subjects academically respectable—which meant difficult and disciplinary—the inevitable model being the best teaching of Latin and Greek" (Parker, p. 84), those who organized the New England Modern Language Association on 12 December 1903 had "a rather more practical" aim, "to bridge over—partly at least—the gap in the teaching of modern languages between colleges and secondary schools" (James Geddes, Jr., "The New England Modern Language Association" in *Bostonia*, Jan. 1907). The idea of launching the association had been in the minds of several educators, especially those in the Boston area, for some time, but it remained for Maro S. Brooks of the Brookline High School and William B. Snow of the Boston English High School "to unite and bring the movement into successful operation."

The call "for the purpose of forming an Association" had been sent to leading teachers in all sections of New England, and it brought together some 175 persons interested in the teaching of modern languages. Teachers of French and German far outnumbered those of the other modern languages, but several teachers of English, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese were present "and fully alive to the interests of their specialty." Mr. Brooks presided and Mr. Snow acted as secretary of the organization

meeting. Letters of encouragement were read from several important personages, notably President Eliot and Professor Grandgent of Harvard.

Professor (of German) H. C. G. Bierwirth of Harvard and Mr. Snow were the first speakers. They sounded the keynote of the new organization: closer relations between college and secondary-school teachers of languages, and "the need of differentiating the aims of the Association from those of existing organizations for promoting language study." Mr. Snow proposed that meetings be held at least once a month and that there be no set papers on learned subjects at the monthly and annual meetings, but rather a free interchange of the members' own observations on teaching languages, on the preparation of textbooks, and on recent pedagogic events. A draft of the proposed constitution was presented and was voted article by article. The officers were to be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who with five other elected members should constitute the Board of Directors. The first officers were: President, William B. Snow, Vice-Presidents, H. C. G. Bierwirth, James Geddes, Jr., of Boston University, and Frank Vogel of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Secretary, Maro S. Brooks, and Treasurer, Jane A. McClellan of Dorchester High School. Five secondary-school teachers were named to complete the Board of Directors.

During January 1904 there were several meetings of the board at Boston University. President Snow submitted a suggested draft of the objects and duties of the organization: (1) to promote friendly relations among teachers of modern languages, (2) to conduct investigations and answer questions in the field, and (3) to tabulate, record, and file the results. Dr. Josselyn of Boston University was appointed Librarian. He subscribed to French, German, and general language reviews and built up a library of works supplied by the publishers of modern-language texts, principally French and German, with a few in Spanish and Italian.

The topics of discussion at the early sessions show that the Association was holding close to its announced purposes. At the second annual meeting the chief topic was "Opportunities for Special Preparation on the Part of Modern-Language Teachers," with discussions of leaves of absence for study in Europe and European summer schools. Professor Julius Sachs of Columbia spoke on "The German Reform Method and its Adaptability to American Conditions." Subsequent annual gatherings considered such matters as "Shall the Preparatory Schools be Held to a Definite and Uniform Course in Modern Languages as they are in Latin, Greek, and English?" "Methods of Using the Modern Languages Orally in the Classroom," and a report of the committee on college entrance requirements in French and German.

The Association's first official organ was called *Publications* (1905-10). In 1912 the first number of the *Bulletin* appeared. More recently the title was *Bulletin, New Series*. Its last number came out in 1953. For many years it was edited by Joseph Brown, Jr., of the University of Connecticut. At the present time the Association prints only an annual list of members.

In 1915 the NEMLA, with its 500 members, hesitated to join the other groups which were attempting to establish a journal for language teachers, but a year later it voted to affiliate with the Eastern Federation, and guaranteed \$200 (subscriptions for 200 members) for the proposed *Modern Language Journal*, which was to begin to appear in October. When, in June 1919, the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers was formally organized in Milwaukee, William B. Snow of the NEMLA was named its first president.

Through the years the Association has remained true to its original policy of bridging "the gap in the teaching of Modern Languages between colleges and secondary schools," as seen in its programs and in the selection of its officers. During the past twenty years the presidency has been held by teachers of the two levels in almost equal numbers. Teachers of French have consistently held positions of responsibility as officers or directors of its publications. Recently the following have served as president: Helen E. Patch of Mt. Holyoke College, Max Levine of the Boston Latin School, Dorothy M. Bement of the Northampton School for Girls, Kathryn L. O'Brien of the Brookline High School, Herbert Myron of Boston University, Joseph Stookins of the Loomis School, Edward J. Powers of the Boston Technical High School, Father Joseph Gauthier of Boston College, William N. Locke of M. I. T., Hunter Kellenberger of Brown University, and Father Leon Bourke of St. Anselm's College.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION AND *The Modern Language Journal*

Before the *Modern Language Journal* appeared in October 1916, there had been no national journal for the teaching of modern languages save the *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, later called the *Monatsheft für deutschen Unterricht*, published at the University of Wisconsin. In the earlier years *PMLA* had printed numerous articles on the methods and aims of modern language teachers, especially those of French and German. Other more general educational publications (*School Review*, *Educational Review*, *Journal of Education*) printed occasional articles on modern-foreign-language teaching, as did the *Publications* of the National Education Association. "The proceedings or bulletins of active regional, state, or local modern language associations (notably those of New England, New York State, and Wisconsin) also contained 'highly valuable' material"

(H. G. Doyle in *MLJ*, Oct. 1956). There was a strong feeling in the 1910's that there was a need for a national journal devoted exclusively to the teaching of modern foreign languages on the school and college levels and a national organization representing both these levels and all languages commonly taught.

This feeling led to an informal gathering during the annual meeting of the MLA at Columbia University in December 1914 of three regional modern language associations: New England, New York State, and the Middle States and Maryland. A committee of fifteen, five from each of the three associations, was appointed. This committee met at Columbia on 20 February 1915, reached agreement on several points for the formation of a federation, and adopted a tentative constitution, subject to ratification by their respective associations. For its projected organ the name *Journal of Modern Language Teaching* was proposed. Meanwhile the members of the foreign-language departments of the University of Chicago were formulating plans for the establishment of a journal devoted to the teaching of modern foreign languages, to be printed by the University of Chicago Press. When the Chicago group was informed by Chairman Kayser of the proposed federation in the East and its plans for a journal, it promptly withdrew, remarking that two journals "would be little short of a calamity."

In December 1915 the eastern and central divisions of MLA held a union meeting in Cleveland. By this time the Association of Modern Language Teachers of the Central West and South had come into being. On 29 December representatives of the eastern federation and the Central West and South Association met at Adelbert College for an interchange of views. Although it seemed too early to propose the combining of the two bodies into a national federation, the representatives agreed to join forces in publishing a journal, to be called *The Modern Language Journal*, and named Bagster-Collins Managing Editor. Adolph Busse and Algernon Coleman of the University of Chicago were chosen joint Business Managers. Associate editors were selected, equally divided between the East and the Middle West, and between the Romance and Germanic languages. The delegates pledged personally a guarantee fund of \$1000 for the initial expenses of the *Journal*, to begin in October 1916.

On 5 February 1916 the delegates from the New England MLA reported these developments to their Board of Directors, who voted to join the eastern Federation for one year and to guarantee \$200 (200 subscriptions to the *Journal*). At Cleveland the Central West and South Association proposed to make membership include subscription, but the New England group hesitated to guarantee subscriptions from its nearly 500 members.

On 12 February in New York City, the NEMLA terms were accepted by the eastern Federation, and the Federation of Modern Language Teachers, with members from Maine to Maryland, became a reality.

From 1916 to 1919, the eastern organization devoted itself principally to the promotion of the new journal and to preparing a modern-language program at the annual meetings of the National Education Association. The offices rotated among the elected officers of the several constituent associations. Until 1919 the body of resolutions of 1915, known as the Cleveland agreement, served as the official instrument for the joint publishing venture of the eastern and central bodies.

Editor Bagster-Collins made it clear from the beginning that the *MLJ* was, "before all else, intended to help the secondary school teaching of modern languages" (I, 117). He regretted that only one out of ten of the manuscripts submitted for publication were from secondary-school teachers. He printed only pedagogical articles, declaring that the *Journal* was "primarily intended to be a teachers' journal," for which he solicited "practical, helpful material," "contributions dealing with actual problems of teaching" (I, 41). The eight issues of Volume I totalled 328 pages. Volumes II and III contained 390 and 392 pages. He printed articles, reviews, an annual bibliography of modern-language methodology, "News and Notes," reporting the meetings of the constituent associations, a "Question and Answer" section, and a department of "Suggestions and References."

In June 1919 an Executive Committee, made up of the representatives of the constituent associations, met in Milwaukee and formally organized the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers, with William B. Snow of the Boston Public Schools as its first President. Other French teachers who have served as president over the years: Arthur G. Canfield, Michigan, Charles W. French, Boston University, Casimir D. Zdanowicz, Wisconsin; Lilly Lindquist, Detroit Public Schools, William Milwitzky, Newark Public Schools, Stephen A. Freeman, Middlebury, and Leon Dostert, Georgetown. The following French teachers have been Managing Editor: Algernon Coleman, Charles H. Holzwarth, Rochester Public Schools, and Henri C. Olinger, New York University. Charles E. Young, Charles W. French, Stephen L. Pitcher, and Henry G. Doyle have served as Federation Secretary. Since its organization in 1919, many state and regional bodies have been affiliated, some permanently, others temporarily, with the Federation. In addition to the charter members, the constituent organizations are the Pennsylvania State MLA and the five AAT's.

Editor Coleman, who served from 1919 to 1922, immediately increased the size of the *Journal*, printing 462 pages in his first volume and 482 and

490 in his second and third. He continued the annual bibliography, expanded greatly the "Notes and News" section, and built up a corps of eighteen regional news suppliers. With the April 1920 issue he added a "correspondence" section. He included reviews in each issue and increased the number of pages devoted to them.

J. P. Wickersham Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania was Managing Editor, 1922-26. Among his innovations was an annual list of Ph.D.'s in modern languages. He continued to print occasional literary news and information about summer courses abroad. Unlike his predecessors, he published a considerable amount of literary and semi-scholarly material along with pedagogical articles.

Bayard Quincy Morgan, Professor of German at Wisconsin, was Managing Editor from 1926 to 1930. His Business Manager was C. H. Hand-schin of Miami University. Reversing Crawford's policy of publishing literary articles, Morgan kept the *Journal* almost exclusively pedagogical. He increased the personal notices and made his news section lively and readable by frequent editorializing. He prefaced ten of his issues with long editorials, crusading for foreign travel, attendance at professional meetings, and unity among language teachers. The nearly 600 pages of reviews that he printed were almost twice those printed by Crawford. As William R. Parker says: "Morgan's most eloquent and most widely noticed crusade was against the spirit of separatism in the language profession. He regretted that the Spanish teachers had ever formed a national organization, for he saw it forcing others to form one-language groups, and he thought that the principle inhibited the effective growth of the state associations within the normal framework of state educational associations." But by 1927 the teachers of Italian (1925), French, and German had completed their organizations and in January 1928 three competitors to the *MLJ* appeared simultaneously: the revived *Monatshefte*, the *French Review*, and the *German Quarterly*.

In spite of competition, *The Modern Language Journal* has appeared eight times a year, in fair weather or foul, through two wars and a depression, without any subsidy or support outside of its own constituency, associations, subscribers, and advertisers. Under Editor Doyle (1934-38) literary and research articles were eliminated to a large extent because of ample opportunities for publication by other journals, such as *PMLA*, *MLN*, *MLQ*, *Romanic Review*, and *Germanic Review*. Under succeeding editors pedagogical articles have predominated. At the present time a typical number might have five articles on teaching problems and two or three of a literary or cultural nature. In the most recent volume, in addition to the articles and book reviews, there are Personalia, a list of Ph.D.'s

in modern languages, a section devoted to Audio-Visual aids, books received, and notes and news.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF FRENCH

It was William R. Price, Supervisor of Modern Languages for the State of New York, who brought about the creation of the AATF. In November 1926, he had helped to establish a New York Chapter of Teachers of German, which soon evolved into the American Association of Teachers of German. Jacob Greenberg, then Supervisor of Language Instruction in the New York Junior High Schools, and later for many years Associate Superintendent of the New York City Board of Education, recalls a coffee-hour at Grand Central Station in the fall of 1926, when he and Dr. Price talked about the desirability of seeking the co-operation of other French teachers for a study on word frequencies, which Dr. Greenberg was then making. "This led to a discussion of the possibility of organizing a state and perhaps later a national organization for discussion of problems of mutual interest and for the promotion and improvement of the study of French" (letter of Dr. Greenberg 27 October 1961).

Shortly thereafter the matter was outlined to Charles A. Downer, Head of the Romance Language Department of the College of the City of New York, "who agreed to lend his support to the planning of the organization." Later meetings of these three at the National Arts Club and the homes of Drs. Price and Greenberg were followed by other planning sessions at which several distinguished persons participated, among whom were Alexander G. H. Spiers of Columbia, Henri Olinger of New York University, Edmond Méras of Adelphi College, Hélène Harvitt of Brooklyn College, and J. J. Champenois, director of an important French book-importing house. This group decided to call together the heads of college and high-school French departments and the presidents of a few local French teachers' associations to consider organization.

Although in an article in the first number of the *French Review*, Dr. Downer said: "The credit for the founding of the AATF, as of the AATG, goes to Dr. William R. Price," it was really Dr. Downer himself who must be considered the founder in the strict sense. In the words of the second President of the Association, Bert Edward Young: "He [Downer] was the torch bearer, the man to rally both college and high school teachers to form a powerful nucleus in the Metropolitan area. With his Maecenas connections in the City, he raised the sinews of war for the nation-wide publicity that brought very rapid results over the country." Dr. Price and those whom he had consulted at these informal gatherings deemed it wise to lay the foundation of the new Association in a Metropolitan Chap-

ter. He called an exploratory meeting at the College of the City of New York in January 1927. Dr. Greenberg presided. John Hay Finley, President of the College and later editor of the *New York Times*, made the address of welcome. Dr. Price then presented his proposition. He was followed by Dr. Downer, Alexander G. H. Spiers, Albert Cru, Edmond Méras, Henri Olinger, Coleman D. Frank, Claudine Gray, and others. Edmond Méras, first Secretary of the AATF, recalls that there were "doubting Thomases," who argued that French teachers, unlike their colleagues in German and Spanish, were too independent to cooperate effectively. Dr. Price "listened patiently until the group was all but convinced of the futility of trying to organize a society." Whereupon he announced that there were enthusiastic bodies of teachers in other New York cities who were ready to launch the Association, and that if New York City did not want the opportunity to lead the movement it would be organized without the City. Then, at the suggestion of Dr. Spiers that the organization of a Metropolitan Chapter of French teachers be effected immediately, there was a unanimous expression of approval. They decided, however (after having named a nominating committee and one for the writing of a constitution), to call a much larger and more representative organization meeting of all of New York City's French teachers.

This meeting was held in February 1927 at the French Institute with Jacob Greenberg presiding and some three hundred French teachers attending. Dr. Downer was unanimously elected President of the Metropolitan Chapter of the AATF; Raymond Weeks, Alexander Spiers, and Claudine Gray, Vice-Presidents; Edmond Méras, Secretary; Simeon Klafter, Treasurer; Edward Perry, Business Manager of a projected journal; Albert Cru, Librarian, and Henri Olinger, Editor. Three Honorary Vice-Presidents, John Hay Finley, Frederick Starr, and Paul Van Dyke, were elected because of their help in the undertaking.

The group adopted a temporary constitution which was to be valid until a nation-wide association could be established. In the meantime the officers of the Metropolitan Chapter were to serve as those of the general association. The governing body was a Board of Directors, who were to be delegated by each Chapter as it was formed, one Director for every forty members. From the very beginning the ultimate goal was to enroll all the teachers of French in the United States and have them organized in Chapters. This early decision to stress the importance and autonomy of local Chapters was to prove very wise. Today there are fifty-five such groups throughout the country, without whose support the AATF would surely be a much less powerful and firmly established society.

Dr. Downer set about immediately to raise the funds for the travel,

publicity, office expenses, and the official organ, the *French Review*. He was a driver and an inspirer. He secured influential backers and was supported by realistic officers of whom he expected and obtained results. "He was always after us," wrote Bert Young in 1947. Necessary funds for the initial expenses were quickly raised. Among the contributors were Dr. and Mrs. Price, J. Pierpont Morgan, James F. Mason of Cornell, Albert Cru, Jacob Greenberg, and Frederick Starr, former president of the Alliance Française of New York, who donated \$1,000.00. Dr. Downer spent hundreds of dollars of his own money for necessary travel and propaganda. Dr. Price went from town to town up-state, visiting schools and preaching the gospel of the AATF. Membership checks, amounting to \$900.00 in a little more than a week, are said to have nearly disrupted the Treasurer's office.

During the spring of 1927 nine Chapters were organized outside the Metropolitan area in the state of New York, all of which elected officers, including Directors. Stephen A. Bush, the second AATF Treasurer, once said: "The main function of a body like this is to publish a magazine." And so in November of 1927 the first issue of the *French Review* appeared. Four thousand copies were printed in the hope that there would soon be that number of members. James F. Mason of Cornell University was the first Editor, replacing Henri Olinger, who declined the editorship to which he had been elected. Editor Mason was assisted by several Associate Editors, among whom was Hélène Harvitt, who became Editor-in-Chief in 1930 and served with distinction until 1955.

In the leading article of the first number, President Downer pointed out that one of the chief objects of the Association was "the mutual advantage that comes of contact among those who are performing different parts of the same general task. It seeks to help each and every teacher to complete his personal equipment, to enrich his mental life, to solve his individual problems. . . . We must show that we are competent teachers of the French language, knowing it well, and able to teach those entrusted to our care to understand through the ear and through the eye, to speak it acceptably, and to appreciate and enjoy the great literature to which it is the key."

In December 1929, the first annual meeting was held in the Hotel Statler in Cleveland, Ohio, concurrently with the meetings of the MLA. There were about fifty present, including "many of the most noted college and university teachers." Dr. Downer gave an encouraging report of the activities of the Association. There were already sixteen active Chapters, and three volumes of the *French Review* had been published, "though, alas, not fully financed." He indicated the desirability of eliminating the

metropolitan control of the destinies of the Association and the need of substituting a new constitution for the old. He read portions of the Treasurer's report, which showed a deficit of twenty-one cents. He then read a proposed new constitution, which was adopted provisionally with certain amendments. This document was published in the February 1930 issue of the *French Review*. In less than two hours the meeting adjourned "with a feeling of much accomplished and of great possibilities ahead."

The new Association's first great test came in 1930. During the financial depression President Downer had carried the *French Review* and the general expenses on his own credit. There was a deficit and a large bill with the printer. In June he exposed the situation to Vice-President Bert E. Young and assumed the whole responsibility for the debt. Since he was on the point of sailing for Europe, he told Bert Young that he planned to notify his attorney the following day of this contingency and to instruct him to add a codicil to his will to cover the Association in case of any accident to him. He said that he planned to endow the Association eventually. He was not aware that he was already a very sick man, and he failed to have the promised codicil attached to his will. He died suddenly in August 1930 while on a walking tour in Switzerland. A commemorative service was held at Columbia University under the auspices of the Metropolitan Chapter. In October 1930, some three thousand students, faculty, and friends gathered at City College to pay him tribute. The October 1930 issue of the *French Review* has thirty-three pages of eulogies to him from those with whom he had worked most closely and from Ambassadors Jusserand and Claudel and Consul General Mongendre.

Bert E. Young of Indiana University assumed the heavy task of guiding the Association immediately after Dr. Downer's death. He approached the executors of Dr. Downer's estate and, after strong representations, persuaded them to recognize Dr. Downer's manifest intention to take up the deficit. The AATF received \$658.13 to pay the printer, who was then in sore straits. The new President established the principle of a periodic change in the Association's management personnel. New Vice-Presidents were chosen and additions made to the staff of the *French Review*. Stephen A. Bush of Iowa State University assumed the post of Secretary-Treasurer for a three-year term. New Chapters had recently been formed in the Lehigh Valley area, Boston, Indiana, Ohio, Southern California, and Colorado.

The 1930 meeting was held in Washington, D. C. Ambassador and Mme. Paul Claudel offered a reception to a delegation representing the Association. The distinguished Ambassador remarked, in reference to the recently published Coleman report, that "the education of the mind is

best accomplished through the ear," thus adding his strong official voice in support of Dr. Downer's pronouncement of 1927 concerning the importance of the spoken language, a point of view which was stoutly defended by many of our leaders of the thirties and which has continued to be our policy to the present day.

Nearly one hundred members attended the second annual business meeting. President Young reported that the Association had "demonstrated its vitality by increasing its membership and paying off the deficit, in the face of many untoward circumstances." The new Constitution, which had been discussed at the first annual meeting, was now considered article by article and was officially adopted with several changes. By this time there were additional Chapters in Washington, Chicago, and Iowa.

At the next meeting, held at Wisconsin in December 1931, President Young announced a membership of 1100 and three new Chapters. The Treasurer expressed the hope that "the Association may be free of debt by the end of the year." Considerable portions of the Association's funds had been tied up by the closing of three banks in Iowa City, but resourceful Treasurer Bush had managed somehow to keep the organization in operation.

The 1932 meeting was held at Yale, with President Émile B. de Sauzé presiding. The Treasurer reported that there were forty-four fewer members than the previous year, but that, in spite of the financial crisis, the Association owed nothing and was in a position to pay for the publication of the *French Review* until the end of the year. A new Constitution and By-laws, written by President Young and Secretary-Treasurer Bush, were adopted and published in the *Review*. Many of the provisions of this document are still in effect.

A year later the annual meeting, attended by only thirty-one members, was held in St. Louis. Retiring Treasurer Bush announced that debts amounting to more than \$2,000.00 had been liquidated during his incumbency. The membership had dropped by nearly 200 during the year, a reflection of the continuing financial crisis. Louis Mercier of Harvard became President and James B. Tharp of Ohio State University was the new Secretary-Treasurer. Immediately upon assuming office they inaugurated a vigorous campaign of expansion. They created regional Vice-Presidents, who were to study conditions in their areas and to enlist energetic collaborators. The results were encouraging. At the annual meeting, which for the first time lasted a whole day, in December 1934 in Philadelphia, it was announced that there were more than 1250 members, that six new Chapters had been born, and that there were embryonic Chapters in ten other areas.

The following year the deficits had been completely wiped out and there was a surplus of nearly \$500.00. By the time of the annual meeting in Cincinnati in January 1936, there were nearly 1400 members and twenty-eight Chapters. The next year there were thirty-one Chapters and a membership of 1683. On 25 February 1936, a certificate of incorporation was given under the laws of the State of New York. President Lilly Lindquist presided at the 1936 annual meeting in Richmond. There were forty-one Chapters and 1979 members.

The Association suffered a grievous loss on 17 December 1937 in the death of its newly elected President, Alexander G. H. Spiers. He had been one of the leaders from the very beginning of Association history. Edmond Méras wrote in the February 1938 memorial number of the *French Review*: "For ten years he sought, with ever increasing success, to fashion the Association into a free, unhampered, independent group, at liberty to act at all times, without restraint, for the welfare of students as well as teachers of French. Within a few days of his passing he was still devoting most of his time to the direction of new Association duties."

Acting President Frederic D. Cheydleur of Wisconsin presided at the 1937 meeting in Chicago. There were now forty-three Chapters. The financial position had improved, and there was an operating surplus of over \$300.00 for the fiscal year. From this time until World War II the Association gained steadily in strength under Presidents Edmond Méras, Casimir D. Zdanowicz, and Stephen A. Freeman, Secretary-Treasurer Tharp, and Editor Hélène Harvitt. Annual meetings were held successively in New York, New Orleans, Boston, and Indianapolis. The high record for membership was 2285, announced in 1939. By the following year the Association's surplus rose to \$2,400.00. An important activity of this period was the annual summer study scholarships for teachers of French. In 1939 one teacher was sent abroad and six received tuition scholarships in American and Canadian schools.

The Indianapolis meeting of 1941 was to be the last until 1944, because of the war. At this meeting James B. Tharp announced his retirement as Secretary-Treasurer and George B. Watts was chosen to succeed him. The retiring Treasurer's nine-year term of office had been a brilliant one. The former deficit had been built into a surplus of \$2,292.88. Largely because of his vision, the regional organization had been perfected, with eight regional representatives elected to take the responsibility for increased autonomy and activity in the eight regions of the country. James B. Tharp had labored well and long, ably seconding the efforts of the Presidents, as one who really loved his task.

The Association was seriously affected by the war. The proposed annual

meeting for 1942 was cancelled at the request of the Office of Defense Transportation. All Executive Council business had to be conducted by mail. During this year the membership dropped to 1861, and in 1943-44 there were only 1789 members. Modest financial balances were shown each year, however. Annual meetings were resumed in 1944, when a small gathering was held in New York City with representatives from twenty-one Chapters. Casimir D. Zdanowicz was again serving as President. By the following year membership was increasing again, with 2059 paid members. The financial condition was also improving. During this year an important step was taken when the Association voted to administer a national contest, with prizes offered by the Provisional French Government. Maurice Chazin of the Metropolitan Chapter was the first chairman of the contest committee. A successful annual meeting was held in Chicago in December 1945.

In 1945-46 all records for membership were broken with a figure of 2328. Jacques Fermaud of Minnesota was President. Thirty-two Chapters were represented at the 1946 meeting in Washington. At this meeting the Association voted to establish a Placement Bureau. Ambassador Henri Bonnet honored the members with a brilliant reception at the French Embassy and an address at the annual dinner. By 1947 there were forty-six Chapters and nearly 3000 members. William Marion Miller was in charge of the new Placement Bureau, and Joe Embry of Tennessee had become chairman of the Contest Committee. At the annual meeting in Detroit it was voted to establish a French Honor Society for High Schools, and to reactivate the Endowment Fund. For the first time in the Association's history the dues were raised: from \$2.50 to \$3.00.

The following year witnessed a large increase in membership (to 3383) and in assets. In September 1948 Armand Bégué assumed the direction of the National Information Bureau, a post which had previously been filled admirably by Daniel Girard. President Joseph M. Carrière of the University of Virginia presided at the annual meeting in New York City. Ambassador Henri Bonnet was the guest speaker at the annual luncheon. The Association members were received at the offices of the Services Culturels by the Conseiller Culturel, M. René de Messières.

The year 1948-49 saw a greatly increased membership (3758) and a surplus of more than \$3,000.00. The Endowment Fund was off to a good start with contributions from individuals and chapters of over \$1,000.00. This was sufficient to match the challenge sum of \$1,000.00, offered by Professor Cecelia E. Tenney of Reed College. Thirty-four Chapters were represented at the brilliant September 1949 meeting in San Francisco. During the year the Bureau de Correspondance Scolaire was launched

successfully under the direction of Milton L. Shane of Peabody College. By this time there were fifty-one active Chapters.

Julian Harris began a four-year term as President in September 1950, years marked by a steady growth in membership and assets. By 1954 there were more than 4000 members and assets of some \$24,000.00. James W. Glennen of the University of Akron took over the direction of the French Contest in 1951, Leon S. Roudiez was named Managing Editor of the *French Review* in 1953, and Frances V. Guille of the College of Wooster became director of the Bureau de Correspondance Scolaire in 1954.

In 1954 Henri Peyre of Yale became President and served brilliantly for three terms. During his incumbency the membership and assets continued to mount steadily. His proposed figure of 5000 members was exceeded in 1957, and by the end of his presidency it had risen to nearly 7000. The surplus stood at over \$34,000.00, and the Endowment Fund totalled nearly \$14,000.00. In 1955 Julian Harris succeeded Hélène Harvitt as Editor-in-Chief of the *French Review*. The dues were raised to \$4.00 in 1955, to meet the rising costs of printing. An important amendment to the Constitution, providing for two Vice-Presidents, was passed in 1955.

Howard Lee Nostrand of the University of Washington became President in September 1960. George B. Daniel, Jr., of the University of North Carolina succeeded Raymond Poggenburg as Director of the Placement Bureau. President Peyre's practice of providing increased opportunities for member participation at the annual meetings was continued by the new President, who arranged section meetings at which members of three committees led discussions on problems of French teaching from elementary school to college.

Jacques Hardré of the University of North Carolina and Leon S. Roudiez of Columbia University became President and Editor-in-Chief in September 1962. John W. Kneller of Oberlin College became Managing Editor. There were over 8500 members and subscribers and fifty-three active Chapters. The surplus had grown to more than \$58,000.00. By the end of the year the membership had reached a total of more than 10,000.

The historian's task of evaluating the Association's work in its first quarter century is simplified by a paper that Julian Harris read at the twenty-fifth anniversary meeting. In preparation he had gone through the files of the *French Review*. He was impressed especially by two things: 1. The *Review* had been a "forum in which all the important, promising, or even novel ideas concerning our field have been examined from all points of view, now with serenity, now with agitation, now with piquancy, now with a heavy hand, but always with seriousness," and 2. "in spite of the appearance of many glittering new proposals, members of our Association

have defended ably, courageously, consistently, and with real foresight sound methods of teaching, which at the time and to the purveyors of the 'new ideas' must have seemed reactionary, but which seem eminently realistic today."

To support his statements he mentions several occasions when the AATF took a courageous and wise stand. 1) When the Association "was still a fledgling, it was confronted by the trend towards scientifically compiled word-lists." The *French Review* printed the articles of the sponsors of the movement, but it also carried several which pointed out the shortcomings of the word-lists and of the scientifically constructed texts based on these lists. He says: "Thus readers of the *French Review* were in a position to see for themselves that if they preferred to have their students read books written in French by Frenchmen who did not know the science of word frequency, they would be in very good company." 2) He was pleasantly surprised to find an enthusiastic article dealing with records for spoken French as early as 1928. But just at that time such things as records were completely overshadowed by the famous studies in modern-language teaching which suddenly gave such importance to the reading objective. The recommendations of the committee and the Coleman Report did not please the officers of the Association or the majority of French teachers. Such early Association leaders as Mason, de Sauzé, Méras, Mercier, and others who thought it necessary to give their students practice in hearing and speaking French took the trouble to say so in the *French Review* "in ringing terms." "It is very much to the credit of our Association," Harris continues, "that its officers and its members had the courage, the conviction, and the endurance to hold out successfully against the large and distinguished committee which prepared the report." 3. Another example of the courage of the *French Review* was its reaction to the vigorous drive of certain publications which attempted to convince the public that if only the teachers of languages would follow the example of the ASTP, all students would soon be speaking foreign languages like natives "in a few weeks' time, and without the least effort on the part of anyone." The *French Review* published several articles in favor of the ASTP, and also others that made it clear that, however valuable the experience was, the ASTP had performed no miracles, and that it was French teachers and not army generals or sergeants who did the teaching. Meanwhile many French teachers began to adapt the army methods to their own instruction and attempted to make use of its good features.

President Harris was distressed that during the Association's first quarter century the opponents of foreign-language study, "largely disgruntled folk who devoted a number of years to the study of one or more languages

without acquiring anything approaching mastery of any language," had eliminated or greatly reduced language requirements for college entrance and graduation, but he took courage in the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association, which had recently been announced, and in the recent trend toward teaching foreign languages in the elementary schools.

In the 1950's the AATF continued to defend sound methods of teaching and to support all new movements designed to improve it. At its annual meeting in 1952, the day after the FL Program had been outlined at the MLA meeting in Boston, it authorized the President "to name a committee of the AATF to cooperate in every possible way with the MLA FL Three-Year Program." Since the very beginning of the Program, the AATF has cooperated "in every possible way," not only through many articles in the *French Review* but through the active participation of its officers and members in the work itself. The Association has elected to honorary membership all the directors of the Program: William Riley Parker, Kenneth Mildenberger, George Winchester Stone, Jr., and Donald D. Walsh, the present director.

As Editor-in-Chief, Julian Harris carried out a wish, expressed in his address of December 1952, that "in the next twenty-five years the *French Review* will continue to present all points of view and that its readers will continue to think for themselves." For example, in the May 1960 issue, he printed an article, "Linguistic Research and Language Teaching," by a recognized authority on structural linguistics. In the same issue he published "Un cours d'exercices structuraux et de linguistique appliquée," in which Pierre Delattre outlined what he had done in his eminently successful course in the NDEA Summer Language Institute at the University of Colorado in 1959, a course judged by the members of the Independent Evaluation Team, directed by former AATF President Stephen A. Freeman, to have been a conspicuously successful exception to most courses in descriptive general linguistics given at other Institutes. In the same number he presented a very useful article, "Pattern Drills in French," at a time when many language teachers, hearing the term "pattern drills" for the first time, did not know what it really implied.

It is not only by the timely articles in the *French Review* that the Association has labored to "serve the interests of teachers of French." Its many agencies are making valuable contributions to the common cause. 1) The National French Contest has had as many as 95,000 participants in a single year. 2) The Bureau de Correspondance Scolaire distributed over 37,000 names during the past year. 3) The Placement Bureau placed sixty-seven registrants and offered twenty-four other positions which were

not accepted. 4) The Exhibit of Realia was booked up solidly during the year and went to institutions in every part of the country. 5) The flourishing Société Honoraire de Français has some 237 active chapters throughout the nation. 6) Although the honorary college society, Pi Delta Phi, is now no longer in need of support, the Association recognized it officially and sponsored it for many years, giving it free space for its notes in the *Review*. 7) The National Information Bureau answers countless letters of inquiry, publishes its bulletins regularly in the *French Review*, and stocks large numbers of French books, magazines, maps, cards, and other importations. In a recent coordination with the Services Culturels of the French Government, it is housed at 972 5th Avenue, New York, with ample space, furnishings, mailing privileges, and a half-time secretary furnished by the Services Culturels.

