

The emergence and growth of **Hispanic Studies** in British and Irish universities

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Hispanists

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Preface

This study was prompted by a symposium on Professor J. B. Trend, which took place on April 2nd, 2013, at Clare College, University of Cambridge. In 1933, Trend (1887-1958) became the first professor of Spanish in Cambridge University. His appointment to the Chair aroused some controversy, since he had no official qualifications in Spanish. His degree was in Natural Sciences, but his overwhelming knowledge of, and passion for Spain and things Spanish outweighed all other considerations. He would prove to be a major player in the promotion of Hispanism.

In the discussion that followed the symposium, it was suggested that whilst this kind of appointment would be inconceivable today, it may well not have been unique in the past. Professor Trevor Dadson, who chaired the Round Table at the end of the symposium, welcomed the idea of an investigation into the area, and agreed to approach the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland, of which he was then president. It is with the consent and funding of the Association that this project has been realised.

Subsequent research has shown that, indeed, Trend was not alone in the manner of his appointment, and a substantial number of Spanish departments in the country evolved through the efforts of an enthusiastic ‘amateur’ rather than an established scholar. Until the middle of the twentieth century, a wide understanding of Spain, its language and culture, frequently overrode academic qualifications, and many posts were filled, often inspiringly, by ‘unqualified’ pioneers. While conceding that Trend was not a professional academic, Edward Wilson (1958: 223-27) defended such appointments, holding that ‘our universities would be poorer places if men from the outside world were rigorously excluded from teaching in them. He [Trend] taught with more enthusiasm and conviction than many professionals are able to muster’. In much the same vein, Sebastiaan Faber (2008: 8) points out that, historically, ‘the development of the discipline, even in its fully professionalised phase, has been unusually influenced by amateurs. In the nineteen thirties, moreover, the distinction between professionals and amateurs was still quite tenuous [...] In many cases, the Hispanist was simply a Hispanophile who had turned his passion into a profession’.

J. B. Trend, and many others, represent an unorthodox element in the progress of Hispanism in university teaching, and have given its history a unique and colourful quality. This study will appraise the contribution made by an eclectic mix of teachers to the rise of Hispanism in the universities of Great Britain and Ireland. It is a success story: today, Spanish is alive and well, and recognised as a world language of importance, but while Hispanic Studies of some kind is now offered in approximately a hundred university departments, its progress has been in the face of substantial challenges. Its present status owes much to the pioneers of its early years.

As a university subject, Spanish has had to fight two battles: that of a modern language *per se*, to be accepted as a discipline as deserving of study as the traditional Classics and Sciences, and that of Spanish in particular, to be acknowledged as a valid competitor against the established languages of French and German. The first was essentially won in the nineteenth century; the second took a little longer.

This study begins with the early fleeting appearance of Spanish at Oxford University, over four hundred years ago, and proceeds to the first official establishment of a Spanish department in 1776 at Trinity College Dublin. Thereafter it continues chronologically through the nineteenth century, and the founding of the London colleges, to the twentieth, beginning with the emergence of the new civic universities. The next section covers the period between the two World Wars. Here, after tracing progress in London, chronology becomes a little uneven, as I look in turn at the ancient universities, first in England, then Scotland, then Ireland.

The period between World War Two and 1963 sees the emergence of the second wave of civic universities, followed by the Robbins Report and the creation of new universities. The second half of the century covers the establishment of Spanish departments in Wales, the Open University, then looks at the rationalisation period of the nineteen eighties and its effect on the London colleges. The end of the century brings more new universities through the granting of university status to Polytechnic Colleges and Colleges of Higher Education.

The Early Years

Our 'ancient' universities were conservative and slow to modernise. The only languages on offer in the early years were Latin and Greek, and living languages faced a stubborn resistance to change. There was a deep-seated reluctance to acknowledge any of them as worthy of serious consideration; even English was not seen as a 'proper' subject for study. Spanish, in particular, had very mixed fortunes. There was an early attempt by an anonymous Italian to introduce it at Oxford in 1595, and there is evidence of scholars, including James Mabbe, best known as translator of the *Guzmán de Alfarache* and *La Celestina*, involved in Spanish studies there in the sixteen thirties. A century later, an experiment by the government in 1724 to introduce modern language teaching, to fit young men 'for the service of the state and the church' failed to materialise, and Spanish did not appear on the curriculum until well into the nineteenth century (Firth, 1929: 4). In the oldest university in the English-speaking world, the study of Classics was firmly entrenched, and repeated attempts to introduce a modern language met with anything from indifference to outright opposition. The feeling among the old guard was not only that classical languages were superior, but that they would be endangered by the introduction of their modern counterparts, since both resources and students would be diverted.

Other sister institutions proved even slower: there was no teaching of Spanish at Cambridge, Durham, St Andrews, Edinburgh, Aberdeen or Glasgow until the beginning of the twentieth century. The exception was Ireland's oldest university, Trinity College Dublin, where a 'professor' of Spanish and Italian, one Antonio Vieyra, was appointed in 1776. The title is possibly misleading: although Trinity claims to be the first university to establish professorships in Modern Languages, there was in effect little distinction between lecturer and professor. Nor could this appointment be considered an academic breakthrough: far from promoting a modern language as a scholarly pursuit, the then provost of the College viewed it as a gentlemanly accomplishment, coming under the same umbrella as dancing and riding, a concept apparently perfectly acceptable in the eighteenth century. Vieyra's remit was 'to fit members of the middle classes to take posts as tutors to the "Nobility and principal Gentry"', which put him in much the same category as a fencing instructor (McDowell and Webb, 1982: 57). Modern Languages were considered an 'extra', a 'fancy' embellishment, and would not become part of a degree course at Trinity for another century: German and French first, Spanish much later.

Vieyra was a notable linguist, and had written a Portuguese grammar and dictionary as well as works on Arabic and Persian, but he had no academic background. Notwithstanding, over the next twenty-one years, he established the first university department of Spanish and Italian in Great Britain and Ireland, a department, moreover, that would continue to function continuously, and go on to enjoy great prestige. Albeit Portuguese and without any relevant qualifications, Vieyra was the first and only recorded university teacher of Spanish in the eighteenth century, and as such, the earliest pioneer in Hispanic Studies.

The Nineteenth Century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was no university in London: an 'amazing anomaly', as F. J. C. Hearnshaw (1929: 25-26) points out in his history of King's College London, that 'the metropolis of England, the wealthiest and most populous city of the world, should have had no university within its borders'. This was about to change, and with it the whole ethos of university teaching. It was deemed that instead of merely providing 'parsons for the church and gentry for the state', a university should deliver universal knowledge, be open to all ranks and classes, prepare men for other careers than merely the church and the legislature, and be affordable. The beginning of the century duly marked a turning point. The increase in the population in London, the growth of industrialisation, and the need to extend education to the middle classes, all indicated a demand for a university in the capital: one that would offer an alternative to the traditional, Christian, elitist approach of Oxford and Cambridge.

The opening in 1826 of the University of London, later to be renamed University College London, followed three years later by the establishment of King's College London, the second of the two founding colleges of the University, brought about this transformation. The enlightened approach and wide curricula of both colleges were in direct contrast with the classical education of Oxford and Cambridge. University College, especially, was a leader in many respects, and its low fees made it accessible for the less affluent, albeit still beyond the means of the poorest. It was the first university to admit students regardless of religion, the first to accept women students, the first to introduce English as a degree subject. Aware, moreover, that the ancient universities were failing to prepare students for business or industry, its major innovation was to offer modern languages, which it saw as more relevant in the world of commerce than the traditional Latin and Greek (Muñoz Sempere and Alonso García 2011: 20-21). Initially financed by becoming a Joint-Stock Company, there were commercial interests on the agenda from the outset, and the aim was to offer practical subjects, and to provide education for all, including 'dissenters, Deists and Jews' (Hearnshaw, 1929: 24).

The languages on offer included Spanish, and its introduction was expedient, coming at a time when Great Britain's attitude to Spain was softening, and former prejudices were giving way to a new understanding. A growing awareness of the country, partly through the writings of travellers like Richard Ford and George Borrow, both known Hispanophiles, was helping to present Spain in a more favourable light, and opening a window into a culture hitherto virtually unknown: one that was different, exotic and had Arab elements (Macklin, 2015: 107). At the same time, perhaps more importantly, practical concerns over trade with Spain and Latin America were pointing to a need for trained linguists.

Against this background, Spanish enjoyed a breakthrough: a Chair was created at University College in 1828, and Antonio Alcalá Galiano appointed. One of a group of liberal exiles from Spain, fleeing the purges of Fernando VII, Alcalá Galiano had sought refuge in London in the summer of 1823. Together with other writers, intellectuals, artists and politicians facing death, prison or conscription, the majority of these refugees were destitute when they arrived, and many of them turned to translating, writing or giving Spanish lessons in order to survive. Matilde Gallardo Barbarroja points out that teaching their native language, either through private classes or in schools, in some cases universities, not only earned them a living, but helped them to assuage the loss of identity that they felt in exile (Muñoz Sempere and Alonso García, 2011: 260).

Alcalá Galiano had no academic background, but was highly regarded as an intellectual and a politician, both in Spanish and English circles. He knew all the leading

writers of the day, had a wide knowledge of Spanish literature, and enjoyed a reputation as a literary critic. Although, together with the other émigrés, he found himself in considerable financial difficulties, he not only had the advantage of speaking English, but had influential friends in London, including Jeremy Bentham, whose backing was probably critical. Despite the importance of this first Chair of Spanish in England, references to Alcalá Galiano's appointment are curiously casual: 'For the modern language chairs the conditions of Europe provided a plentiful supply of political exiles' (Bellot, 1929: 44); 'A Spanish professor, at least, cannot have been hard to find.' (Lloyd, 1933: 5). Nor was his remit exactly scholarly: in a somewhat discouraging echo of Vieyra's position in Ireland half a century earlier, Spanish was one of the subjects rather dubiously classified under 'ornamental accomplishments'.

Alcalá Galiano's stay was unfortunately short-lived, but for the next two years he worked at promoting his native language, laying considerable emphasis on the practical use of Spanish – he underlines the word 'utility' in his inaugural lecture – with markets in both Spain and Latin America in mind. In this respect he was the first to anticipate an element that would characterise university Spanish from then on: its 'usefulness'. As well as teaching, moreover, he and his fellow countrymen were responsible for publishing a plethora of dictionaries, grammar books, vocabularies, articles and journals, all of which helped to raise awareness of Spanish in the capital.

When Alcalá Galiano resigned in 1830 over an altercation with the College Council, the first and only Chair of Spanish in the country went into abeyance. Classes in Spanish officially ceased, though it transpires that a certain C. de Tajada taught the language sporadically between 1844 and 1847. The department as such, however, would not be reinstated until half way through the next century, with the appointment of Jim Cummins in 1956. Nor would there be another Chair in Spanish in the country until the Gilmour Chair was created at Liverpool in 1909.

The demise of Spanish at University College was not just the result of Alcalá Galiano's departure: there was competition from King's College. The subject had appeared on the curriculum at the start, and there was clearly not enough demand in the city for two departments. Another leading member of the group of Spanish exiles, Pablo de Mendíbil, who had previously competed unsuccessfully with Alcalá Galiano for the Chair at University College, began teaching Spanish at King's in 1831, as part of the General Literature and Science course. Mendíbil was a lawyer, but 'better acquainted than almost any other man of his time with the literature of his country' (Wild, 1928: 107-20). Like Alcalá Galiano, he was poorly paid, and during his short period in office he supplemented his income by publishing an impressive number of articles and books. Daniel Muñoz Sempere (2015, pers. comm.) sees both Alcalá Galiano and Mendíbil as the leading refugees among the first wave of exiles to integrate into the university system in this country, by virtue of being accomplished philologists who were native speakers and able to communicate in English.

Partly in response to the theological controversy aroused by the 'godless College in Gower St', King's was founded on Christian principles. The Principal had to be a clergyman, and all teachers needed to be members of the Church of England, with the exception, interestingly, of teachers of oriental and modern languages: a fortunate loophole for the Spanish liberals. All students had to attend religious instruction, and each day began with prayers (Hearnshaw, 1929: 51-52). King's followed University College, nevertheless, in its attention to modern languages, though the teaching was equally basic: mainly language, with a little literature. There were no examinations, and classes were not compulsory, which goes some way to explaining a low attendance.

Sadly, Mendíbil's tenure was even briefer than that of Alcalá Galiano: he died within a year, and was replaced by another refugee, on this occasion a religious exile, who had been a third applicant for the Chair at University College. José María Jiménez de Alcalá had at least come from an academic background: he had been Professor of Philosophy at Seville University, and had published a number of dictionaries and anthologies. He remained at King's until 1840, during which time he was responsible for the first university textbook for Spanish language teaching published in Britain: *A Grammar of the Spanish Language for the Use of the Students in King's College*.

Jiménez de Alcalá was succeeded by Angel de Villalobos, about whose teaching ability or linguistic knowledge nothing is known. When he left in 1847, his 'scanty duties' were taken over successively by Robert Lott, Signor J. A. Cortoys, and Rev. Juan Calderón, a former Spanish priest, who had been ordained in the Church of England. After the latter died in 1855, there were constant changes of 'professors', and the fact that none of them was a specialist led to a drop in student numbers. Spanish was in decline until the appointment of Ricardo Ramírez in 1891, and official classes were suspended, though apparently some evening classes continued, with commercial interests in mind. In 1893, Spanish became part of the Faculty of Arts.

For the first half of the nineteenth century, subsequently, while the ancient universities were dragging their heels, it was London that took the initiative, and the teaching of Spanish was largely in the hands of these two colleges, both of which had a progressive approach to education in general and to modern languages in particular. The teaching was dominated by Spanish immigrants, none of whom had any 'official' qualifications, but who nevertheless go down on record as the first to establish Spanish as a university subject worthy of study.

Oxford would shortly follow London's example, but it would need the eventual promotion of English to blaze the trail for modern languages. In 1844, the Hebdomadal Council agreed to the teaching of modern languages, but needed to know which 'European languages might be considered, with regard to a knowledge of them, as essential to Diplomatic or Commercial pursuits, and as possessing a literature sufficient to entitle an able professor thereof to rank among Literary persons' (Macklin, 2015: 109). The practicality that had underlined the teaching in the London colleges needed to be balanced with cultural considerations, thereby establishing a dual purpose for Spanish that would become a permanent feature. The Chair in Modern Languages that was established in 1845, however, was short-lived; it was abolished in 1868.

Towards the end of the century, when interest in modern languages began to grow, it was predictably French and German that led the way: French, long accepted for its diplomatic importance, German for its way into science and engineering. The Grand Tour had experienced a renewed popularity at the beginning of the century, so Italian also figured for its cultural and social advantages, sometimes rivalling French as an 'elegant accomplishment'. Even when Spanish was finally introduced, however, it was not taken very seriously. Teaching was elementary, mostly of basic grammar, and initially it was taught as a dead language. Classes were nearly always extra-curricular or auxiliary, seen by some as a distraction from 'serious' study, by others still as a social accomplishment rather than an academic pursuit.

The promotion of the subject, moreover, was frequently the result of pressure from the outside world rather than from within, and the driving force was business. Since Spanish was now being acknowledged for its 'usefulness' in trade and industry, its teaching became closely related to that in university departments of Commerce. The link between

Spanish and trade, first recognised at University College, was now established, and financial backing would subsequently come primarily from the world of industry, or from the government, with trade in mind. Most of the promoters of Spanish in the early stages were therefore businessmen, not academics, and many of the early Chairs were made possible by external endowments or through pressure from local business.

Both the initiative and the financial backing at Oxford came from such a source. In 1788, Robert Taylor, a wealthy sculptor and architect, had left the bulk of his estate to the university for 'establishing a foundation for the teaching and improving the European languages' (Williamson, 2005: 10). Taylor was ahead of his time, the first in a long line of benefactors who would put Spanish on the academic map. It was principally his vision and largesse that convinced the university that modern languages were suitable for university study. Taylor's legacy finally became available in 1835, and in 1847 the first Taylorian teachers of French, German, Italian and Spanish were appointed. Classes were optional, or additional, often just for postgraduates, and the standard was elementary.

Largely dismissed as a 'distracción o pasatiempo', however, modern languages were still seen as something exotic. Teachers were drawn from different spheres, and were not specialists, but 'religiosos, artistas, poetas' (Gallardo Barbarroja, 2003: 4.2). Poor salaries acted as a disincentive to dedicated teaching and reflected the low esteem in which these classes were held. There was still a long way to go: modern languages would not be recognised as subjects in their own right until the start of the next century, and the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages did not become a separate entity until 1914, marking the end of a long struggle that had begun in 1724.

The first recorded Taylorian teacher of Spanish at Oxford was another religious refugee from Spain. The Reverend Lorenzo Lucena was a scholar and translator, who had previously taught Theology in Seville, but his conversion from Catholic to Protestant caused a scandal, and he had fled the Inquisition to seek refuge in England. Classes were basic, partly because of the poor knowledge and irregularity of attendance of the students, partly from a lack of feeder schools, a problem that had beset London: none of the Public schools had any tradition in Spanish teaching, and only provided pupils qualified in French. Lucena taught from 1858 until his death in 1881, whereupon an Italian, a Signor Coscia, stepped in to give elementary Spanish classes until 1890: the second Italian to teach in Oxford, but one of many who would teach Spanish over the early years in British universities. Then, in 1890, the arrival of Henry Butler Clarke marked a significant step forward.

Until now, Spanish had been taught in our universities by a Portuguese, some Italians, and a number of Spanish refugees, none of them 'qualified'. While their contribution to the promotion of Spanish was considerable, they were all basically motivated by the need to earn a living. Certainly, the Spanish refugees in London, who 'had great difficulty keeping body and soul together', were forced into using their one, obvious asset: their native tongue. None, as far as we know, was teaching Spanish out of choice. Clarke was different: he was British, an academic and, more importantly, made a deliberate decision to embrace Spanish. He had grown up in Spain, had travelled the country widely, and had studied its culture and literature. Initially a Classicist, he turned his attention to Spanish, and was one of the early 'enthusiasts' who would be remembered as pioneers in the teaching of the language. He was a zealous teacher, and published a number of works on Spanish grammar as well as literature and history: the best-known was *Modern Spain 1825-1898*, published posthumously in 1906. Tragically, after only four years in office, Clarke committed suicide, but his contribution to the promotion of Spanish was substantial.

His replacement, Fernando de Arteaga y Pereira, was a Spanish poet and essayist, with no academic background. He began as a Taylorian 'teacher' in 1894, and stayed for an impressive thirty-three years, promoted first to lecturer and finally to titular professor in 1921. His approach, which echoed that initiated by the London colleges – the concept of a language as useful and practical – brought about a revolutionary change in traditional Oxford. In 1904, his interest in commercial Spanish led him to accept a post in Birmingham, at the first of the new civic universities, in addition to his teaching in Oxford. He was active in publishing grammar books, vocabularies, passages for translation and other such texts (Gallardo Barbarroja, 2003: 4.2.2.2). He did much to further the progress of Spanish, and played an important part in the early days of Hispanism.

Towards the end of the century, a tentative start was made in 1886 at Firth College, one of the three colleges that later merged to form the University of Sheffield. Once again, Spanish teaching was initiated by an Italian, F. T. Bianchi, and taught alongside Italian. Unfortunately, it was suspended after two years until 1897, when J. A. Swift was made a part-time lecturer in Spanish. When the university officially opened in 1905, Swift became a full-time lecturer and remained there until his death in 1914.

In Ireland, Spanish classes had continued at Trinity College Dublin, where, amid no small upheaval, Vieyra was followed successively by three Italians. The first of these, Evasio Radice, found it difficult to carry out his university duties because of ill-health and involvement in other commitments, and resigned in 1849. A Signor A. C. Marani deputised briefly, expecting a permanent appointment, but a third Italian, Basilio Angeli, was given the post, whereupon Marani questioned the legitimacy of his credentials. His protest was dismissed as malice, but his suspicions were soon backed by three of the junior Fellows, and in 1857, Angeli was dismissed as a fraudster and adventurer. The scandal left the board unwilling to reinstate either Spanish or Italian, but two years on, Marani was finally appointed. Disappointingly, he fades from view three years later.

Following this rather unscholarly melee, Robert Atkinson was appointed as lecturer in Italian in 1867. Two years later he is referred to as Professor of Italian, subsequently Professor of Italian and Spanish, and finally Professor of Romance Languages, which presumably included French. Atkinson had worked as a schoolteacher before winning a scholarship to Trinity, where he graduated, and went on to take his MA and LL.D. He was also a Hebrew scholar and taught an impressive number of other languages. He remained as a professor at Trinity for forty years, though a later entry records that 'Italian and Spanish languished for many years after this in an extra-curricular limbo' (McDowell and Webb, 1982: 272).

Elsewhere in Ireland, in 1846, in the planning of the provincial colleges that were to become Queen's Colleges Belfast, Cork and Galway, it was agreed that 'the study of Modern Languages should hold an important place' (O'Neill, 1999: 360). The growing awareness of their practicality presented a challenge to accepted academic etiquette, but was fast becoming a familiar approach to the study of modern languages. A start had been made in 1837 in the Faculty of Commerce at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, in which Queen's University Belfast has its roots: a certain James Fornieri, an Italian republican refugee from Rome, inaugurated a department of Modern Languages, but, as in Trinity, Spanish was not formally established until the next century.

At Queen's Galway, the decision that the study of at least one modern language be obligatory compared favourably with the attitude in Oxford's Taylor Institute, where the study of French and German was still only optional, and in Trinity where a modern language was not deemed essential until 1871, but again, Spanish was not established until the

beginning of the twentieth century. Even towards the end of the nineteenth century, while noting a slight improvement in their status, Charles Colbeck (1887: 95) refers to traces of 'contempt' in which modern languages had been held: 'The living languages, we have been told, are too trivial to be scholarly, too easy to be learned, too useful to be dignified'. This pejorative connotation of the word 'useful', still held at the time, was one that the Queen's colleges sought to counter; they pursued a utilitarian ethos throughout, with emphasis on oral and practical skills.

In 1854, Newman's Catholic University, the forerunner of University College Dublin, introduced Spanish into the curriculum, with the appointment of Marani, the Italian who ended up at Trinity. In 1884, the university calendars record that Spanish was being taught and examined, but gives no name(s), so possibly just by someone who was paid by the hour (Cruickshank, 2013, pers. comm.).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the first battle was won: Modern Languages had been accepted as a subject for serious study. Spanish, albeit lagging behind French and German, was making its mark. It had established itself in London, was continuing at Trinity College Dublin, and had made a start at Oxford, Sheffield and University College Dublin. Since there were few qualified teachers in the early stages, native speakers had been the obvious solution, and although most of the post holders had been 'amateurs', they had included some distinguished writers, poets, intellectuals and journalists from Spain or Latin America, together with a notable number of Italians. Apart from Clarke, few had any university background, none was a specialist, nor, with the exception of Robert Atkinson, had any recognisable qualifications. Their number included enthusiasts who left their mark, and others who made little impact, and although the teaching could scarcely be considered academic, the foundations had been laid. The practical side of the subject, introduced early in the century, was set to become a permanent feature.

The Twentieth Century

The beginning of the twentieth century brought a radical change to university teaching as a whole, and to modern languages in particular. As foreign travel became increasingly important, languages were seen as a means towards a greater understanding between nations. The overriding pressure, nevertheless, now came from trade. At the start of the century, fear of industrial decline, which had begun to threaten towards the end of the nineteenth century, together with concern over increasing competition from abroad, stimulated a drive in the major industrial cities of the midlands and the north of England to promote scientific research and education in their own regions, through the foundation of a number of new, civic universities.

Unlike the Oxbridge colleges, these regional universities were non-collegiate institutions; they did not discriminate on the grounds of religion or background, and they focussed on 'real world' skills. The first six all had their origins in colleges of Science or Engineering, whence their 'practical' approach, and all acquired university status before World War One. They became known as the Redbrick universities, a term coined by Allison Peers, inspired by the main university building of Liverpool University, which was built of distinctive red pressed brick; Peers recalls it as the worst Victorian style of building in the slums of Liverpool, and an unpleasant contrast to the beauty of Wellington College where he had previously been teaching. The term would later include a second wave of civic universities that emerged after World War Two, all literally red brick in style.

Languages were an integral part of the programme from the beginning in these new universities, reflecting the utilitarian pressures that industry was bringing to bear: French

and German, since France and Germany dominated Europe, and Spanish, now that Spain was at last emerging from its long isolation, and represented a large untapped market (Pierce, 1963: 24). Funding came from generous benefactions from local, wealthy industrialists, who in the case of Spanish, had commercial interests in Spain or Latin America. It was a critical juncture for Spanish: its 'usefulness', initially acknowledged by Alcalá Galiano in London, and later endorsed by Arteaga at Oxford, was now being seriously addressed. The demand was for commercial education: language for business. Practicality had become the order of the day.

The emergence of these six new civic universities doubled the existing number of Spanish departments in the country, and represented a significant boost for Hispanic studies. In the last century, Spanish had only established a very tenuous hold in the academic programme. Despite being the first language of hundreds of millions, it had long been considered a minority language, thought to have no literature, with the notable exception of Cervantes's *Don Quijote*. Since the promoters at this stage were mostly businessmen, not academics, the subject was sought for its commercial value, but while the driving force was industry, these new departments were also concerned that the cultural side of the language be firmly in place: courses should be academic, and include literature and history (Macklin, 2015). The concept of the dual role of Spanish, initiated by Oxford in the previous century, was here to stay, albeit not without a certain element of tension.

The Redbrick Universities: Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield and Bristol

Despite the general assumption that Liverpool was the first of the civic universities to be awarded university status, it was, in fact, preceded by Birmingham, which received its charter in 1900. Spanish classes had been on offer in its predecessor institution, Mason Science College, but the first recorded lecturer in the newly-created university was Arteaga, appointed in 1904 to teach Italian and Spanish. Arteaga had been a Taylorian lecturer at Oxford since 1894, where he continued to teach, combining it with this new post in Birmingham, where he stayed for seventeen years. He brought with him his promotion of Spanish for commercial purposes, which had proved so innovative at Oxford.

In 1921, R. J. Conroy, who had taught at Galway, was made Reader in Spanish, followed in 1940 by Joseph Manson, who for some years ran the department alone. Manson had taught in a secondary school for nine years before moving into university teaching, but was highly qualified in Spanish, with an MA and PhD from Edinburgh, where he had been encouraged in his study of Spanish by Leslie Walton. During this period of expansion in Hispanic studies, Birmingham's department was one of the first to incorporate both Latin-American and Luso-Brazilian studies, and later changed its title to reflect these new areas. Manson devoted most of his life to the furtherance of Hispanic studies, not only in university teaching, but also in the secondary sector. He was given a Chair in 1953. The department continued to flourish into the second half of the century. Derek Lomax replaced Manson in 1972, and Trevor Dadson, who had been at Queen's Belfast, was made professor in 1991, and remained until 2004.

Liverpool University had its origins in University College Liverpool, which in 1884 became one of the colleges of Victoria University, a federal university for the north of England: England's first civic university. Liverpool left the federation in 1903, when it was given university status. Spanish was first taught as an evening class in 1886, but was officially established in the new university in 1908, through the creation of a Chair

endowed by Captain George Gilmour, a businessman with commercial interests in Mexico and Argentina. Discounting Alcalá Galiano's brief professorship in London, this would be the first modern Chair in Spanish studies in any British university. At a time when universities were beginning to take modern languages seriously, Liverpool took an important lead.

The remit was for a lecturer to teach both Spanish and Portuguese, not just in the Faculty of Arts, but in that of Commerce: a commitment that reinforced its dual role in the civic universities. The appointment procedure proved no small event. There were one hundred and sixty applicants; Geoffrey Ribbans (1997: 20, n. 2) confirms that competition for the post was intense, but mentions an account by Allison Peers, who recalls great difficulty in securing anyone 'with any pretensions to scholarship', and refers to 'dozens of candidates, nearly all of the wrong kind'. Apparently, there were 'shoals of applications which could only be described as grotesque. Businessmen with little education, and underworked Spanish-American consuls [...] seemed to think that a University Chair would be a useful part-time employment for them'. Later, in 1934, Peers (1934: 2) conceded that while many of the applicants had university degrees, few of them showed any evidence of having systematically studied Spanish and 'some must have caused the Selection Committee more entertainment than edification'. It is interesting to compare this event with the appointment of Alcalá Galiano nearly a century before.

The Gilmour Chair eventually went to James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, an independent scholar with no formal qualifications in Spanish, and whose only academic experience had been as a Taylorian lecturer in Oxford in 1902, and a MacColl lecturer in Cambridge in 1908. Fitzmaurice-Kelly had worked as a journalist, then as a tutor, but an interest in Cervantes triggered his career as a Hispanist: 'a mere chance', as he had previously been more interested in Scandinavian languages. He had written nothing of value till the age of forty, and thereafter, his reputation as a Hispanist lay mainly with his *History of Spanish Literature*. His appointment, according to Peers (1966: 143), apparently rested on the fact that he was the only Briton till late in the war with any claim to Hispanic scholarship. Peers (1923: 42) initially deplored his lack of 'scholarly credentials', though later conceded his considerable contribution to Hispanism. Notwithstanding, Fitzmaurice-Kelly had his champions: Sebastiaan Faber (2008: 193) considered him Great Britain's first real academic Hispanist, John D. Fitz-Gerald (1930: 129) referred to him as 'the most brilliant of contemporary English-speaking Hispanists, and a former colleague, Professor Oliver Elton (1934: 3) pointed out that although he had not 'the usual British academic training [...] he stood almost alone in this country as representing Spanish scholarship'.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly remained in office for eight years, then left to take a newly-created Chair at King's College London, whereupon the Gilmour Chair fell vacant. After years of arguments, including bitter opposition from Fitzmaurice-Kelly himself, along with a group called the New Testament, it was eventually filled in 1922 by Allison Peers. Another 'unqualified' Hispanist, Peers was a controversial figure, despised by many 'serious' academics for his lack of paper qualifications. Fitzmaurice-Kelly was derisive in his condemnation: 'not of university calibre', 'not a serious candidate', 'his appointment would be absurd', and questioned, somewhat ironically, the absence of academic background in his would-be successor (Peers, 1966: 455-56). Geoffrey Ribbans (1997: 23) on the other hand, judges him 'dynamic, enterprising and assertive'. He proved right: Peers was all those things, and a visionary to boot. According to Bruce Truscot's autobiography, he had 'been everywhere, met everybody, seen everything', and had an extraordinary knowledge of contemporary Spain (*Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 1953: 3). Unlike Fitzmaurice-Kelly, moreover, he was above all a teacher, and equipped with 'a vast enthusiasm, a good

Spanish accent and some quite considerable acquaintance with the country's literature' he would prove one of the most influential Hispanists of his day' (Peers, 1966: 114). He was one of a number born at the end of the nineteenth century, who were the first to consolidate Spanish as a university subject. According to Faber (2008: 193), 'it was Peers's generation that laid the institutional groundwork for the flourishing of Hispanism as a full-blown academic discipline'. It is possibly to Peers that the promotion of Spanish studies both at university and secondary level owes its greatest debt.

Peers had indeed been a schoolteacher, 'merely a mediocre schoolmaster', according to his predecessor, and not even of Spanish. He had studied French and German at Cambridge, accepting the assumption of the age that 'French was the only language which an educated man needed to know', a belief that he later passionately opposed. Since prospects for university posts were not good at the time, he studied for a teacher's diploma and spent several years as a secondary school teacher until his appointment in 1920 as a temporary lecturer in French and Spanish at Liverpool. This post was extended, and led eventually to the Chair. Peers was not the only, nor even the first Hispanist to make this career move: in the first half of the century, at least ten university teachers of Spanish began their academic career in secondary education.

Though previously he had not shown any particular interest in Spanish, Peers embarked on an exhaustive campaign to promote the subject throughout the country. From the moment he began teaching in Liverpool, he was conscious of the need for close liaison between schools and universities, and worked tirelessly to foster the teaching of Spanish in both. He set up a Summer School, which would become legendary, with courses in Liverpool and Santander, 'to enable a capable student having learned no Spanish at school to compete successfully with others who have done so' (1966: 127), and kept these going in the UK throughout the Spanish Civil War. He personally travelled the country, visiting about a hundred schools a year, gave lectures, organised courses and conferences for teachers, and was responsible for the publication of grammar books and vocabularies. His efforts enjoyed considerable success, and over the next three decades his enthusiasm would persuade dozens of schools to offer Spanish. Subsequent demands for university places from students who had started Spanish in these schools meant that by 1952, when Peers died, nearly every major university in Britain had a department of Spanish or Hispanic studies.

Peers established a broad-based programme of study – a School of Hispanic Studies – embracing all aspects of Iberian culture, including Portuguese and Catalan, but also extending to Latin-American studies. The department at Liverpool was one of the first to move outside peninsular studies, and later, in the sixties, would become one of the five Parry centres to promote Latin-American studies. Peers's support for the other emerging regional universities was unflagging, and he fiercely defended their merits. In July 1944, writing under the name of Bruce Truscot – a well-kept literary secret – he predicted that 'Redbrick, once passed over by the "good" schools, frankly despised by the "best" schools, will emerge as the leading educational force in the country' (Truscot, 1945: 24).

Peers's other major contribution to the advance of Spanish studies, perhaps his greatest legacy to Hispanism, was the launch in 1923 of the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*. This was a landmark publication, which has been seen as the linchpin of British Hispanism. It was a bold enterprise, considering that not even French or German had a journal at the time in this country, and it represented a unifying moment in the emergence of Hispanism, one that put Liverpool on the map. It was addressed 'not to the academic specialist as such, nor to the pedagogue as such, but to the educated man or woman of broad interests who is conversant with the Spanish language and seeks information on all that concerns

Spanish life and culture' (Ribbans, 1973: 435). Its policy was neither to be academic or erudite nor wholly popular: neither a 'learned review' nor a 'chatty' magazine. It was part of Peers' ceaseless campaign to further the study of Spanish in schools and universities.

The *Bulletin* was a quarterly review, providing regular, up-to-date information about Spanish activities and publications in Great Britain and abroad. Many of the early entries were written by Peers himself, frequently under more than one *nom de plume*. He reported on the progress of Spanish in universities and gave detailed attention to schools, a sector to which he was deeply committed. He kept his readers abreast of both cultural and political events in Spain and Portugal, and published articles by contemporary academics: William Atkinson, William Entwistle and Aubrey Bell made regular contributions. His own input was considerable, often impossible to quantify, as he wrote several articles in nearly every issue, using at least six pseudonyms; the absence of these contributions was very noticeable when he died. Reviews of recently published books were a regular feature, as was news from Spain and Portugal, from many of the countries of Latin America, and the United States. During the Spanish Civil War, Peers wrote a detailed *Week by Week* account of events in Spain, which continued long after the war was over.

The journal grew in size and became very successful. In 1949, on its twenty-sixth edition, it was renamed the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, to reflect the interests of Portugal and Latin America, but its policy remained the same, and the style relaxed: Peers maintained that it had tried 'to steer a steady course'. On his death, the *Bulletin* was taken over briefly by William Atkinson, but in 1954, Albert Sloman, Peers's successor at Liverpool, became editor, whereupon it became what Peers had never wanted, but what was now needed: an 'exclusively-research journal of internationally outstanding reputation'.

Peers was one of a group of Hispanists, possibly the most enterprising, who represents the first real consolidation of Spanish as a university subject, and whose influence would span several decades. Significant advances in the promotion of Spanish in this country have often been the result of the efforts of just one individual. William Atkinson (1953: 2) saw Peers as one such individual, declaring on his death that 'The subject has now both found and established itself. A variety of causes has worked to this end, but the prime mover in the creation of the new climate of opinion was one man: E. Allison Peers'.

When Peers died in 1952, the Chair went to Sloman, who at the age of 32 was already a leading Hispanist, a specialist in Golden Age studies. Sloman had originally intended to read PPE, but switched to Spanish. His studies at Oxford were interrupted by the war, in which he served as a fighter pilot, thereafter returning to Oxford for post-graduate study under Entwistle. After a brief period in Berkeley, California, he spent six years at Trinity College Dublin as a Reader, before moving to Liverpool, where he remained for nine years. In 1962, he resigned, to become the Vice-Chancellor of the newly-created University of Essex.

Sloman was followed at Liverpool by Geoffrey Ribbans who had taught briefly at Queen's Belfast and St Andrews, then spent ten years at Sheffield before taking the Gilmour Chair in 1964. He was succeeded in 1978 by Harold Hall who, after a period in the army, then two years teaching at Leeds, had been at Liverpool since 1949. In the appointment of Dorothy Severin in 1982, Liverpool can boast the election of the first woman Hispanist in the country to a Chair. Severin stayed at Liverpool until her retirement in 2008.

The third of the Redbricks was Leeds University, where again, the Spanish department owes its existence to a generous benefaction. This was an age of philanthropy, and happily, several of the civic universities benefited from such gifts, usually from a business source. Spanish had first been taught at Leeds in 1886 to promote business education in the Yorkshire College of Science, in which the present university has its roots. The Yorkshire College then became part of the federal Victoria University and was given its charter in 1904. Pressure came immediately both from the Chamber of Commerce and from individual businessmen to initiate Spanish studies. During the economic downturn in Britain, Weetman Pearson, a Huddersfield businessman and politician, made his fortune in Latin America, mainly in Mexico. He was recommended for a peerage in 1910, whereupon he became Lord Cowdray. In 1916, 'in recognition of his Yorkshire roots, and of the debt he owed to the Hispanic world for providing him with a large personal and business fortune', Pearson donated the considerable sum of £10,000 for the founding of a Chair in Spanish at the University of Leeds. His wish was to 'further the educational and economic interests of the nation, and especially those of Yorkshire [...] and to foster a closer intimacy between the cultures of Spain, Latin South America and Great Britain' (Garner, 2007: 3).

Until that year the only Chair in the country had been the Gilmour Chair at Liverpool, so Pearson's decision was a brave move, and may have been accelerated by the creation of the Cervantes Chair at King's London a few months earlier, to which he himself had made a contribution. It suggested that he wanted Leeds to compete. Both the Liverpool and London Chairs had strong commercial interests, but the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds was concerned that Spanish be seen as a subject worthy of advanced study, and include tuition in literature as well as language: the emphasis on commerce should not mean that the courses were not academic.

As Spanish at the time was mostly being taught in universities by people without academic qualifications, Leeds sought advice from José Castillejo, secretary of the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios* in Spain, whose ideology was based on that of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. Castillejo spent several months as advisor in Leeds, before the Spanish department finally opened in 1918, under the leadership of Pedro Penzol, a young Spaniard from Asturias with 'artistic enthusiasm' and 'sound scholarship' (Brown, 1968: 28). Penzol had taught in London and Edinburgh, and was apparently well qualified, though it is not clear quite what his qualifications were. He proved a success, however, and joined shortly after by Agustín de Irizar, would run the department for thirty years before returning to Spain.

Penzol's successor was Reginald Brown, who had been a student of Peers at Liverpool, where he went on to read for his MA and PhD, and subsequently teach from 1937-39. Brown (1968: 14) was critical of the conditions that he found at Leeds, which he describes as 'the dilapidated face of poverty', and of the department itself, which lacked resources, 'both human and physical'. During his thirty years there, from a very small beginning, Brown built up a strong department, which would include eight lecturers and four *lectores*, as well as an impressive library. As in Liverpool, the department forged strong links with the secondary sector, especially under the teaching of John Boorman, who joined the department in 1948, and produced plays in the annual *Jornada* that drew hundreds of pupils from surrounding schools. Brown was also responsible for introducing the study of Portuguese, which remains one of the most important features of the department today. He failed, however, to support a bid for Leeds to become one of the Parry Centres for Latin-American Studies in 1965, which 'not only went against the spirit of the Pearson bequest, but also delayed the development at Leeds of what later proved to be one of the most dynamic areas of research [...] within British Hispanism' (Garner, 2007:

15). For some reason, Brown's professorship was not realised until 1954, when he was finally awarded the Cowdray Chair, thirty-eight years after the original bequest. In 1955, Brown was one of the founder members of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland, of which he was president from 1963 to 1965.

After the war, student numbers soared, swelled by returning ex-servicemen. Gareth Davies who had been teaching at Leeds since 1952, was appointed to the Cowdray Chair in 1975 and John Macklin, who had come from the department at Hull, succeeded him in 1988. Next to take the Chair, in 1999, was Alex Longhurst, who had taught in the department from 1972-87, then moved to Exeter when Keith Whinnom died, before returning to Leeds. When he took early retirement in 2004, the Chair went to Paul Garner, whose interests, rather appropriately, lie in Mexican history.

Manchester University began life in 1851 as Owens College, and was the first constituent part of Victoria University, which subsequently included Liverpool and Leeds. When the latter two were given their charter in 1903 and 1904 respectively, Manchester became the Victoria University of Manchester. Spanish was first taught in 1905 by C. A. Toledano, a special lecturer in Spanish, about whom little seems to be known, possibly, Donald Shaw hazards, 'an itinerant intellectual Columbian'. Three years later, Edgar Prestage, a special lecturer in Portuguese, was appointed to replace 'poorly attended day classes in Spanish', presumably those taught by Toledano. Prestage had a degree in History, but no formal qualifications in Portuguese, which he had taught himself, and none at all in Spanish. He had, nevertheless, acquired an international reputation as an expert in Portuguese language and literature, and was one of its pioneers.

As had been the case in other Spanish departments, there was a gap between an early start and the official opening, during which Spanish was only available at Manchester as an ancillary subject, possibly taught by Toledano. Then, from 1921-25, the department was taken over by a young, 'unqualified' lecturer, who would emerge as one of Hispanism's major figures. William J. Entwistle had studied Classics at Aberdeen, and then fought in the war, where he was seriously wounded. On his return, he had spent time in Spain and turned his attention to Spanish, where he thought there was more potential. Entwistle 'loved learning for its own sake', and his approach was refreshingly different from that of his predecessors: 'We do what we like and try to persuade others that what we do is important [...] probably the usefulness of history will be its uselessness. [...] The utter inutility of all the higher language-study may be, in this irrational world, its only claim to serious attention' (Griswold Morley, 1952: 185-86). Entwistle went on to qualify in Spanish, and in 1925 left Manchester to become the first incumbent of the Stevenson Chair at Glasgow, and from there, a few years later, to take the King Alfonso XIII professorship at Oxford. When he died in 1952, Peers (1952: 181) remembers him as 'not only among the most erudite of contemporary Hispanists, but, without question, the most learned that British Hispanism has ever had'.

By the time Entwistle left Manchester, financial backing had come, mainly from the Cassell Foundation, to provide an annual fund for the teaching of Spanish, which led to the appointment of Joseph W. Rees in 1926 as lecturer in Spanish. Rees, too, was initially 'unqualified'; he had a war degree in Classics and German, but like his predecessor, had then changed direction. After seeing action in the war, where he was wounded more than once, he went to Oxford in 1919 to specialise in Spanish, studying under Arteaga, thereby becoming, incidentally, the first university teacher of Spanish to be qualified in the subject. Rees had taught at Newcastle for four years before moving to Manchester, and numbers among the major early pioneers of Spanish studies. Over the next thirty-five years, he almost single-handedly established and built up the Spanish department at Manchester

which, under his stewardship, soon boasted one of the best libraries in the country. Like Peers and Boorman, he was active in making contact with secondary schools, and by the fifties, the department was developing a strong reputation for producing Hispanists. Rees excelled as a teacher. Between 1949 and 1961, when he retired, thirteen of Manchester's students went on to become university lecturers, five of whom then became heads of department.

Demand for Spanish was especially high in the Faculty of Commerce, a further example of the increasing emphasis on its dual role in the civic universities. Rees was appointed first to Reader, then, in 1953, to the Chair, becoming the first professor of Spanish Language and Literature in the University. He did not have a PhD, and modestly insisted throughout his career on being addressed as Mr Rees. On his retirement in 1961, he was succeeded by one of his protégés, Herbert Ramsden, who, like Rees, and Entwistle before him, had shifted disciplines and transferred their interests to Spanish, in Ramsden's case, from French and German. His excellent *An Essential Course in Modern Spanish*, a comprehensive and wonderfully reader-friendly grammar, would become indispensable for secondary school pupils and *ab initio* students at university for years to come. It is noteworthy that in the first half of the century, this strong department was built up by three men, none of whom had started out as a Hispanist.

When Ramsden retired in 1982, the Chair went into abeyance and Clive Willis, the lecturer in Portuguese, ran the department with a 'promotional' Chair until Jeremy Lawrance was appointed to a personal Chair. The established Chair was unfrozen in 1996, and Catherine Davies was elected, joining the still very small number of women Hispanists in the country with a Chair. In 2004, she was succeeded by Christopher Perriam.

The University College of Sheffield had originally planned to join Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester as a fourth member of the federal Victoria University, but the group had split before this could take place. Sheffield was given university status in 1905. When Swift, who had taught since 1897, died in 1914, Spanish was temporarily suspended, but the Faculty of Arts urged the need for its reinstatement, given its growing importance in commerce. The following year, Colonel Herbert Hughes, the treasurer of the University, proposed the establishment of a lectureship or a Chair in Spanish. Hughes was a solicitor who specialised in Trade Mark Law, and who understood the importance of Spanish in the commercial world. Although he died before the plan could materialise, his commitment to Spanish paid off: in 1918 a Memorial fund was set up in his name for a lectureship or Chair to commemorate the great contribution that he had made to commercial life in Sheffield; its aim was to promote the study and learning of Hispanic languages, for the educational or commercial progress of the city.

The same year, the first Hughes lecturer, J. N. Birch, saw the department firmly established. On his retirement in 1937, he was succeeded by Edward Sarmiento, who stayed until 1946, when the department was headed by Frank Pierce. Pierce would prove another major figure in the history of Hispanism. He had studied at Queen's University Belfast under Ignacio González Llubera, one of the most prominent early pioneers, and before moving to Sheffield, had taught briefly first in Liverpool, then at Trinity College Dublin, where he stood in briefly for Walter Starkie. He was wide-ranging in his interests and included Portuguese and Catalan in the curriculum, as well as Latin-American studies, which were still quite innovative. He was also a founder and long-time supporter of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland. Finally, in 1953, during the rapid post-war expansion of the University, Pierce became the first occupant of the newly-created Hughes Chair. Brian Tate (2000: 123-25) considers him 'one of the most active scholars in British Hispanism during the post-war years', and adds that 'if Entwistle, Llubera, Peers,

Trend etc. may be numbered among the first properly constituted generation of academic Hispanists who covered the inter-war years, then Pierce belongs to the post-war generation when British Hispanism proved the base on which international Hispanism was grounded. [...] It has been a generation of scholars of world-wide importance’.

The department laid emphasis throughout on business; the word ‘usefulness’ was key, and this attention to commerce continued under Tony Heathcote, a Manchester graduate, who joined the department in 1958, when the department was enjoying post-war growth, and included Terence May and then Geoffrey Ribbans. Heathcote introduced new courses combining Spanish with Business Studies, with Social Sciences, Music, Law and Philosophy. He saw the study of language as the centre of everything and personally taught language classes for beginners through to final-year honours. He, too, was committed to the teaching of Spanish in secondary education, but since there were still so few schools teaching it, provided *ab initio* courses in the university. He made an outstanding contribution to his department and to Hispanism at large and was made Hughes professor in 1980. Phil Swanson, who was previously at Aberdeen, and had taught briefly in London, is the present holder of the Chair.

In 1909, Bristol was the last of the first six civic universities to be given university status. It, too, received commercial backing, principally from the chocolate and tobacco industries of Fry and Wills. It started as University College Bristol in 1876, but there was no teaching of Spanish until 1955, when John Metford, who had lived in Latin America during the war and studied for a degree in Liverpool in the forties, was made head of department. He began by offering Spanish in General degrees and providing Spanish classes for other departments. An honours school was created in 1958, and Metford appointed to a Chair two years later. Portuguese was introduced in 1963 by Denis Brass, whose first degree had been in German, and Toni Turrull included Catalan. The department expanded considerably in the early 1960s with the arrival of John Lyon, Gordon Minter and Michael Costeloe. When Metford retired in 1981, Costeloe took the Chair, and when he left in 1998, David Hook was appointed.

Spanish in Secondary Education

Since the progress of Spanish in these new, civic universities was directly affected by the health of the language in secondary schools, it seems apposite at this juncture to reflect on how closely its fate in universities was mirrored in secondary education. The subject started to appear in schools early in the century at much the same time as the civics. It was slow to be integrated into the system, and fought for years to improve on its Cinderella status. At the beginning of the twentieth century, very few schools taught Spanish: before World War One, they numbered barely a dozen. Peers maintains that 1916 marked the point at which the movement in favour of Spanish began in schools. Following the war, the reaction against German gave Spanish extra cultural momentum, and opportunities in trade added practical considerations. A letter in the *Times* in 1916 from H. Holford Bottomley underlined both these areas. He pointed out that Spanish was easier to learn than German, and that German was no use outside Germany: ‘I beg to suggest a movement for the substitution of Spanish for German as a second language in schools; we do not want German trade but do want South American trade’ (Macklin, 2015: 106). Even by 1933, however, Spanish was still trailing well behind: its entrants for School Certificate numbered a mere 790, compared with 4,600 for German and 55,900 for French.

In the few schools that offered Spanish, it usually came as a second or third choice of a modern language, frequently seen as an ‘extra’ or a ‘soft’ option for poor linguists, or, on

another level, as 'useful', a subject 'taken only by a few eccentric individuals who have vague hopes of using the language in business' (Witham, 1928:85). In the late nineteen thirties Audrey Lumsden-Kouvel reports from a high school in Liverpool that Spanish was relegated to an inferior position, a subject perhaps useful in the commercial area, one that might be mastered by students unable to cope with the challenge of Greek, Latin or French (Peers, 1966: 400).

By 1948, Peers (1948:199) declared that attitudes had changed, and reflected on the difference: how back in 1923, when the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* began, Spanish was only considered of use to help one become 'a high-grade shopkeeper', inferior both to French, which 'got you everywhere', and German, 'needed for plumbing the mysteries of science'. In the same report however, Peers pointed out that the concept of Spanish as a 'commercial' language was one to die hard, and that at one university, when a lecturer proposed a course in Spanish literature, one of his colleagues, in perfectly good faith, enquired: 'Literature [...] Has it any?'

It was Peers who was largely responsible for the promotion of Spanish in schools, and who did seminal work in improving its standing. His dream was to challenge the assumed 'moral' superiority of French and German, and see Spanish, which was still viewed as a minority language, not just taught in schools throughout the country, but promoted to the first choice of a modern language. Progress, nevertheless, was slow: in the early thirties there were more universities than schools teaching Spanish, and newly-graduated Hispanists looking for teaching posts in the secondary sector were frustrated by the scarcity of jobs available. For years, large numbers of them had to resort to teaching French, which then translated into a shortage of applicants to university with qualifications in Spanish. It became a vicious cycle, and forced many university departments into teaching Spanish *ab initio*.

'Unqualified' teachers often kept the subject alive, as they did in university departments. It was frequently the French teacher who filled the gap: in one school for boys in the south of England, one such teacher openly confessed to his pupils that he prepared the lesson the day before, barely keeping one chapter ahead of his class. Peers (1945: 124) points out that it was 'only by using teachers with irregular qualifications that secondary schools first adopted Spanish during and after the last war; and no one will deny that the results justified themselves'. He goes on to recall that 'In 1920 or thereabouts, there was hardly an Honours School of Spanish in the country, and headmasters and headmistresses started the language by saying to their French staffs: "Now, we're going to start Spanish next September and I want one of you to learn some in the holidays so as to teach it." It was unscientific, no doubt [...] but it worked'. Nor was it so extraordinary, he suggested, since French had begun in much the same way a hundred years before under teachers of Classics. In schools, as in universities, Spanish frequently survived through the efforts of just one lone individual, often without the relevant qualifications.

Peers' indefatigable efforts over three decades reaped some gratifying rewards, and inspired a number of pioneers in the secondary sector. In one school for girls in the Midlands, Spanish was taught by the Mathematics teacher, whose passion for and knowledge of the language and the country were such that the school became known for its steady stream of budding Hispanists, bound for university. At another progressive school for boys in Cornwall, the headmaster decided that in a small school in the middle of a rural, mainly farming, area, the children needed some special qualification to compete with pupils from the cities. He decided in favour of modern languages, in which, in the early thirties, very few schools specialised, and in particular, Spanish: 'so widely spoken, so rarely taught'. It was a risk, but it worked: Spanish became so popular, that within a few

years it was promoted to principal language, and its success even led to the introduction of Portuguese (Peers, 1947: 10). In an age when few pupils went on to university, the school produced some eminent Hispanists, among them Nicholas Round and Albert Sloman.

Gradually, the number of schools teaching Spanish increased. Because of the demand from the business world, it was still often seen as commercial, and initially, schools for boys outnumbered those for girls. By the end of the nineteen thirties, its cultural side had been addressed, and there was an increase of teaching in girls' schools. Larger schools naturally found it easier to incorporate into the curriculum. The greatest progress was in the north of England and north Midlands. By 1936, Spanish was being taught in two hundred schools, and promoted, moreover, to the first modern language in about twenty-five of these. In the majority of cases, the course consisted of two or three years to School Certificate level, followed by two years in the sixth form, but it was now also being offered as two-year course from scratch for sixth formers, a move that helped to balance its earlier reputation as a subject for the less able, and improve its status: now, at last, a subject for the bright. Some progressive schools taught it as an 'extra'. Numbers were still small, however; in some cases, there were only one or two students in an A level class. Helpful promotion came from the BBC: Spanish language lessons were broadcast in 1933, and in 1938 news bulletins began in Spanish and Portuguese, the first languages to enjoy this boost.

The Spanish Civil War stalled progress for a while: student visits to Spain were curtailed, and numbers opting to take Spanish were negatively affected. Close on its heels, World War Two also took its toll: some schools were evacuated, several lost many of their teachers, some of whom were not replaced, though native speakers and, once again, teachers with 'irregular' qualifications filled the gaps, and kept the subject going. At this point there was a general unwillingness of the authorities to teach languages at all, and the unyielding position of French continued to keep Spanish firmly in its shadow, but when the war ended, demobilisation saw teachers return, and Spanish enjoyed a resurgence. In 1943 the Hispanic Council held its first conference for schoolteachers, and organised a summer vacation course for two hundred and fifty of them to learn Spanish and teach it in September. The effects were immediate and widespread. By 1953, Spanish was finally bucking the trend, and was being taught in schools throughout the country.

The World Wars – Turning Points for the Development of Spanish

The First World War depleted numbers in our universities, both of students and teachers, but one positive outcome was a further change in attitude in Great Britain and Ireland towards the study of foreign languages. The desire for a better understanding between nations, prompted by the war, provided a motive for learning modern languages. Spanish in particular benefited from the anti-German feeling that was spreading throughout Britain: Germans and German speakers were being ostracised and imprisoned, and German academics dismissed from their posts. At the same time, the practical value of Spanish was highlighted by the growing importance of trade, and the British government sought better relations with Spain as a gateway to Latin America. The Prime Minister's Committee on Modern Studies (1916-18) suggested that 'Spanish has perhaps the greatest commercial importance owing to the size and growing wealth of the Spanish-speaking communities of central and southern America' (Macklin, 2015: 110).

At the beginning of the century, the Redbricks had brought a new sense of direction to university education. Its teachers, too, were changing: some were now fully qualified British academics, others, while not yet officially so, were scholars, several of whom had

moved to Spanish from another discipline, bringing their own form of dedication to the subject. Most importantly, unlike the refugees of the previous century, who had mostly taught out of need, they were now all teaching Spanish out of choice, a vital difference that changed the whole ethos of the profession.

Despite the fact that these new universities had all evolved before 1914, and that Spanish was already being taught successfully in five of them, there was a body of opinion that saw World War One as the turning point for Spanish studies. Trend maintained that 'Spanish as a subject taught gained a toe-hold in British universities in general during the 1914-18 Great War', Peers that it did not begin 'on a worthy scale' until around 1916, at much the same time as in schools, and Malcolm Read that 'as a modern university discipline, British Hispanism was only constituted after World War One'.

1916 was undeniably an auspicious year for Spanish. In London, the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonso Merry del Val, a stalwart supporter of Spanish studies in this country, proposed a scheme to found a Spanish professorship in the capital. An article in *The Times* in March that year had pointed out that it would 'scarcely be credited that in London, the centre of the Empire, there is no Chair of Spanish Language and Literature, nor any organization for their teaching [...] commensurate with the gigantic business relationship that exists between Great Britain and Spanish-speaking lands' (Macklin, 2015: 110). Funds would be raised from donations; industry would provide. They were, and it did; in abundance. The Cervantes Chair of Spanish Language and Literature was duly created at King's, giving Spanish substantial confirmation of its status. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who had held the Gilmour Chair in Liverpool since 1909, was appointed.

The creation of this Chair underlined the importance of the growing development of trade with Spain and Spanish-speaking countries, and much of the teaching would subsequently be business-orientated. Since, however, the year marked the tercentenary of the death of Cervantes, the venture had a strong cultural as well as commercial incentive. Once again, London was at the centre of progress, in a situation reminiscent of that at the beginning of the previous century, when the absence of a university in the capital city had brought about the opening of University College London and King's College London; now, at the start of the twentieth, it was the absence of a Chair in that capital, in a language that was becoming increasingly important in the commercial world, that prompted the establishment of the second Spanish Chair in the country.

A few years into his professorship, in 1921, Fitzmaurice-Kelly made the somewhat unusual move of appointing a woman to a lectureship in the department. Janet Hunter Perry was one of his post-graduate students who had embarked on an MA in Spanish in 1918. She had graduated in French and German at Galway, Ireland in 1906, then spent the years that followed teaching in secondary schools in London and Cornwall. She was possibly the first woman Hispanist to be given an academic post in a British university. She is also another example, not only of schoolteacher-turned-lecturer, but of an academic who came to Spanish from another subject. She remained at King's until her retirement in 1944 and made a substantial contribution to the growth of Spanish studies in London, though, like many women academics in the early part of the century, her contribution to Hispanism was not given sufficient credit. Indeed, prejudice was such that it would not be until near the end of the century that a woman Hispanist was appointed to a Chair. Rita Hamilton, who was mentored by Perry, considered that the department owed its character largely to her early influence. During the Spanish Civil War, along with several other fellow Hispanists, Perry was active in the relief work of the Quakers.

King's would go from strength to strength, and the Chair from one distinguished Hispanist to another, though there was ten-year gap when Fitzmaurice-Kelly left, during which it went into abeyance. It was reinstated in 1930 under Antonio Carlos Rodríguez Pastor, who had been teaching in Oxford. Pastor was followed in 1945 by Edward Wilson, another Hispanist who had not started as such. Wilson had originally gone up to Cambridge in 1925 to take Holy Orders, but abandoned this in favour of English, then changed subjects again, this time to French and Spanish. He had lectured briefly in Cambridge before taking the Chair in London, but returned to Cambridge in 1953 to take the Chair there. His place at King's was taken by Alexander Parker.

Parker had graduated in Spanish at Cambridge, where he was already writing articles while still an undergraduate, and at the time was considered, with Peers, to be one of the most prolific British Hispanists writing for a general audience on nineteen-thirties Spain (Faber, 2008: 198). He had spent fourteen years as a lecturer at Aberdeen before moving to London, at a moment when research in his specialism, Golden Age studies, was very strong. At King's he inherited a department that was by then considered one of the best in Great Britain and which included already established Hispanists in Roy Jones, Rafael Martínez Nadal, and Rita Hamilton.

Jones had graduated at King's, and worked under Parker at Aberdeen before moving to St Andrew's, then returning to King's in 1950. He went on to create a remarkable department at Queen Mary London before coming back to King's again in 1962, where he took over the Chair from Parker. He would later be appointed to the Chair at Cambridge, following Wilson. Nadal, strictly speaking, was not an academic, but was part of a prestigious circle of Spanish intellectuals, and had links to the *Residencia de Estudiantes* in Madrid, then at its peak. The *Residencia* was a university college in Madrid, run on English principles and modelled on Oxbridge, attended by the leading Spanish writers, architects, teachers, lawyers and scientists of the twentieth century. Nadal had worked as a correspondent for the BBC, but was removed during World War Two for his anti-Franco stance. Rita Hamilton, one of Janet Perry's protégées, had graduated from King's, and joined the department as an assistant in 1944. When King's was evacuated to Bristol during the war, some of the Spanish department had moved to Birkbeck, under her care. Mrs Hamilton rose through the ranks to become a senior lecturer in 1959, but like Perry and others of her sex at that time, was denied the recognition that she deserved. Jack Sage and Jim Cummins, both of whom would go on to prestigious careers, completed the numbers in the department, which in 1965 became one of Parry centres, and in 1973 changed its name to the Department of Spanish and Spanish-American Studies.

1916 also saw progress at Oxford. A committee appointed by the Prime Minister to look into the position of modern languages in the educational system of Great Britain, reported that the war had made people conscious of the dangers that lay in their ignorance of other countries, especially Germany, France, Italy and Russia. The conviction was subsequently growing that knowledge of a modern, foreign language was as valuable as that of the Classics, and the years following the war saw a dramatic increase in applicants to read Modern Languages at university. Substantial support was forthcoming at Oxford in the early nineteen twenties through a growing number of benefactions, and by 1927, the School of Modern Languages had become the best equipped in the university, with a library, paid teachers, prizes and travelling scholarships.

In the Spanish department, Arteaga had been joined in 1920 by Pastor, Oxford's first teacher officially qualified in Spanish, who would subsequently take the Chair at King's London. A year later George Alfred Kolkhorst, who had graduated in Spanish at Oxford, was made a Taylorian lecturer. Kolkhorst had spent his early years in Chile, then Portugal, and

later worked briefly in Galicia. In 1926 he became a university lecturer and in 1931, Reader in Spanish. He remained there until 1957, shouldering the main burden of Spanish teaching, and it was he who was largely responsible for the successful establishment of the subject at Oxford.

In 1927, thanks to a generous endowment, the King Alfonso XIII Professorship of Spanish Literature was created, and the new Chair went to the Spanish writer, Salvador de Madariaga. Madariaga was another Chair holder without 'official' qualifications; he had studied engineering and had previously worked as a journalist, but he was a well-known man of letters. Ribbans (2015, pers. comm.) suggests that the dearth of Hispanic scholarship at the time made the choice of native speakers natural, and may also have accounted for earlier appointments like that of Arteaga and Penzol, and later Pastor. He also points out that in the absence of Spanish departments, it was impossible for these first appointees to have formal qualifications: witness Peers and Trend.

Despite the name of the Oxford Chair, the endowment did not come from Spain, but from a Chilean politician, Agustín Edwards. John Macklin (2015: 5) underlines the fact that both this and the earlier Taylor bequest had come from private benefactors, and had cost the university nothing. They were precedents of many more benefactions that would follow from outside the university for the teaching of Spanish. Finally, over three centuries since its false start, Spanish at Oxford was firmly in place.

When Madariaga left in 1932, the Chair went to Entwistle, who had taught at Manchester, then held the Stevenson Chair at Glasgow. During his tenure at Oxford he was responsible for the introduction of Portuguese. On his death, he was followed by three eminent Hispanists: in 1953, Sir Peter Russell, one of the most influential Hispanists of the twentieth century in Great Britain; in 1982, Ian Michael, who was first at King's London, then taught at Manchester and Southampton before moving to Oxford, where he stayed until he retired; in 2003, Edwin Williamson, a literary scholar as well as an historian, previously holder of the Forbes Chair at Edinburgh.

Following Oxford's lead, the other ancient universities had begun to stir. At Cambridge, Spanish met some resistance, possibly again because modern languages were seen as a 'soft' option. As at Oxford, the mould was first broken by French and German, though passages of Spanish and Portuguese had apparently been offered in the MML Tripos as early as 1891, as alternatives to Italian. The first promotion of the subject came in 1905, in the form of a gift from Norman MacColl, scholar and Fellow of Downing College. Like others in this history, he did not start as a Hispanist, but as a lawyer, who later turned to literature, Spanish in particular. MacColl collected a substantial library of Spanish and Portuguese books, which he bequeathed to the university, together with £500 for a lectureship in his name. The lecturer, appointed every four years, was to deliver a minimum of five public annual lectures on the language or literature of Spain or Portugal. The first appointee was James Fitzmaurice-Kelly in 1908, followed by a long line of established Hispanists. The nature of the lectureship changed in 2004 to become the MacColl Symposium.

The Spanish department proper did not open until 1913, with the appointment of J. M. Villasante, a native speaker, with no known qualifications, who gave classes in basic language and some literature. Four years later, opportunity for expansion came in the form of an anonymous benefaction of £10,000 for 'the improvement of the teaching of the Spanish Language, Literature and History, and of the spoken tongue, having regard to the relations of this country with Spain and the Spanish-speaking countries of America' (Smith, 1981: 1). Again, the bequest came from outside the university, and the emphasis was on

the practicality of the language. A Readership was subsequently established in 1919, and F. A. Kirkpatrick appointed. Kirkpatrick was initially a classicist, who later turned his attention to history and finally to Spanish, with a special interest in Latin America. Together with J. W. Barker, he laid the foundations of Spanish studies in Cambridge. Barker, another noteworthy pioneer of the subject, had taught German in a school before becoming a research student in Spanish at Cambridge after World War One, then moving into university teaching in 1920. He was responsible for setting up a summer school in Jaca in 1927. He later specialised in Portuguese, which he introduced into the curriculum. The teaching of Spanish in the department was greatly enhanced by a number of distinguished *lectores*, such as Ricardo Baeza, Pedro Salinas, Dámaso Alonso and Angel Valbuena Prat.

Final recognition for Spanish came in 1933 with the founding of a Chair, to which J. B. Trend was elected. Colin Smith records this as an excellent choice; others were less enthusiastic. In the strict sense, Trend was not a Hispanist: he had studied Natural Sciences at Cambridge, and was well known as a writer and a musicologist, but it was his familiarity with the Hispanic world, his wide knowledge of Spain, and his many contacts, not just with leading Spanish writers and intellectuals of the day, but with the man in the street, that swung the balance. His travels to Spain brought him into contact with luminaries like Federico García Lorca and Manuel de Falla, and his interest in music took him all over the country, and became one of the constants of his writing. Alvaro Ribagorda (2011:119-28) sees him as one of the first English Hispanists who understood Spanish culture in the twenties and thirties, and who saw Spain, not with the 'folklórico' vision of the nineteenth century, but as it really was: backward, and plagued by a decadent educational system.

Ribagorda underlines the importance of Trend's relations with Spain's *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (1876), and with the disciples of Giner de los Ríos, especially José Castillejo of the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas*. This was a private, lay institution, founded in 1907, based on European methods, and intent on changing the failing educational system in Spain. Castillejo had played an essential role in setting up the Spanish department in Leeds in 1917.

Trend also enjoyed a lasting friendship with Alberto Jiménez Fraud, the director of the *Residencia de Estudiantes*. The *Residencia* attracted many distinguished visitors from abroad, and Trend became a regular visitor. He saw it as the 'best example of intellectual Spain', referring to it as 'mi college en Madrid', and set up successful exchanges between the *Residencia* and the department in Cambridge. Following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Trend was quick to offer a welcome to Spanish writers and poets seeking refuge from Francoist Spain, and instrumental in finding them teaching posts in this country. Among others, he secured Fraud a four-year MacColl lectureship in 1936, and offered a post of *lector* to Antonio Machado, who, unfortunately, was unable to accept.

The Civil War, however, gave rise to a serious rift in the Spanish department. Trend lent his support to the plight of the refugee Basque children and in May 1937, when 4,000 of them arrived in Southampton, he and his colleague, John Cornford, took a group that came to Cambridge under their protection. Three of Trend's other colleagues were anti-Republican and protested that the department should not be seen to support a political cause. The schism persisted into the fifties. Nor was this an isolated incident: sympathies were divided, and similar divisions arose in departments throughout the country. While some Hispanists remained neutral, others refused to return to Spain under Franco's regime. Peers and Entwistle went back, and initially, Atkinson even favoured Franco.

Trend made no secret of his allegiance, and now turned his attention away from Spain to Mexico, a move that possibly influenced other departments to look beyond peninsular studies. Faber (2008: 191) maintains that while interest in Latin-American studies generally took off after the Parry report in 1965, when Cambridge became one of five selected Centres, it was initially triggered by the Civil War, which left Spain out of reach for students and made Latin America an alternative option. Peers' decision in 1949, to change the title of the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* to the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* also reflected this new area of study.

Trend built up a strong department, and his breadth of interests brought Portuguese and Catalan into the compass of studies. In 1945, he offered a lectureship to Helen Grant, another of the early women academics in Hispanic studies. Mrs Grant, whom Trend had known since her undergraduate days at Oxford, and with whom he had worked for the government in the early thirties, had been travelling to Spain for over twenty years, had met figures like Lorca and Guillén, and was well acquainted with liberal intellectual circles. A 'passionate socialist', she, too, had been closely involved with the welfare of the refugee Basque children. When the Civil War broke out, she was an assistant lecturer at Birmingham, and in 1937 went to Spain with Rica Brown, wife of Reginald Brown, to look into aid for the children. If there was a silver lining to the arrival of these children in this country, it was in the enhanced awareness of Spain that it brought into people's consciousness in Great Britain. Grant proved an invaluable colleague for Trend, and her contribution to the department was substantial, but, like that of the few women academics then holding university posts, not sufficiently recognised.

When Trend retired in 1953, the chair was taken by Edward Wilson, who had held the Cervantes Chair in London. The department continued to thrive and in the years that followed, produced some outstanding Hispanists. It is worth observing that, of the five men who were largely responsible for building up this prestigious department in the first half of the century, one was an unqualified native speaker, and none of the other four had begun as a Hispanist, thereby exceeding Manchester's record of three. Wilson was followed by Roy Jones, then, in 1975 by Colin Smith. When Smith took early retirement in 1990, his place was taken Paul Julian Smith.

Although Durham was one of the centres of medieval scholarship, it was not given university status until 1837, at much the same time as the two London Colleges, and was the last of the ancient universities to introduce Spanish. From a federal university, it did not become a modern university until 1963, when James Leslie Brooks created a department, and became the University's first professor of Spanish. Brooks had graduated at Trinity Dublin, and had been in secondary education before moving into university teaching, first at Queen's Belfast, then Manchester and Sheffield, before coming to Durham. He was joined in the department in 1964 by Daniel Rogers, together with Ian Macpherson, who, when Brooks retired in 1984, became Chairman of the Department of Spanish and Italian. In the same year, Michael Thompson joined the department as lecturer. During the late eighties and early nineties, the departments of French, German, Russian, Spanish and Italian merged into a School of Modern Languages. Macpherson retired in 1993, leaving the department without a Chair until the appointment of Robert Archer in 1998.

As at Oxford and Cambridge, attitudes in the ancient Scottish universities were also changing. Despite the decidedly elitist approach of John Stuart Mill, who, in his inaugural lecture at St Andrews in 1867, had disagreed with giving a prominent place to modern languages, since they were 'so much more easily acquired by intercourse with those who use them in daily life' (O'Neill: 1999: 365), by 1877, French, German and Italian had been

tenuously introduced in the 'Ladies Literate in Arts' qualification. Spanish, however, did not follow until 1904, and it was not until almost half way through the century, in 1948, that a degree programme was begun under Leslie James 'Ferdie' Woodward. Until this point, Woodward had been in secondary education, but came to St Andrews with a degree in Spanish. He was one of a group of Hispanists, including Parker, who laid the foundations of post-war Hispanic studies. He had served in the war and had, like Parker, worked at Bletchley Park. Several of his generation had seen war service which in many ways gave their approach to study a different dimension. He is recorded as a charismatic and inspirational teacher, and the department thrived under his leadership. A Chair was created for him in 1963 in recognition of his work.

Woodward had been joined in 1950 by Douglas Gifford, whose undergraduate education at Oxford had also been interrupted by war service. Gifford had been born in Argentina, and his interest in Latin America led to the creation of the Centre for Amerindian, Latin-American and Caribbean Studies in 1968. He spent the whole of his teaching career at St Andrews, during which time he became a founding member of the AHGBI. He was awarded a personal Chair in 1975. In 1960, the department's horizons were widened by the inclusion of Catalan, under Arsenio Pacheco Ransanz, and Latin-American and Luso-Brazilian Studies, led by Salvador Bacarisse. Over the years, the department benefited from the teaching of a number of assistant lecturers, several of whom, such as Roy Jones, Geoffrey Ribbans, and Victor Dixon, would go on to distinguished careers.

1916 also proved a landmark year for Spanish studies at Edinburgh, bringing funding which, as at Oxford and Cambridge, again came from outside the university. Daniel Mackintosh Forbes, an East India Merchant, who had died that year, bequeathed most of his property to the University. The new post created would be known as the Forbes Lectureship in Spanish; much later, in 1999, a Chair, originally created in 1962, would also bear the name.

The department opened in 1919. Its first Spanish teacher was from Colombia, with no university background. Baldomero Sanín Cano had been a schoolteacher, and then worked in the first tram company in Bogotá, because of his knowledge of English. He spoke other languages too, but modestly referred to himself as 'un hombre que sabía callar en siete lenguas' (Henderson, 1998: 6). He later achieved a considerable reputation as a journalist and a writer. At the time, although under pressure to consider Spanish instead of German as a second foreign language after French, very few schools in Scotland had taken up the challenge. Sanín Cano's answer was to set up a class for beginners in the university. He also introduced Latin-American studies at the start, a predictable move, given his Colombian background. Though only in his post for one year, he published grammar books and translations, and his active promotion of Spanish, coupled with his enthusiasm and inspirational teaching, established what would become a flourishing department.

His successor, L. B. Walton, who took over in 1920, had lived in Spain and had first graduated from University College London in French, but was later awarded a first class degree in Spanish from Oxford, and was made a Forbes Lecturer in the same year. He continued the interest in Latin-American studies, and in 1947, the department was among the first in Britain to rename itself a Department of Hispanic Studies (Henderson, 1998: 8). Like his predecessor, Walton engaged with secondary school teachers, as schools finally began to introduce Spanish into their curriculum. The department, along with others during this period, consolidated a further link between Spanish and business, by catering for students in the Faculty of Commerce, for whom a course of one modern language was

compulsory. Walton continued to teach in the department, first as lecturer, then as Reader, until his death in 1960.

Both the Second World War and the Civil War in Spain took their toll on the department. The first seriously reduced student numbers, especially of men, the latter curtailed students' travel to Spain, which had been encouraged from 1922 onwards. When servicemen and women returned in 1946, they brought a new element of maturity into the student body, and a sense of dedication, especially among those whose undergraduate studies had been interrupted by war service. On their return, numbers in the department doubled, and special measures were taken to accommodate them, whereby only ten per cent of places were offered to school leavers; this caused some controversy, as more schools were now teaching Spanish, and competition was fierce.

By the fifties, students were now able to get to Spain, which some did, with great determination: in 1951, one young man spent six weeks cycling from Edinburgh to Barcelona. There were few foreign students in Spain at this stage and the country, while friendly, was still very traditional. In Alicante, the young cyclist was reprimanded for wearing shorts in the *Ayuntamiento*, but a fellow Scot fared worse: he was thrown into jail for 'wearing a skirt' (Henderson, 1998: 45). Even back home in Scotland however, the department imposed its own restrictions: in 1947, a female student was turned away from class for wearing jeans.

In 1962, a Chair that had been proposed in 1931 finally materialised, and Alec Parker was appointed. By now, Parker had emerged as the undisputed leader of post-war Hispanism, and was enjoying an immensely successful career as a specialist in Golden Age studies. At Edinburgh, he inherited a flourishing department, which had begun, like many others, with just one 'unqualified' member of staff. In 1964, Donald Shaw came from Glasgow to join the department, and stayed until 1985, when he left for the USA. Parker had already left for Texas in 1970, whereupon the chair went to Edward C. Riley, who held it until his retirement in 1989.

The middle of the nineteenth century marked a coming of age of Hispanic studies in this country, and it was Parker and other academics of his generation, all deeply committed scholars, who brought a new professionalism to the subject. Javier Herrero (1990: 178) points out that after Fitzmaurice-Kelly, there was a radical shift in approach from 'essayists' such as Aubrey Bell, Walter Starkie, J. B. Trend, even Allison Peers, who were essentially 'belletrists', and who had recently dominated British Hispanism, to a first generation of dedicated scholars, who gave it a new status. They made the subject 'respectable'; by the end of the century, the 'aficionado' had turned professional. It was a sea change. In the latter years of the century, an appointment like that of Trend, back in 1933, would be unthinkable.

Unorthodox practices, however, still went on. Jenny Lowe (2015, pers. comm.) recalls that when one of the lecturers left the department suddenly, late in the academic year 1963-64, Parker suggested to the Dean that Jenny, who was then an assistant lecturer at King's and with whom he had kept in touch since teaching there, would be a suitable replacement, since she was about to move to Edinburgh to get married. She was duly appointed, no questions asked. There are further examples of relaxed procedures elsewhere: in 1954, Jim Cummins was interviewed for his first post at St Andrews in a pub in Victoria, and John Butt recalls that he did not even have an interview with Roy Jones, then at the helm, for his lectureship at King's London in 1965.

Aberdeen University followed closely on Edinburgh, with the appointment to a Chair in 1920 of Charles Davidson, 'a man of immense vitality and urgency', who gave special

emphasis to the 'living language' and whose teaching, while perhaps unorthodox, was a decided success. Parker took over in 1939, and became a Reader in 1949, before moving to the Chair at King's in 1953, when Peter Dunn and Terence May joined the department. Both continued with the Golden Age tradition started by Parker, though Dunn's first teaching was on medieval and nineteenth and twentieth-century texts; he became a 'cervantista' later. May had read French at Manchester, then, encouraged by Sarmiento, took another degree in Spanish and went on to do an MA. He had taught at Sheffield before moving to Aberdeen. When he took early retirement, at the time of the cuts, his post was left unfilled. A Chair was re-established in the late eighties for Derek Harris, a specialist on Luis Cernuda. Phil Swanson taught from 1997 until 2004 when he was appointed to the Chair at Sheffield.

The inclusion of Spanish in the curriculum at Glasgow was the result of another bequest from industry, in this instance from Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson, a ship builder and coal exporter. Anxious to foment relations between the international business communities with which he dealt, it is likely that he thought that they would benefit from linguistic tuition in the university. Once again, the dual role that Spanish was playing in so many departments came into force at Glasgow: unlike some benefactors from industry, Stevenson took an active interest in the way in which his bequest was administered, and with business always in mind, his endowment in 1924 of two Chairs – Spanish and Italian – came with the requirement that the appointee teach also in the West of Scotland Commercial College (Macklin, 2015: 115).

The first incumbent of the Stevenson Chair of Spanish, later to become the Chair of Hispanic Studies, was William Entwistle, who had taught at Manchester for four years. He established the department in 1925, and remained until 1932, when he moved to the Chair at Oxford. In 1930, he made what was still a fairly innovative move, by appointing a woman into the department. For Ivy McClelland, newly graduated, an assistant lectureship at the age of twenty-two, was a considerable achievement in a profession still dominated by men, where it was still unusual for a woman to hold a post as lecturer and researcher. Miss McClelland had originally intended to read English, but after attending one of Peers' summer schools, switched to Spanish, and proved one of Peers' most outstanding students. She remained at Glasgow for the rest of her academic career, completing her MA in 1932. By 1937 she was publishing articles in the *BSS* and had soon earned international acclaim, but she had to wait twenty-six years before she was made a senior lecturer and another ten to become a Reader.

When William Atkinson took over the Stevenson Chair from Entwistle in 1932, McLelland ran the department for him on several occasions, once for five years on his secondment to service by the Foreign Office. When he retired in 1972, she applied for the Chair, but like many women in academic life of the time, was passed over, 'inexcusably', according to Nick Round, who was appointed. Anne Mackenzie (2009: 23) maintains that had McLelland been a man, she would have been appointed to a professorship years earlier, but 'in British universities, when she was in her prime, women scholars were not supposed to want, much less get, even if they richly deserved, promotion to the highest academic posts.' In the first half of the century, the merits of women like Janet Perry, Rita Hamilton, Helen Grant, Margaret Wilson and Ivy McLelland were not sufficiently acknowledged, and even in the sixties, seventies and eighties, many women academics continued to be denied the career advancement that they deserved. They are the unsung heroes of British Hispanism. It was not until the last part of the century that a woman Hispanist was elected to an established Chair, when Dorothy Severin took over the Gilmour Chair at Liverpool in 1982. McLelland at least had a Chair named after her, and was made

'Honorary Professor in Hispanic Studies' at Glasgow, but not until 1997, when she was aged eighty-nine. Prejudice was such that Rica Brown, who contributed so much to Hispanism, did not qualify to work for a doctorate without a first class degree; yet in the same decade, Trend was awarded a Chair in Spanish with a second-class degree in a totally unrelated discipline.

The scarcity of women academics was felt across the board, and at Glasgow, even in the late sixties, not one woman in the university held a Chair, causing a disgruntled member of Parliament to complain in the House that the entire professoriate could have moved to inhabit a monastery, without causing any embarrassment to the monks (Mackenzie, 2009: 23). As one of the earliest women Hispanists in a British university, McClelland found herself in an academic world dominated by male scholars. When she was about to publish her first book in the nineteen thirties, Peers advised her to use her initials, rather than her first name, possibly because by not revealing her sex, her work stood a better chance of being received and reviewed seriously. For years, subsequently, many people thought that I. L. McClelland was a man (Mackenzie, 2009: 11). Peers must have championed other women, since their articles began to appear in the *BSS* in the late nineteen thirties, including contributions from Audrey Lumsden, another of his students, who later joined McClelland in the department at Glasgow. It was she who took over the *Week by Week* section of the *Bulletin* when Peers died. Shades of sexism apparently persisted even into the sixties in more 'basic' ways: when John Butt (2017, pers. comm.) joined the staff at King's London in 1965, the department still had a separate staff room for women.

William Atkinson had been one of Llubera's first students at Belfast, and, interestingly from the point of view of this study, was the first Professor of Spanish in the UK to have read Spanish as an undergraduate. He was one of the founding generation of British Hispanists, who, along with Llubera, Entwistle, Peers, and Rees made Spanish a respected academic discipline (Mackenzie and Round, 1993: 435). He had taught for six years at Newcastle before coming to Glasgow, where he stayed for forty years, in what became an outstanding department, teaching many who would go on to university posts. He introduced Portuguese into the curriculum, and was seen as a pioneer and a visionary in his promotion of Latin-American Studies, which at the time were still emerging slowly, only becoming more important in the sixties and seventies. Following the Parry Report in 1965, Glasgow was one of five centres designated to promote Latin-American studies in the UK. Atkinson provoked considerable opposition, however, when he tried to evade Stevenson's conditions concerning teaching in the Commercial College. In 1994, when Nick Round left, the Chair was taken by Gareth Walters, who had previously been a lecturer at Glasgow. He stayed for four years, before moving on first to a Chair at Exeter, then at Swansea. The Chair at Glasgow was then frozen until 2013.

The first half of the twentieth century also saw Spanish established more firmly in Ireland. Following Fornieri's inauguration of a department at Queen's University Belfast in 1837, there was a long gap until 1917, when in view of the amount of foreign trade that existed between Belfast and Spain, Central and South America, the Faculty of Commerce prompted the reinstatement of Spanish. Again, the pressure came from industry. That same year, 1917, a Mr Henry Musgrave had donated £10,000 for the foundation of a Chair of Russian Literature and Language. A year later, in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, he conceded that this plan be abandoned, and suggested that the fund be used for the teaching of some other foreign language, either Spanish or Italian. The money, subsequently, was used to provide a lectureship in Spanish, to which Ignacio Miguel González Llubera was appointed in 1920. A history of Queen's records that 'the language

originally suggested and that finally chosen reflect the interests of the Ulster linen industry in Russian flax and the South-American market' (Moody and Beckett, 1959: 464). A story that is often told, however, relates that the committee made the choice of language simply by going to the next letter of the alphabet: R for Russian became S for Spanish.

Llubera was one of the outstanding pioneers of Hispanism. A highly respected medievalist, Catalan scholar and poet, he had graduated in Judaeo-Spanish literature and had broad European interests. In 1926, when the Musgrave Chair of Spanish finally materialised, as part of the expansion of the university following World War One, Llubera was promoted. He ran the department for forty years, mostly single-handedly, until his retirement in 1960. It was a period of formative growth for British Hispanism, and under Llubera's guidance, students such as Frank Pierce and Brian Tate would go on to distinguished careers. Llubera set an early example of those who introduced Catalan and Portuguese into the curriculum: his was one of the first departments of Hispanic Studies. He embraced every branch of Iberian culture, including art, architecture, history and linguistics. In addition, in keeping with the emphasis on business interests in the emerging universities in England, Spanish was taught in two Faculties – Arts and Commerce – again institutionalising both sides of the subject, the academic and the practical (Macklin, 2015: 112). Dominic Keown (2011: 8-9) sees Llubera, along with Peers, Trend and Entwistle, as one of the founding fathers in the promotion of a mosaic of languages and cultures, and maintains that 'It was this generation which, with their exposition of the prestige of Iberian languages and culture, first carved out a discipline in the Faculty of Arts where the field of philology was previously occupied exclusively by the classics and the imperial monolingualism of French and German'.

Arthur Terry, who had joined the department in 1950 as an assistant lecturer, took over when Llubera died, and was appointed to the Chair in 1962. Terry was a Catalan expert and possibly did more for the promotion of the language and its culture than any other British scholar. He left in 1972 for a Chair of Comparative Literature in the new university of Essex, and his place was taken by Paul Russell-Gebbett, another Catalan specialist, who had previously taught in Nottingham, Essex, Trinidad and Manchester. Russell-Gebbett was succeeded in 1985 as Head of Department by Trevor Dadson, who had joined the department in 1978, and was appointed to a personal Chair in 1988. When he left in 1990 to take the Chair of Spanish in Birmingham, he was replaced by David Johnston, who specialises in Theatre and Translation and now runs the Centre for Translation and Interpreting at Queen's. Isabel Torres, the current president of the AHGBI, was awarded a personal Chair in Spanish in 2012.

University College Dublin received its charter in 1908. Following Marani, the first recorded member of staff to teach Spanish was another Italian, a Miss Maria A. Degani, who began teaching it alongside Italian in 1910. She was promoted to a professorship in 1912 and appears to have run the department more or less alone until 1938, possibly with some teachers hired on a temporary basis. There was then a gap until 1944, when the two languages appear together again under Patrick McBride, who had been a lecturer in Italian, and was now made professor of Spanish and Italian. When McBride retired in 1968, the department of Italian and Spanish was split, and in 1969 Patrick Gallagher was appointed to the first Chair of Spanish. Manuel Ferrer-Chivite and Don Cruickshank then joined the department in 1969 and 1970 respectively. Cruickshank was awarded a personal Chair in 1986, then when Gallagher retired, took over the established Chair, which he held from 2001 until his retirement in 2007.

At University College Cork, 1916 again proved an important year. During the war, when German was losing its place as a second option to French, Spanish became its

obvious replacement, and was offered here under W. C. Cooke, a practising solicitor, who had no formal qualifications in Spanish. He had worked in the West Indies, and had acquired his Spanish in contacts with South America. Cooke's interests therefore naturally extended to Latin-American studies, at a time when most university departments were still concentrating on peninsular Spain. When he retired in 1936, Dr J. G. Healy became the first full-time lecturer in Spanish. Healy's specialism was German, but he was fluent in Irish, Spanish and Italian. The Spanish department at Cork was staffed, like so many in those years, by just one academic, and when Healy was recalled to the forces in the early years of the war, the department was left without a lecturer in Spanish. The gap was filled by a temporary teacher of French and Spanish, a Mr Buckley, who had also acquired his knowledge of Spanish in Latin America. Healy returned after the war, and Spanish was offered as a subject for BA and B Comm. degrees. In 1958 Healy became the first professor of Spanish. A year after his death in 1963, the first Chair of Spanish was established, and following three 'unqualified' teachers, University College's first qualified Hispanist was appointed. Niall J Ware was a medievalist; he had studied Spanish from scratch as an undergraduate, then went on to complete his MA and PhD. He had joined the department as an assistant lecturer in 1960, and was appointed to the Chair four years later, when only twenty-seven. Tragically, he died in 1978, at the age of forty-one.

The Chair then went to Terence Folley, who had been appointed as a lecturer in 1963. After graduating at University College Cork, Folley had spent several years in the late forties and early fifties living in Spain. It was a critical time, immediately after the Civil War, and the experience was said to have made him a Hispanist. He had an outstanding gift for languages: he was fluent in French, Italian and Russian, knew Polish, Catalan and Portuguese, and could 'hold his own' in Swedish, Japanese and Turkish, but the language closest to his heart was Irish. Folley taught in England for ten years before returning to Cork, where he introduced Latin-American studies, as well as Catalan and Portuguese. Much of the Spanish teaching in the fifties and early sixties was of necessity *ab initio*, as secondary schools were still proving slow to offer Spanish: Folley responded by designing a new programme of studies, including Spanish for beginners, and during his tenure, the number of Spanish students at University College soared. Folley ran the department until his retirement in 1996, whereupon the Chair was filled by David Mackenzie, who introduced Galician Studies and created the Irish Centre for Galician Studies.

At Trinity College Dublin, Walter Starkie was appointed in 1926 to a new Chair that was solely Spanish, though he was still expected to teach Italian. His was another example of an important Chair going to a candidate with no qualifications in Spanish. According to J. L. Brooks (1977: 329) Starkie was 'not at heart an academic but a citizen of the world,' who had 'been everywhere, met everyone'. A popular travel writer, translator and consummate violinist, Starkie had a degree from Trinity College in Classics, which, coupled with his passion for Spain may have accounted for his appointment. Geoffrey Ribbans (2015, pers. comm.) sees him as an anecdotal figure with little real scholarship and Donald Shaw (2015, pers. comm.) regards him as an eccentric, but while he was undoubtedly a colourful character, his enthusiasm was not in doubt, and his knowledge of Spain and acquaintance with Spanish literary figures such as Lorca would make him something of a pioneer in the progress of Hispanism. Peers (1948: 197) numbers him 'among the Hispanists of whom Britain has most reason to be proud'. Starkie later went on to be the founder and first director of the British Institute in Madrid, and chief representative of the British Council in Spain.

The Spanish department at Trinity enjoyed great prestige, especially in Ireland, but had very little money. Modelled on Oxbridge, the wearing of gowns was the norm, but when

Donald Shaw (2015, pers. comm.) arrived as a junior lecturer in 1955, he recalls it as 'shabby genteel'. He reports that he was expected to teach everything from beginners' Spanish to Golden Age literature, as well as his own speciality: a fairly common remit in those days. Shaw has some amusing recollections of the College: there were no baths, but when the possibility of installing some was mooted, one of the oldest Fellows was heard to question the need, since the term was only seven weeks long. There were other colourful colleagues: the Junior Dean apparently gave his classes in bed at nine in the morning, dressed in a nightshirt; after class, he would go back to bed. Even the library was idiosyncratic: books were catalogued according to size, making research 'quite adventurous'. Shaw would move on from Dublin to Glasgow, then Edinburgh, and numbers among the country's most prominent Hispanists.

When Starkie left Dublin for Madrid in 1947, the Chair went into abeyance, but it heralded a point when real scholars began teaching in the department. Albert Sloman was there from 1947-53, and in 1966 the Chair was reinstated under Ted Riley, who had arrived in 1949. Riley was born in Mexico, and studied under Peter Russell at Oxford, where, like many of his colleagues, his undergraduate days were interrupted by war service. He stayed at Trinity for over twenty years and acquired a reputation as a doyen of Cervantes studies. When he left to take the Chair at Edinburgh, his place was taken by Nigel Glendinning, who came from a Chair at Southampton. Glendinning had studied at Cambridge under Trend and Helen Grant. In an academic career that spanned sixty years, he became one of the most outstanding Hispanists of his generation, and a world expert on eighteenth-century Spain and on Spanish art, especially Goya. When he left Dublin in 1974, the Chair went to Victor Dixon, who stayed until 1999, since when the Chair has not been filled. Not only does the Spanish department at Trinity go on record as the first to open in Great Britain and Ireland, but one that has been teaching uninterrupted from 1776, and has produced some distinguished Hispanists, including the writer Ian Gibson.

Queen's Galway became a constituent college of the National University of Ireland, changing its name to University College Galway. 1916 again marked a beginning for Spanish, on the appointment of Richard J. Conroy as an assistant lecturer. In 1949, Máire O'Reilly brought new life into the department, and for a short while in the 1960s, student numbers in Spanish exceeded those in French. O'Reilly was made an Associate Professor in 1968. It was not until 1979, however, that a separate Chair in Spanish was established, to which Derek Harris was appointed. He was succeeded in 1990 by Diarmuid Bradley. Latin-American studies are now part of the curriculum.

The Second Wave of Redbrick Universities: Reading, Nottingham, Southampton, Hull, Exeter, Leicester and Newcastle

World War Two was followed by a second wave of civic universities in England, all broadly termed Redbrick. They differed from the first six, in that they did not evolve from technical colleges but from local university colleges; many of them had begun life in the late eighteenth hundreds, and had previously awarded external degrees from Oxford or London. All these colleges achieved university status between World War Two and 1963, with the exception of Reading, which was given its charter in 1926, between the two wars. No degree programme for Spanish was offered when it opened, but a department was created in 2015 and began to offer courses in September 2016.

Nottingham University gained its charter in 1948. Beginning as University College Nottingham in 1881, it was initially funded by an anonymous donor; later benefactors included Sir Jesse Boot. Spanish was first taught at its present campus in 1932, within the

department of Romance Languages, by a single member of staff, G. F. Chamberlain, a Cervantes specialist, who had graduated at Edinburgh and taught at Harvard before coming to Nottingham. In 1947, Chamberlain was joined by G. L. Stagg, a Cambridge graduate, who was offered the first Chair in 1956, by which time separate departments of Spanish and French had been created. Stagg, however, had by then accepted a post in Toronto, and Brian Tate, a medievalist of international reputation, was appointed in his stead, as Reader. Tate's undergraduate years under Llubera at Queen's Belfast had been interrupted by war service, but he returned to Belfast to graduate in 1948, and went on to complete his MA and doctorate. He taught briefly at Manchester and Queen's before moving to Nottingham, where, within two years he was promoted to a newly-created Chair. Tate was one of a group of outstanding Hispanists who helped to develop and consolidate the field of Hispanic studies in the post-war years, and was the mentor of seven colleagues who all went on to Chairs. He was succeeded in 1983 by Richard Cardwell, a specialist in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Spanish literature, who had joined the department in 1967. The department soon expanded to include Portuguese and Latin-American and Brazilian studies, and saw an increase both in staff and student numbers.

Southampton University was given university status in 1952. It originated in 1862 as Hartley University College of Southampton, following a legacy by the wine merchant, Henry Robinson Hartley. Interest in Spanish dates from the early 1890s, when commercial French, German and Spanish were taught as evening courses. The first recorded teacher of Spanish was a German lecturer, a Cambridge graduate, E. M. Aron, who taught briefly from 1913-14. In 1924, or possibly earlier, a Catholic priest in charge of a local parish, the Rev. Bernard Lindsay, was made lecturer, but classes were fairly basic. It was not until 1960 that qualified teachers were appointed, and Spanish established within the Arts Faculty, with Richard Kerr and Duncan Moir in charge. Moir had studied under Parker at Aberdeen and taught at Bristol before moving to Southampton. In 1962, a separate department of Spanish was created, and Nigel Glendinning, who had taught at Oxford, was appointed to a new Chair.

Under Glendinning, the curriculum expanded, and by the late seventies, the department became the Department of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin-American Studies. Refugees and native speakers had played an important role in the development of Spanish teaching in this country, and Southampton acknowledges a very real contribution made over the years, not only by a number of illustrious *lectores* from Spain, but, following the 1973 coup in Chile, by a group of Chilean refugees, whose value lay in 'their rich knowledge of their own societies and cultures, rather than from qualifications or training in teaching language'. When Glendinning left to take the Chair at Dublin in 1970, he was replaced by the medievalist, Ian Michael, who left in 1981 when appointed to the Oxford Chair. Michael was succeeded by Henry Ettinghausen.

Hull was given its charter in 1954. Starting life as University College Hull, it had been built in 1927 on land donated by the city council and two major benefactors, one an industrialist. Spanish was first taught in 1962 at subsidiary level only, organised within the department of French by Brian Morris, who was given a personal Chair. The following year, Margaret Borland (Wilson) was made lecturer in Spanish, and a separate department was established in 1964. Portuguese and Latin-American studies were included in 1973. Morris left in 1980, and the following year, Jack Flint was appointed to a new Chair of Hispanic Studies. Flint had spent five years in business before embarking on university teaching at Strathclyde in 1958. He came to Hull at a time of swingeing cuts, and the department was chosen for closure under the rationalisation programme. It survived, though not in its entirety, losing its Chair in 1988. By the early nineteen nineties, with

numbers growing, it had returned to normal, and the Chair was restored in 1993 under Peter Beardsell, who had previously taught at Manchester and Sheffield. Even as late in the century as this, the importance of the practical side of Spanish persisted: during his tenure, Beardsell wrote a letter to the Independent underlining the 'usefulness' of Spanish for a career in business.

Not only did the department have to deal with government cuts, it also had to defend its own corner within the university. In 2001, the Vice-Chancellor's committee recommended a reduction of staff, and also, bizarrely, that languages be taught void of any culture courses, such as those in literature, history and film. The department's response to the committee accepted its wisdom in economic matters, but refuted its recommendations on how a language should be taught. It suggested that such advice was equivalent to expecting the Professor of Spanish to cook a paella for the committee, simply because he knew something about Spain. The curriculum remained intact.

Another delightful human story reflects the warm, friendly and flexible atmosphere for which Spanish university departments throughout the country have become well known: one of the undergraduates in the nineteen nineties was a mature student called George, who was in his eighties, but insisted on wanting no special treatment. The girls in the department nevertheless took him under their wing. He proved a 'star', delivering a paper in Spanish on Argentina under Perón, and his presence was felt by all to be a great privilege. He was awarded a 2.2 and was the subject of a 'Look North' television item.

Among new members of staff at the time, the department also welcomed the contribution made by a Ruth Aedo-Richmond, a refugee from Chile; she arrived as a language assistant, but became a leading teacher and researcher. This department, like many others in Great Britain and Ireland, has made positive efforts to liaise with schools, for twenty years inviting them to an annual Spanish Day, which included a performance by a choral group known as the 'Tuna'. Spanish is no longer a department in its own right at Hull, but is the strongest language in the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures.

Exeter University received its charter in 1955. It had its beginnings as early as 1851 in the Exeter Schools of Art and Science, which in 1893 became the Exeter Technical and University Extension College. Spanish was first taught in 1958 by Douglas Trotter, within the French and Spanish Department. Trotter had qualified in both Spanish and German, but chose a career in the former. He taught briefly at Dublin and Bristol before moving to Exeter, where, when Spanish became independent from French, he built up the new department from scratch. He was given a Chair in 1964, making him Exeter's first professor of Spanish, as well as the youngest professor in the university. Richard Hitchcock (2014, pers. comm.), who was appointed as an assistant lecturer in 1966, along with José María Alberich and Margaret Rankine, recalls that Trotter sent him a 'formidable' list of authors on whom he was expected to lecture. He points out that 'In those days, lecturers were not expected to confine themselves to their own speciality, but were required to cover the whole discipline of Hispanic Studies'. The heavy load of teaching and administration left little opportunity for research. Hitchcock had studied Spanish and Arabic at St Andrews; he went on to spend his whole academic career at Exeter, retiring in 2003 as Professor of Hispano-Arabic Studies.

Tragically, Trotter died a few months after his appointment, at the age of 38. He was succeeded the following year by Keith Whinnom, who had taught in Hong Kong, Dublin and the West Indies. Whinnom proceeded to build up one of the most highly regarded departments in the country. When he died, he was succeeded by Alex Longhurst.

The site for Leicester and Rutland University College was donated by a local textile manufacturer. It became University College Leicester in 1927, and was awarded its Charter in 1957, but has had mixed fortunes. There may have been some teaching in the nineteenth hundreds, but Spanish did not start officially until this century, and then only in combination with other languages and social science disciplines, under Helen Rawlings and Sheldon Penn. The department was then part of the School of Modern Languages.

Newcastle has its origins in the nineteenth century, in the School of Medicine, and the College of Physical Science, which together formed one unit of the federal university of Durham. Later it became Armstrong College, then King's College, a constituent college of the University of Durham, and in 1963, the University of Newcastle on Tyne. Spanish was first taught in 1887, along with Italian and French, by a Signor Catoni, at Armstrong College. In 1911, the School of Modern Languages was founded, at its head Albert George Latham, a specialist in French and German. In 1917, Spanish was only offered for two years, at *ab initio* level, and as a subsidiary subject for French and Economics, but was officially re-established by Latham in 1922 through the appointment of Joseph Rees, who stayed at Newcastle for four years before moving to Manchester.

After the war, the department of Modern Languages split into separate departments, and Kenneth Reid, who had joined the department in 1943, succeeded Edward Sarmiento as Reader. Like several others before him, Reid had taken his first degree in French and then turned his interest to Spanish. He also taught in the secondary sector for ten years before embarking on university teaching. Reid was another pioneer of the subject, and in 1965 the department was renamed the Department of Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin-American Studies, the first in Great Britain to have Latin-American Studies in its name. In 1971, he was promoted to a Chair, but retired in 1978, as part of the cuts of that period, whereupon the Chair was frozen, and George Cheyne took over the department. Cheyne, too, had spent a period teaching in secondary schools, after a spell in Spain in the aftermath of the Civil War. He had joined the department in 1961, when he began work on his doctorate. He remained at Newcastle until his retirement in 1982. Terry Mason, who had been in the department since 1966, took over from Cheyne in 1982, and was succeeded by Peter Evans in 1987. The Chair was finally unfrozen in the mid nineteen nineties, and Chris Perriam appointed. The Spanish department at Newcastle had originally grown out of the department of Economics, and followed the pattern of many of the civic universities, where the subject was taught in both the Faculty of Arts and that of Commerce. *Ab initio* teaching was a constant throughout. Recently, Portuguese, Catalan and Quechua have been on offer. Like many departments of Spanish in their early days, Newcastle became known for admitting mature students with unconventional backgrounds, one of whom was a former Carmelite nun, who achieved first class honours.

This second phase of civic universities brought another fresh approach, whose ripples spread to the traditional universities, and the first half of the century saw the greatest progress so far in the teaching of Spanish in our universities. It was no longer the poor relation. By 1963 there was a total of eighteen Spanish Chairs in the country: one in London, six at the first Redbricks, two in the second group of Redbricks, six at the ancient universities, and three in Ireland. Academically, moreover, Spanish had moved to a new level of professionalism. The 'chance' element was disappearing. In the eighteenth century, its only teacher had been 'unqualified', and at the beginning of the nineteenth many had still lacked qualifications. In this second wave of civic universities, all but three of its early teachers were qualified. Appointees were now usually trained Hispanists, albeit with just a first degree or an MA, and real scholars were starting to emerge.

It took a while, however, for a doctorate to become the norm in university teaching, and in the fifties and sixties was sometimes even actively discouraged: securing a teaching post and publishing were frequently seen as more important than the pursuit of further qualifications: a sort of contrary status snobbery. Against a background of the rapid increase in teaching posts in the sixties, promising young academics were frequently snapped up by universities and advised to delay research. When Roy Jones was appointed to the Chair at Cambridge, he did not have a doctorate. Ribbans (2015, pers. comm.) recalls that at King's London, Edward Wilson, who had a PhD, encouraged his research students to work for an MA, but the encouragement did not extend further; several eminent Hispanists, among them Ribbans himself, never went on to get a PhD. It only became *de rigueur* after his generation, in the seventies and eighties. Parker, however, who succeeded Wilson, despite not having a doctorate himself, started his students directly on to PhDs.

At the start of the century, because modern languages had been taken up by more female than male students, they subsequently became increasingly perceived as 'women's subjects'. Women, certainly, were seen as high achievers. The years following World War Two, however, saw a large intake of young professionals returning from war service, the majority of them men, which helped to balance the gender distribution.

The middle of the century marked the beginning of political involvement in education, and prompted by a growth in sixth forms, the issue of government awards enabled more young people to apply for a university place. It was a time of feverish academic activity; the country was alive to education, and as the last of the civic universities acquired status, another watershed changed the face of university education. Until this point most English universities had been established by personal or civic initiatives and funded privately and locally. Benefactions from business had founded most of the Redbricks of the nineteenth century, and civic or community initiatives had been responsible for London and some others. Now, for the first time, the impetus came, not from the business world, nor from the universities themselves, but from the government. An increasing population and the technological demands of the moment pointed to a need for more universities. In 1963, the Robbins Report recommended the expansion of the British university system, and availability 'to all those who are qualified by ability and attainment' to pursue a university education. At the time, already over half way through the century, fewer than a quarter of a million young people – less than 5% – had a place at university.

The demand was to be met in two ways: first by granting university status to Colleges of Advanced Technology, Colleges of Art and Design, some training colleges and regional technical colleges, with the power to give degrees. These new universities dropped the word 'technology' from their title and soon became indistinguishable from the established universities. The second initiative was to create a number of new universities, which would be known as Plate Glass universities, the name reflecting their architectural design, which involved wide expanses of plate glass in steel or concrete frames, in stark contrast with both the Redbrick and the ancient buildings. All these changes took place in the sixties, and by the end of the century student numbers had doubled. At the time of writing, about 50% of young people now have university places.

Spanish benefited from this boom period; according to John Macklin (2015: 106) it was in the sixties, following the initiative from Lord Robbins, that the rapid growth of Spanish really occurred. It would be further enhanced by the attention given, two years later, to Latin-American Studies. Although interest in this area of Hispanism had begun to emerge earlier, especially after the Spanish Civil War, it was deemed to have been insufficient. It was now to be officially established as a discipline: the result of the findings

of a committee, set up in 1962, to review the developments in the field of Latin American Studies, and to consider future plans. In 1965, the Parry Report designated centres in five universities – London, Cambridge, Oxford, Glasgow and Liverpool – with responsibility for promoting Latin-American Studies. Initially, these centres catered only for post-graduates, with the exception of Liverpool, which ran an undergraduate course.

One of the most outstanding of these new universities was at Essex. In 1960, the University Grants Committee announced plans for this university, and appointed Albert Sloman as its first Vice Chancellor. It was an extraordinary move for Sloman, who, at forty-one, was at the height of his career in one of the most prestigious Spanish Chairs in the country. He was to stay at Essex for twenty-five years. His vision was to create an entirely new kind of university, breaking with Redbrick structures and adopting an innovative approach based more on American university practices, in particular that of Berkeley, California, where he had taught in 1946. He accused Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State, of crippling the universities, which had been the academic envy of the world, and he set about building a university that would be international and inter-disciplinary, and above all, committed to research. Student participation, a new concept, was part of his democratic approach. The result was ground-breaking and not without its critics, but Sloman took the long view, and rode out the opposition. One of his 'selective areas of study' included a Language Centre, where Jean Franco, a pioneer in Latin-American studies, was appointed to a personal Chair from 1968 -1972; the Catalan specialist, Arthur Terry, was appointed to the Chair of Literature in 1972.

The second half of the twentieth century also saw the emergence of Spanish in universities in Wales. The first department was at Cardiff University, which had begun in 1883 as the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, one of the founding federal colleges of the University of Wales. Spanish was established around 1956 by Eduardo Sarmiento, who had taught in Sheffield and Newcastle. The department was named for closure in the 'rationalisation' period of the 1980s, but the university merged with UWIST (the University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology), and Hispanic studies subsequently became part of EUROS, the new School of European Studies and Politics, later to become EUROP in 2012. The department of Politics moved to the Faculty of Law, and Hispanic Studies, along with all other languages, finally became part of the new School of Modern Languages, where it is flourishing. Again, the route that Spanish took involved Commerce.

Aberystwyth, another of the founding colleges, soon followed. Teaching of Spanish began as part of the French degree under Ian Macpherson in about 1960, when it was still the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Macpherson's specialism was medieval studies, which had been fostered at Manchester under Rees. By 1964, Spanish had become a full subject within French and Romance Studies, which finally became the Department of European Languages. Richard Cardwell and Eileen McGrath joined the department in 1965, and in 1967 Roger Mills was appointed to a newly-created lectureship, along with Gwynne Edwards, who was appointed to a personal Chair in 1983. There was never a department of Spanish as such at Aberystwyth; it remained a 'section' within the wider department.

Swansea received its charter in 1920, and Spanish enjoyed an uplifting start in 1965 at the then University College Swansea, with an *ad hoc* course devised especially for three students who had Advanced level Spanish and who needed an additional subject for their French degree. In a few days, two lecturers, one in French, the other in Italian, both of whom had qualifications in Spanish, put together a course. The following year, Spanish was established formally under John Hall, who ran the department alone, within the

department of Romance Studies, until he was joined first by Lloyd Davies, and in 1972, by David George. Commerce again played its part: from the mid-eighties Spanish flourished largely as a result of the development of joint Language and Business Studies degree schemes. The department of Hispanic Studies, separate from Romance Studies, was established in 1991 with the appointment of Derek Gagen to the first Chair. Gagen specialised in modern Spanish poetry and theatre; his first teaching post had been at Manchester, where he had graduated. The department flourished under his leadership, introducing Catalan in the early nineties, and Portuguese in 1995, though both were later discontinued.

Bangor began in 1884 as the University College of North Wales, and was the third of the founding colleges of the federal University of Wales. Spanish was first taught in 1999 by Elaine Canning in the Hispanic Studies section of the School of Modern Languages. A separate department of Spanish opened in the same year. A Chair has not been established at Bangor.

The teaching of Spanish in the second half of the century also received further momentum from the founding of the Open University by the Labour government under Harold Wilson. It was set up as part of a widening access to higher education, with the use of television and radio to broadcast its courses. It faced scepticism at the start, but soon established itself as a respected source of distance learning. Development of the Spanish programme started in 1966, within the Centre for Modern Languages, where French and German were already being taught. The approach was totally new: departing from the traditional programme, Spanish was to be taught as a World Language, with emphasis on the diversity of the language and cultures of its speakers; any variety of Spanish would be promoted. This presented considerable challenges: the programme required a wide variety of resources, in particular, recording of the audio-visual kind, and the training of tutors in the new approach. There was some opposition, but the first module began in 1999, since when nearly 40,000 students have studied Spanish at the Open University. Its contribution to the teaching of Spanish has been considerable.

If the nineteen sixties represented a period of boom, the nineteen eighties brought the reverse, with the first major cuts since the Robbins Report. In a drive for accountability and value for money, the Conservative government's grip on education tightened in earnest, and universities suffered more than any other public service. The 'rationalisation' programme under Mrs Thatcher imposed substantial cuts on funding, especially for research. Departments had to justify their existence, and many were threatened either with closure or a reduction in the number of their teaching posts; academics lost security of tenure, and early voluntary retirement was encouraged. Performance management became the watchword; what mattered was marketability. Until this point education had hardly changed since World War One; now, the virtue of scholarship for its own sake was being made redundant.

During this period, Spanish departments in the London Colleges were affected by radical mergers. In 1987, King's College took over Chelsea College and Queen Elizabeth College. Westfield College had to choose between absorption by King's and a genuine merger with Queen Mary College. It decided on the latter and joined forces with Queen Mary in 1989, to become the present Department of Hispanic Studies at QMUL under the leadership of Ralph Penny, who had taught at Westfield since 1966. The department finally settled in the Mile End campus in 1992. The merger, though originally resisted, proved eminently successful, indeed, seen by the two colleges as both 'harmonious and creative'.

Westfield College had originated as a women's college in one room in a house on Finchley Road. Accommodation was a major problem, and the department moved five times before it found a permanent home. Spanish was not offered until 1948, when Janet Perry, who had recently retired from her lectureship at King's, came for three years as a part-time lecturer. She had just five students. Her teaching inspired enough to call for a full-time post, and in 1952, John Varey was appointed as lecturer of Spanish, within the department of French, to teach subsidiary Spanish to students of French and German. Like many others of his generation, Varey's studies had been delayed by war service. Under his teaching the subject became so popular that the demand for an Honours course led to the official opening of the Spanish department three years later, with Varey as its head, making Westfield the first of the two colleges to establish a department.

Varey was joined in 1958 by Alan Deyermond, in his first teaching post. Although they had only three Honours students, they shared all the teaching responsibilities, covering the entire gamut of language and literature courses between them: demanding, but not unusual in those days, as already observed by contemporaries Richard Hitchcock at Exeter and Donald Shaw at Dublin. Varey remained at Westfield for twenty-eight years, building the department into one of the best in the country, and was appointed to a newly-created Chair of Spanish in 1967. He became one of the leading Hispanists of his generation.

Queen Mary College has the interesting distinction of being the only Spanish department in the country to have begun in an area that once housed a Spanish-speaking community. East London has long been the home of immigrants, and the seventeenth century saw a small community of Sephardic Jews living there. Higher education in Mile End has its origins in technical education: it started with the opening of the People's Palace Technical Schools in 1887, which in 1896 became the East London Technical College, then at the beginning of the twentieth century, the East London College. The University of London was encouraging lectureships in Spanish and Italian, specifically in the East London College, and it was here, in 1917, that Spanish was first taught by José Vicente Barragán; he initially taught for one and a half hours a week, for a fee of one guinea per session, but was soon promoted to a permanent lectureship. He stayed for forty-five years. Apparently, he occupied one room for so long in the first college building, that it became known as Barragonia.

The Spanish department proper opened in 1956, a year after Westfield, with Roy Jones at its head and Barragán as Senior Lecturer. Jim Cummins took Barragán's place in 1957, and was joined by Lynn Ingamells the following year. Cummins had served in the Air Force and then gone to King's as a mature student. He had taught briefly there before joining the department at Queen Mary. In 1960 it was the first London college to introduce the study of Latin-American literature, under Jean Franco. When Jones left in 1963 to take the Chair at King's, Leonard P. Harvey (known by all as Pat Harvey) who had joined the department three years previously, took over. Harvey specialised in both Medieval and Oriental studies, and had previously taught at Oxford and Southampton. A Chair was established in 1967 to which he was appointed. As at Westfield, accommodation also proved a problem here, and after one apparently satisfactory move, Alan Deyermond (2005: 17) records a moment when Harvey found a snake in his wastepaper basket. 'After considering the possibilities that this was a practical joke (the date of the incident was 1st April) or an assassination attempt (Hispano-Arabic studies arouse stronger feelings than some other branches of scholarship), he sought advice from the Department of Zoology. It transpired that the snake had escaped from their vivarium and entered the office through a hole in the ceiling'. In 1973 Harvey left to take the Chair at King's, whereupon Nigel Glendinning was appointed to the Chair, and led the department until the merger with

Westfield. Queen Mary reaped substantial benefits from its interdisciplinary approach, which involved close ties to Hispanists in other departments, such as the historian Paul Preston.

Royal Holloway was founded in 1886 by the Victorian philanthropist, Thomas Holloway, as a college for women, and is a constituent college of the federal University of London. It merged with Bedford College (1849) in 1985. Spanish was first taught in 1993 by a temporary lecturer, Antonio Sánchez, though there had previously been some Spanish teaching at Bedford. Mark Allinson became the first permanent lecturer in 1994, within the Italian Department. In 2000, Spanish was expanded into a full-scale Department of Hispanic Studies, and Abigail Lee appointed to the Chair.

Birkbeck College began life in 1823 as the London Mechanics' Institute. In 1920 it became a constituent college of the University of London. Day and evening classes in Spanish were first taught here in 1939, at the beginning of World War Two, when courses from King's College London, which had been evacuated from the city, were transferred here, on an intercollegiate basis, under J. R. Carey, Perry and Nadal. At the end of the war, Spanish continued at Birkbeck as a permanent subject, but was then discontinued briefly, before its renewal in 1948, with the official establishment of a Spanish department under Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson. Jo Labanyi ran the department for twenty-five years, and was followed by Roger Walker, a distinguished medievalist, who came to Birkbeck as a lecturer in 1963 after two years at Bristol; he was made Reader in 1972 and given a Chair in 1980. He eventually became Vice Master of Birkbeck.

In order to address the ever-increasing importance of practical subjects in university teaching, yet another flurry of government-initiated educational activity marked the last decade of the century. Between 1992 and 1997, many Polytechnic Colleges and Colleges of Higher Education were granted university status. Like the CATs and Plate Glass universities before them, these new, new universities also dropped their former title and assumed equality with their older neighbours. Unsurprisingly, their promotion led to a certain amount of rivalry and resentment.

The twentieth century came to a close with the upheaval of the Dearing Report, and the introduction of tuition fees for university students. Free education disappeared. In 1998, students were required to pay £1,000 a year; by 2006 this rose to £3,000, and in 2012 to £9,000, burdening would-be students with ever-increasing financial concerns.

Supporting Institutions

The principal moving force behind the story of Hispanism in our schools and universities has clearly been its teachers, but during the twentieth century Spanish has been staunchly supported by a number of institutions, foremost of which are the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland, the Cervantes Institute and Canning House.

The AHGBI was founded in March 1955, at The Burn, in Scotland, at a meeting hosted by St Andrew's Spanish Department. On Peers' death, a group of twenty-three young Hispanists, based in the north of England and Scotland, had for a while proposed meeting annually to discuss academic matters, share research findings and provide an organisation for the scholarly interests of its members. The time was ripe for the foundation of an independent professional association of Hispanists in the UK. The Association was duly born, its driving force Frank Pierce, from Sheffield University, with Belfast's Ignacio González Llubera as its first president: the first association of Hispanists

to be founded anywhere in the world. Its purpose was to 'enable members to meet annually for an informal exchange of views, for the reading and discussion of short papers and for the examination of administrative and teaching problems' (Sloman, 1955: 248). The primary function of the Association would be 'to promote in Great Britain and Ireland the study of the languages and cultures of the Iberian peninsula and of those countries to which these languages and cultures have spread.' In 1962, under the guiding force of the AHGBI, the first conference of the newly founded *Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* was held at Oxford.

From the start, the AHGBI has held regular Easter Conferences, in all corners of Great Britain and Ireland. Over the years, these have grown in numbers, especially of younger members. 1992 marked an ambitious move, when the conference moved further afield, to be hosted in Huelva. Since then, two more conferences have been held on the Iberian peninsula: in Braga, in 1998, and Valencia in 2005.

Its influence over the years has been far-reaching; it had an especially critical role defending Spanish teaching during the painful phase of 'rationalisation'. In 1985, when the University Grants Council proposed deep economic cuts, involving a general reduction in teaching posts and the total closure of some Spanish departments, the AHGBI fought these dismissals and closures and succeeded in reducing the number of posts due to be lost from twenty to two, and the number of departments signposted for closure from eleven to three.

By 2005, membership of the Association had grown from twenty-three to four hundred, and continues to increase. It numbers university teachers of Spanish in Great Britain and Ireland, involving approximately one hundred departments, and includes retired and overseas members. The AHGBI has worked to make educational bodies aware of its views on the place of Spanish and Portuguese, not just in higher education, but in the secondary and tertiary sectors, abroad as well as at home. It has collaborated over the years with institutions involved in the promotion of Spanish, in particular the Spanish Embassy, the Cervantes Institute and Canning House (Macpherson, 2005). In 2014 the Association was granted charitable status, an achievement celebrated at the 60th anniversary conference in Exeter in 2015 at which a new development fund was launched to underpin its activities nationally, and where a *Red Europea de Asociaciones de Hispanistas* was inaugurated to consolidate its international profile. The granting of charitable status has paved the way for a suite of new initiatives that will further expand the Association's substantial portfolio of support for its members, and its capacity to fulfil its original mission.

The Cervantes Institute, with centres in London, Leeds, Dublin and Manchester, is a non-profit-making organisation, founded to promote the Spanish language and the culture of Spain and Spanish-speaking countries. It supports Hispanists, runs courses, organises cultural events and has done much to promote Hispanism in this country. Originally the *Instituto de España*, it opened in 1946 in a reaction to the *Instituto republicano español*. The Republican institute had begun in 1944 in Prince's Gate, London, with funds from the Spanish Republic. It was administered in exile by Juan Negrín, Republican Prime Minister during the last two years of the Civil War, and directed by Pablo de Azcárate, the then Spanish ambassador in London, whose aim was to 'continuar con la formación cultural de los exiliados y difundir una idea de España contrapuesta a la del Régimen de Franco'.

In 1946, the poet, Leopoldo Panero, arrived in London with orders from the Francoist government to set up another cultural centre, to improve the picture that the UK had of Spain at the time. Although he had hoped to become its director, his political allegiances

were controversial, and Xavier de Salas was elected in 1946. This new centre, now the Cervantes Institute, was housed at 102 Eaton Square, and continued for a while alongside the Republican institute, which closed in 1950. There are now branches of the Cervantes Institute in over twenty different countries.

Canning House is the home of the Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, originally housed in 1947 at Upper Berkeley St, London, now at 2 Belgrave Square. It started in the nineteen thirties as a non-profit British Centre for Latin-American affairs, answering a need to coordinate Britain's commercial and cultural relations with Latin America, which were losing ground to the USA. Its interests were in trade, and to that end, in the educational value and commercial application of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Despite recommendations by the government in 1918 to expand the teaching of Spanish, little had been done.

In 1943, Canning House set up a vacation course for prospective teachers, and following the initiative of Allison Peers, embarked on a campaign to overcome the prejudice in schools in favour of French and German, and promote the merits of Spanish. It opened a substantial library, and ran evening classes, working in collaboration with the Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, which was established in 1947. Its main contribution to language teaching from the nineteen forties was the organisation of courses, both for schoolteachers and schoolchildren, on lines initiated by Peers, including the creation of an annual Prose and Verse-Speaking competition for schools. In 1960 it changed into a coordinating rather than a teaching centre. Believing that 'the British connection with Latin America has always rested on trade', one of the prime motives of Canning House has been the encouragement of British trade and investment in Latin America. From the start its objectives have been both commercial and educational; in this it has echoed the underlying background to the establishment of many Spanish departments in the country.

Conclusion

Hispanic Studies as a discipline is flourishing today in our universities. It has come a long way since the first brief appearance of Spanish at Oxford in 1595, and has undergone a long fight to be accepted as a worthwhile academic subject. Its hard-won success lies in a variety of sources, principally, of course, its teachers. For many years, these had questionable qualifications, some none at all. Beginning in the eighteenth century with a lone Portuguese, without any academic background, they ranged in the nineteenth century through an unorthodox but colourful mix: from native speakers, many of them refugees, who were simply making a living by promoting their native tongue, through Italians, whose language, as a university discipline, was often taught in tandem with Spanish, and sometimes even ranked more highly, to a mixture of poets, writers and intellectuals. Though the standard was elementary in the early years, and the aims not always scholarly, it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that these men were the first to put Spanish on the academic map.

These early pioneers, for such they were, were followed at the beginning of the twentieth century by a new generation of teachers, men and women of vision, who transformed the teaching of Spanish in our universities. Though mostly now British academics, many of them were still 'amateurs', with dubious credentials, but with an enthusiasm for the subject that turned them into the first real Hispanists. Among the most dedicated were those who had abandoned their original discipline in favour of Spanish: men like Peers, Trend and Entwistle, three of the most eminent Hispanists of the nineteen

thirties, none of whom had started as a Hispanist, but who brought with them a special passion for the language, and gave it a completely new cachet. Between them, they weathered the problems of two World Wars and a Civil War in Spain. As the century progressed, in the rapid expansion that took place in the sixties, these 'enthusiasts' gave way to another generation of qualified Hispanists, such as Parker and Wilson and their contemporaries, who brought a seal of professionalism to the discipline. Spanish had come of age.

In a changing market, it has been the adaptability of these teachers that has ensured that the subject moved with the times. Originally, the study of Spanish meant the Castilian language; later it incorporated literature, and then embraced the languages of the peninsula: Portuguese, Catalan and Galician, finally extending to those of Latin-America. More recently, it has become an even broader discipline, with widening forms of study, including gender, film and cultural studies. Many departments have changed their name to reflect this new approach.

A second factor in the success of Spanish must surely be in the nature of its departments. These have very often been small, occasionally with just one lone head, and subsequently intimate and close-knit. Perhaps it is their size, perhaps the pleasure that they inspire in their students for their subject, but they appear to enjoy a particular kind of camaraderie that doesn't exist in other disciplines. Their reputation for a happy, special atmosphere is wonderfully expressed by D. J. Gifford and J. L. Brooks (1976: 95), who conjecture that 'although we attempt and succeed as other academics to pursue truth in a scholarly way, our departments bring it about somehow that Hispanism within university walls becomes for our students more a way of life than a set discipline with specific objectives'.

Thirdly, our Spanish departments would not be where they are today but for the influence that has been brought to bear by trade and industry along with their financial backing. Pressure from the outside world, the demand for linguists from the business world, the need to communicate with other countries, have all conspired to make Spanish an indispensable discipline in university education. Almost from the start its 'usefulness' has allied it to departments of Commerce. In all this, philanthropy has played a seminal role. Without the overwhelming generosity of benefactors from outside the universities, these needs and demands may never have been realised. Today, we still rely on philanthropy, and appeals for donations go out from most universities on a regular basis. In his New Year message in January 2016, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Professor Sir Leszek Borysiewicz insisted: 'Philanthropy, as I said in my first speech of the academic year, is critical if we are to be free to follow our intellectual curiosity, to inspire generations of students, researchers and academics, and to remain at the forefront of global research institutions'.

Last but by no means least, the very nature of Spanish itself may well have proved the greatest factor in its success. Spencer Toy, the headmaster of the school in Cornwall, where the spectacular popularity of Spanish made it so special, talked of its 'pull'. He was not alone. Spanish has a seductive quality that inspires enthusiasm, even passion, in hundreds of students. It was said of Allison Peers that his scholarship was '*con amore*', that he 'lost his heart' to Spain; Donald Shaw maintains that as a schoolboy, he 'fell in love with things Hispanic', and points out that while most students take a strong interest in learning languages, unlike other languages, they, too, 'fall in love with Spanish'; John Macklin (2015: 106) sees it as 'different' and 'exotic', and quotes E. J. C. Carroll, who calls it 'a language with a charm which no Saxon tongue can approach', and Aubrey Bell, who lived in Portugal, always maintained that his 'real love' was Spain. Testament to its 'pull' is

the number of its teachers who, in the course of their studies, have transferred their allegiance to Spanish. This study records at least twenty who began in one discipline and ended up as Hispanists.

Spanish has come far. Once the Cinderella of modern languages, its second battle was won by the middle of the twentieth century, by when it had overtaken German and was rivalling French. In schools, for the last six years, there has been a steady rise in the number of entrants for the Spanish GCSE, and while at university level there has been a worrying decline in the demand for French, German and Italian, Spanish has remained buoyant. Applications for a university place to study Spanish now generally exceed those for any other language except French, and Peers's most ambitious dream, to see it first in rank, may yet be realised. The future looks good.

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