

**OLD ENGLISH COMPOSITION: LITERACY AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN
THE UNITED STATES**

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This dissertation is a critical history of “the history of the English language” as a school subject in the United States. I recover the subject as a formative component of literacy instruction and the early field of composition in the nineteenth century. I also trace its development as a teacher education requirement in the twentieth century and propose an alternative, progressive approach to teaching it today. To do so, I examine numerous, underexplored instructional texts on the history of English, including over three hundred dictionary, grammar, rhetoric, and composition textbook titles published repeatedly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By charting the circulation of this material, I establish that the history of English was a pervasive component of the period’s cultures of literacy. Moreover, I show how it was used to advance theories about standardization, “Anglo-Saxon” style, and linguistic exceptionalism that linger as unexamined assumptions among beginning writers, new teachers, and even in current composition scholarship. In this way, I call into question contemporary practices that silently sustain the subject’s once raced and nationalist politics. Specifically, I argue that by underwriting composition’s tacit policy of English monolingualism, traditional histories of English have constrained how the field prepares literacy educators to work with new populations of multilingual and non-standard English users entering U.S. schools.

I propose that a more historically self-aware history of English, recentered on the availability of diverse Englishes and the multilingual reality of communication, can equip

teachers with more productive, inclusive instructional practices today. I theorize my approach using the CCCC's "Students' Right to Their Own Language" statement as well as later scholarship on critical language awareness. Drawing on my own "History and Politics of the English Language" course at the University of Pittsburgh, I then demonstrate how the history of English can remain an active component of teacher preparation, composition studies, and English education more broadly. The version of the course I outline emphasizes historical topics that impinge on present literate concerns. Moreover, it incorporates student-directed research projects that enable new teachers to reflect on entrenched attitudes that inform their work with diverse populations of English users.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	X
1.0 INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AS A TEACHING SUBJECT.....	1
2.0 DICTIONARIES, ANTIQUARIES, AND ANGLO-SAXONISTS: COMPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN.....	11
2.1 ASSEMBLING A CORPUS, READING THE FIELD.....	13
2.1.1 Assembling a Corpus.....	17
2.1.2 Reading the Textual Field.....	20
2.2 ANTIQUARIANS, ANGLO-SAXONISTS, AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH.....	21
2.2.1 William Camden's History of English.....	23
2.2.2 Richard Verstegan's History of English.....	27
2.2.3 Histories of English After.....	30
2.3 THE DICTIONARY TRADITION.....	32
2.3.1 Edward Phillips and Other Forerunners.....	33
2.3.2 Eighteenth-Century Exemplars: Nathan Bailey and Samuel Johnson.....	37
2.3.3 Descendant Dictionaries.....	41
2.3.4 Charting the Dictionary Tradition.....	43

2.4 THE GRAMMAR TRADITION.....	45
2.4.1 Early Debates Over the History of English.....	46
2.4.2 Full HELs in Modern English Grammars.....	51
2.4.3 Anglo-Saxon in Modern English Grammars.....	55
2.4.4 Charting the Grammar Tradition.....	59
2.5 ADJACENT TRADITIONS.....	61
2.6 THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURES OF LITERACY.....	67
2.7 FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE NINETEENTH.....	73
3.0 “WHAT PLACE HAS OLD ENGLISH PHILOLOGY IN OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS?”: TEACHING LITERACY AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY UNITED STATES.....	76
3.1 THE OLD ACCOUNTING AND A NEW ACCOUNT.....	79
3.2 HUGH BLAIR’S HISTORY OF ENGLISH.....	84
3.3 HISTORIES OF ENGLISH IN RHETORICS AND COMPOSITION TEXTBOOKS.....	91
3.4 HISTORIES OF ENGLISH IN MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMARS.....	107
3.5 HISTORIS OF ENGLISH ELSEWHERE.....	114
3.6 THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CULTURES OF LITERACY.....	118
3.6.1 The Educational Context: Mental Discipline and Practical Application.....	119
3.6.2 The Ideological Context: Standardization and Anglo-Saxonism.....	123

3.7 FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE TWENTIETH.....	130
4.0 “LET THE TEACHERS LEARN ENGLISH HISTORICALLY”: TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY COMPOSOTION STUDIES.....	132
4.1 THE HISTORY OF A TEACHER EDUCATION REQUIREMENT.....	134
4.1.1 From the Common School to the Normal School.....	140
4.1.2 Students’ Right to Their Own Language.....	149
4.2 THE FAILURE OF A TEACHER EDUCATION REQUIREMENT.....	152
4.3 CONCLUSION.....	158
5.0 TEACHING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH FOR CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS.....	160
5.1 CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS.....	166
5.2 THE HISTORY AND POLTICS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.....	173
5.3 CONCLUSION.....	187
6.0 CODA: THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH FROM COURSE TO DISCOURSE.....	189
APPENDIX A: A CORPUS OF HEL TEXTS.....	194
APPENDIX B: “HISTORY AND POLITICS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE” SYLLABUS.....	212
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	226

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Examined Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Dictionaries that Incorporate the History of English.....	44
Figure 2: Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Dictionaries that Potentially Incorporate the History of English.....	45
Figure 3: Examined Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Grammars that Incorporate the History of English.....	60
Figure 4: Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Grammars that Potentially Incorporate the History of English.....	61
Figure 5: Examined Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Texts that Incorporate the History of English.....	69
Figure 6: Nineteenth-Century American Editions of Blair's <i>Lectures</i>	106
Figure 7: First Edition Nineteenth-Century Rhetorics and Composition Textbooks that Incorporate the History of English.....	107
Figure 8: First Edition Nineteenth-Century Grammars that Incorporate the History of English.....	113
Figure 9: First Edition Nineteenth-Century Grammars, Rhetorics, and Composition Textbooks that Incorporate the History of English.....	113

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1.0 INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

In recent disciplinary histories, composition scholars demonstrate that popular literacy instruction developed across a range of allied school subjects in the nineteenth century. These included composition, rhetoric, and grammar, but also elocution, letter writing, oratory, and others.¹ Missing from these accounts is the history of the English language, which was nevertheless a regular feature of literacy instruction in this period. In colleges, the history of English was the subject of its own course and professional literature. In the lower grades, it was integrated into literacy textbooks and adapted to the aims of general education. Taken together, these materials made the history of English a shared resource for American readers and writers and a formative (if now largely forgotten) component of the field of composition.

This dissertation tells the story of “the history of the English language,” not as a linguistic phenomenon or an academic discipline, but as a school subject taught to American students and their teachers for over two hundred years. Though it emerged first as an object of antiquarian interest in seventeenth-century Britain, by the nineteenth century, the history of English was a

¹ Early histories of composition chart its emergence out of changing curricular needs in higher education at the end of the nineteenth century. These accounts include those by James Berlin, John Brereton, Robert Connors, Nan Johnson, and Albert Kitzhaber. More recently, scholars such as Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen L. Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz have proposed an alternative history in which, as Jean Ferguson Carr argues, “what came to be called composition also circulated from the late eighteenth century on through the many textbooks on reading, writing, oratory, and rhetoric—and the allied concerns of handwriting, spelling, punctuation, grammar, letter writing, homiletics, and elocution” (435).

common subsidiary topic of reading and writing instruction on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States, historical accounts of English circulated widely in vernacular instructional materials, where they served to familiarize students with English's sedimented vocabulary, to explicate the difficulties of modern English grammar, and to introduce a canon of literary and linguistic exemplars. By the end of the nineteenth century, new discourses on teacher preparation made the history of English an essential subject for new literacy educators as well. Consequently, the History of the English Language course began to appear as a requirement at state normal schools. Later, it was named a prerequisite for teachers in such disparate policy documents as NCTE's "Standard Preparation to Teach English" (1961) and the CCCC's "Students' Right to Their Own Language" statement (1974). Even today, it is often required for language arts educators who will enter classrooms ranging from preschool through high school.

Across these educational sites, the history of English was deployed in many forms for many purposes. Often, it was presented as a purely practical resource, one that promised students a heightened linguistic awareness and greater facility with English's complex grammar and vocabulary. Alonzo Reed and Brainerd Kellogg (1891), for example, argue that studying the history of English allows one "to know that language critically" (iii). They insist that "no one can be said to be well educated in English who is unacquainted with the changes which the Anglo-Saxon grammar and words have undergone in becoming English, and who is unfamiliar with the meaning, and unskilled in the handling, of the prolific Latin roots from which . . . such hosts of English derivatives have been formed" (iii). At the same time, the history of English also performed broader rhetorical and ideological functions within the cultures of literacy where it circulated. For example, in the early literacy materials that incorporated it, the history of English was used to articulate the desirability of vernacular education and to outline strategies for

learning English at a time when educators were challenging traditional Latin schooling. Further, throughout its history, the subject implicitly (and at times explicitly) helped to codify English's elite, literary dialect and to underwrite the legitimacy of standardized English. Schoolbooks included histories of English in order to explain and celebrate that "pure," "national," and predominately Anglo-Saxon language. They also taught students to conserve it from the influence of non-prestige dialects or ongoing linguistic change. William Mead (1897), for example, cautioned his students to guard their language against foreign borrowings, newly-coined words, slang, and localisms, which they could do by reading the best English writers of their day. He argues, "If a person reads nothing but the best literature, and hears nothing but pure English, he will easily acquire a vocabulary of pure English words" (10-12).

This conservative orientation toward the history of English remained common in literacy textbooks well into the early twentieth century. It persisted even longer in composition's professional literature on teacher education. There, the history of English was presented to instructors as a resource for managing language difference in the classroom with a view toward maintaining Standard English. Only in the Students' Right era did the field officially recognize that preparation in the subject might help teachers to value and actively foster linguistic diversity rather than to eliminate it. Unfortunately, this development did not subsequently sustain a widespread revision in how the history of English was taught, and it has now become a somewhat residual component of the composition curriculum.

In "Old English Composition," I recover the history of "the history of the English language" in order to forward an alternative, progressive approach to teaching that subject today. First, I recover a large, underexplored body of writing on the history of English in instructional texts from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century. This corpus includes diverse

genres, such as dictionaries, grammars, rhetorics, composition textbooks, spellers, letter-writing guides, encyclopedias, and histories of literature. Relevant texts were published in both Britain and the United States, but after the eighteenth century, I concentrate primarily on textbooks printed in the U.S. Many of these enjoyed great success and would have made the history of English a common feature of reading and writing instruction in their time. Among them, for example, are Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), a college standard in America, Lindley Murray's bestselling *English Grammar* (1795), and George Quackenbos's *Advanced Course in Composition and Rhetoric* (1855). At the same time, I also identify numerous lesser-known works such as Sara Lockwood's *Lessons in English* (1887) and Edwin Lewis's *A First Book in Writing English* (1896), which nevertheless attest to the breadth of the history of English as a textual field. To locate and examine these texts, I have benefited greatly from digital archives and digital search technologies that allow for scanning whole texts and even whole collections for pertinent key terms. Thus, where existing bibliographic accounts can identify the history of English in only a few, scattered literacy texts, I find a robust textual field comprising hundreds of schoolbooks that were published repeatedly and appear in thousands of versions.

By charting the circulation of these materials, I establish that the history of English was a pervasive component of the period's cultures of literacy. I also show how literacy educators repurposed that subject, using it to advance theories about standardization, "Anglo-Saxon" style, and linguistic exceptionalism that linger as unexamined assumptions among beginning writers and new teachers, and even within composition scholarship today. In this way, I recover the history of English as a formative component of composition studies, and I call into question contemporary practices that still admit its once raced and nationalist politics. Specifically, I

argue that by underwriting what Bruce Horner and John Trimbur call composition's "tacit policy of unidirectional English monolingualism," traditional histories of English have constrained the field's engagement with the global spread of English and English language instruction (594). In particular, composition has struggled to orient itself away from the teaching of Standard English only and toward better preparing teachers to work with the new populations of multilingual or non-standard English users entering U.S. schools.

I hope that this historical, critical account will help compositionists to reconfigure the collegiate History of the English Language course in order to disseminate more progressive language attitudes and instructional practices to new teachers today. The course remains a general offering at many institutions. It is also a regular prerequisite for future literacy educators enrolled in English or education programs. Yet despite composition's longstanding investment in teacher education, few in the field have asked how the course best serves that process, especially at a time when the Englishes that students bring to the classroom continue to multiply. I argue that the course's principal goal must be to cultivate new teachers' critical awareness of language difference, spoken and written; their understanding of the social arrangements that foster it; and their facility in aiding students to value it and utilize it rhetorically. To do this, those who teach the course must reconfigure its traditional narrative so that the history of English explicitly serves current literate concerns. Especially, the course should challenge the apparent superiority of the standardized language and make explicit the value of multiple Englishes in a multilingual world.

I make this pedagogical intervention at a time when composition studies has become increasingly engaged with the "multilingual realities" of reading and writing (Jordan 4). Suresh Canagarajah points to new demands on literacy education brought on by globalized economies,

transnational communities, and digital media, all of which daily require writers to shuttle across linguistic boundaries (ix). Paul Kei Matsuda observes the growing number of second language learners—both international students and permanent residents—entering U.S. schools, whose presence upsets the “myth of linguistic homogeneity” that has traditionally steered composition pedagogy (85). At the same time, Bruce Horner, Min-Zhan Lu, Jacqueline Jones Royster, and John Trimbur remind us, “Language use in our classrooms, our communities, the nation, and the world has always been multilingual rather than monolingual” (303). They challenge literacy educators to recognize that truly “English only” classrooms simply do not exist, as “even in the case of such aberrations, the ‘English’ being written and the English of the audience is understood to be plural—Englishes—and hence the situation is at least in a certain sense multilingual” (Horner 2).

Composition scholarship has subsequently swelled with accounts of multilingual and translingual writing pedagogies that take the value of students’ language diversity as a given. What remains a more persistent challenge, however, is translating scholarship into the teacher education curricula that prepare composition instructors for college classrooms and language arts educators for schools. Dedicated coursework on language diversity is rarely offered or required in graduate composition programs (Matsuda 81). Neither is the topic regularly integrated into pedagogy seminars for new graduate teaching assistants, which are usually seen as already “overburdened” (Schneider 201). Often, composition programs simply redirect language issues to a resident basic writing or second language specialist rather than prepare all instructors to engage with them thoughtfully (Miller-Cochran 214). Jody Millward finds that “The failure of graduate schools to include this instruction and the lack of preparation for teaching multilingual composition courses is, as Matsuda rightfully claims, a *de facto* endorsement of English Only”

(223-24). This failure is only compounded by the fact that many education programs also look to English departments, and often to composition courses in particular, for the preparation in language that their teachers require.

I argue that the History of the English Language course is a rich site where such preparation can begin. Despite its traditionally monolingual perspective, compositionists can reconfigure the subject to unsettle teachers' deep-seated assumptions about language difference and about the linguistic homogeneity of the student populations they intend to serve. As Shirley Wilson Logan argues, correcting such misconceptions about language among new literacy educators may be one of the most important ways to advance changes in attitudes about language difference in the classroom and beyond (188). Drawing on scholarship on critical language awareness in composition studies and education, I demonstrate how this can be done, and I use my own course on "The History and Politics of the English Language" at the University of Pittsburgh as a case study and a model for others to adapt.

In the chapters that follow, I chart the development of the history of English first as a common school subject and then as a preparatory course for new teachers. In Chapter One, "Dictionaries, Antiquaries, and Anglo-Saxonists: Composing the History of English in Eighteenth-Century Britain," I mark the emergence of the history of English in the British antiquarian movement of the seventeenth century and trace its proliferation in popular literacy texts through the late eighteenth century. To recover as fully as possible the textual scope and cultural impact of the history of English, I utilize existing bibliographies, traditional and digital archives, and digital search technologies to build a corpus of instructional texts that bridges multiple genres of language study and literacy instruction and that attends to the multiple forms that the history of English can take. By mapping this textual field, I newly demonstrate that the

history of English was a defining and transformative component of eighteenth-century cultures of literacy. Moreover, I argue that these early texts inaugurated specific language ideologies, literate practices, and instructional methods that, as I show in subsequent chapters, would become integral to reading and writing instruction in the United States in the next century and eventually to our current field of composition studies.

In Chapter Two, ““What Place Has Old English Philology in Our Elementary Schools?”: Teaching Literacy and the History of English in the Nineteenth-Century United States,” I examine how antiquarian and philological traditions of English language history shaped the contours of English education in this country. First, I offer a census of schoolbooks by which to gauge the presence of the history of English in scenes of reading and writing instruction. I demonstrate that this textual field is substantial, as—in one form or another—the history of English appears in hundreds of rhetorics, composition textbooks, and grammars, among them the period’s most influential. Second, I detail the rhetorical, pedagogical function of the history of English across these instructional genres and in the larger cultures of literacy of which they were a part. I consider how the history of English participated practically in reading and writing instruction, arguing that it contributed to educational paradigms valuing mental discipline and linguistic control. I find it also played a significant role in the century’s theories and valuations of style, thus suggesting a link to more practice-oriented pedagogies, as well. Finally, I consider how the history of English participated in the ideological function of literacy instruction in this period. Specifically, I argue that the history of English provided a vehicle by which conservative ideals about nation, race, and linguistic purity were disseminated to young students and affixed to reading and writing in a way that continued to influence those subjects well beyond the nineteenth century.

In Chapter Three, ““Let the Teachers Learn English Historically’: Teacher Education and the History of English in Twentieth-Century Composition Studies,” I examine the development of the history of English as a training requirement for new teachers. It emerged first in the nineteenth century, when the professionalization of historical linguistics transformed the history of English from a common school subject into an advanced preparatory course at state normal schools. The history of English, as both a course and a discourse, then continued to underwrite teacher education programs and policy documents in composition studies through the late twentieth century. There, the subject’s early association with conservative language ideologies persisted, as teachers were urged to learn the history of English in order to better equip their students to read and write only Standard English. This motivation changed only during the Students’ Right era of the 1970s. At that time, I find, composition officially reconfigured its disciplinary identity around a more inclusive conception of English’s history and rearticulated the role of the history of English in preparing writing instructors to encounter language difference. Unfortunately, this movement did not sustain a widespread revision of the History of the English Language course, and many compositionists now suspect that the requirement may actually have a deleterious effect on teachers’ attitudes toward linguistic diversity.

In my final chapter, “Teaching the History of English for Critical Language Awareness,” I explore how compositionists can reconfigure the History of the English Language course in order to uproot discriminatory language myths and to introduce new teachers to the social dimensions of diverse linguistic practice. I theorize my approach within scholarship on critical language awareness in composition studies and education, which suggests that adapting course material to students’ particular linguistic contexts is essential to promoting positive, productive engagements with language difference. I use my own “History and Politics of the English

Language” course at the University of Pittsburgh as a case study. My syllabus modifies the traditional survey of English to emphasize historical topics that will impinge on my students’ future classroom interactions: standardization and prescriptivism, dialect discrimination, and language imperialism, among others. It also incorporates student-directed research projects on recent, local histories of English in regions where they expect to live and work as educators. These projects invite students to enliven local contexts that may initially seem linguistically homogenous. Moreover, by situating their projects within scholarship on English’s most recent history, my students reflect on the current politics of language instruction that will inform their work with specific populations of English users.

Throughout these chapters, I demonstrate that the history of the English language, like any history, has always been an interested account of the past, the components of which are selected, arranged, and deployed for rhetorical purposes in the present moment. The materials I study reveal that English’s development is not simply a phenomenon that writers chronicle after the fact. Rather, in every period of its development, language scholars and literacy educators have narrated the history of English in order to actively direct how the language will be learned and used, conserved or transformed by everyday readers, writers, and teachers. By recovering its history, I recover a pedagogical formation that has shaped common dispositions toward English and its speakers for hundreds of years. More importantly yet, by recovering its history, I suggest how we can reconceptualize and utilize the history of English to shape ethical dispositions toward the many Englishes and the many other languages that students bring to the classroom today.

2.0 DICTIONARIES, ANTIQUARIES, AND ANGLO-SAXONISTS: COMPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

The first histories of the English language (HELs), as we recognize them now, were published by British antiquarians in 1605. There were two of them: William Camden's chapter on "Languages" in *Remains Concerning Britain* and Richard Verstegan's "Of the Great Antiquitie of Our Antient English Tongue" in *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*. Each text appeared in multiple versions throughout the seventeenth century, and together they constituted required reading for the period's burgeoning antiquarian movement. But few subsequent HELs were written by or explicitly for other antiquarians. Instead, the history of English was quickly adapted to the purposes of English language scholars and literacy educators, and early HELs circulated primarily in vernacular instructional materials. In the seventeenth century, HELs appeared in English grammars by Wallis (1653), Cooper (1685), and Miège (1688), as well as in English dictionaries by Phillips (1658), Howell (1660), and Coles (1676). In the eighteenth century, the textual field expanded even further as dozens of HELs appeared across a range of increasingly popular instructional texts. These were primarily grammars and dictionaries, but the field also included spellers like Dyche's (1735), rhetorics like Blair's (1783), letter-writing guides, and encyclopedias. These circulated alongside the first book-length HELs by Free (1749) and Peyton (1771) as well as other learned treatises by Drake (1779, 1789), Clerk (1781), and Adelung (1798). Taken together, these texts demonstrate that while "the history of

the English language” first emerged as a scholarly discipline in the nineteenth century, its roots as an intellectual formation appear much earlier. They also challenge standard accounts of the history of English as a school subject, which traditionally foreground nineteenth-century instructional archives to the detriment of earlier materials.

In this chapter, I chart the emergence of the history of English in seventeenth-century Britain and trace its proliferation in popular literacy texts through the late eighteenth century. Because existing bibliographic accounts often treat this topic briefly or only as a secondary concern, my immediate aim is to foreground some basic parameters of the textual field. How many HELs circulated in this period? How are they integrated into the texts that house them? What protocols for narrating English’s history are shared across these materials? What genealogies of influence organize them? Where prior studies rehearse the apparent scarcity or incoherence of the history of English in this period, I find scores of relevant texts printed in hundreds of versions. These HELs consolidate around clear traditions of citation and shared practices for selecting, organizing, and interpreting content even as, at the margins of the field, those protocols transform in response to diverse occasions for narrating English’s history.

By mapping this textual field, I uncover the emergence of an historical orientation toward English that continues to inflect specialized language and literary study even in the twenty-first century. I also newly demonstrate the early and ongoing association of the history of English with popular literacy instruction. In the eighteenth century, HELs came to serve important rhetorical and pedagogical functions within the everyday instructional materials that incorporated them. They framed textbooks’ projects and underwrote their politics. They intervened in prevailing conversations about the difficulty of reading and writing the modern tongue or about the importance of recovering early English literature, liturgy, and law. Most notably, the history

of English was routinely used to articulate the desirability of vernacular education and to outline strategies for learning English at a time when educators were challenging traditional Latin schooling. In short, I find that the history of English was a defining and transformative component of eighteenth-century cultures of literacy. Moreover, I argue that these early texts inaugurated specific language ideologies, literate practices, and instructional methods that, as I show in subsequent chapters, would become integral to reading and writing instruction in America in the next century and eventually to our current field of composition studies.

2.1 ASSEMBLING A CORPUS, READING THE FIELD

Studying the function of the history of English within eighteenth-century cultures of literacy depends on bringing that textual formation more fully into view. Heretofore, many have noted the presence of HELs in the period's writings on language and literacy; however, limitations in bibliographic practice or interpretive scope, principally the unavailability of digital collections and search tools, have prevented scholars from offering a detailed census or a direct examination of them. Traditional bibliographies provide an incomplete and often eccentric account, noting the history of English in only a fraction of the pertinent texts that they record. Robin Alston, for example, identifies the history of English in the occasional grammar, dictionary, speller, or treatise on language, but he does not identify HELs in several others.² Arthur Kennedy, Emma

² In English grammars, Alston identifies HELs in Greenwood, 1711 ("history of the language"); Martin, 1748 ("Historical survey of the language"); Coote, 1788 ("history of the English language"); and Fogg, 1792 ("History and character of the English language"), though he is inconsistent in naming that formation. He does not identify HELs in Wallis (1653); Miège (1688); Gildon (1710); Newbery (1745); Priestley (1761); Elphinston (1765); Meikleham (1781); Fell (1784); Corbert (1784); Bicknell (1790); or Bullen (1797). In English dictionaries, Alston identifies HELs in *A Pocket Dictionary*, 1774 ("History of the language") and Barclay, 1774 ("History of the

Vorlat, and Ian Michael are similarly idiosyncratic in their coverage.³ More recently, the *Eighteenth-Century English Grammars (ECEG)* database identifies HELs in several grammars, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other texts. It also includes “Origins of the English language/of languages” as one of its “Subsidiary Contents” descriptors and as a possible criterion for its search engine. Still, even *ECEG* does not identify all relevant items within its corpus. For example, because the database does not always track changes between the first edition of a text and later versions, the HEL added to the second and subsequent editions of Lindley Murray’s

language”). He does not identify HELs in Phillips (1658); Coles (1676); *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689); Cocker (1704); Bailey (1721); Bailey (1730); Martin (1749); Scott (1755); Johnson (1755); Marchant (1760); Fenning (1761); Entick (1765); Barlow (1772); Barclay (1774); or Fisher (1774). In miscellaneous works on the English language, Alston identifies HELs in Webster, 1789 (“History of English”) and Adelung, 1798 (“Concise History of the English Language”). He does not identify HELs in Verstegan (1605); Camden (1605); Martin (1737); de Coetlogon (1745); Free (1749); or Peyton (1771). Alston identifies no HELs in his volume on *Rhetoric, Style, Elocution, Prosody, Rhyme, Pronunciation, Spelling Reform*, though he notes that Blair (1783) includes a “theory of language,” or in his volume on *Logic, Philosophy, Epistemology, Universal Language*, despite the HEL in Wilkins (1668).

³ Kennedy includes a number of eighteenth-century texts under “General and Historical Writings on the English Language,” including editions of Verstegan (1605), Wallis (1708), Chambers (1728), Free (1749), Bailey (1755), Johnson (1755), Peyton (1771), Drake (1779), Clerk (1781), Tooke (1786), Drake (1789), Wallace (1797), and Adelung (1798). The majority of these are scholarly treatises. Kennedy explicitly excludes “elementary grammars, dictionaries, and other textbooks intended for the lower grades of schools” from his bibliography (vii). Vorlat’s *The Development of English Grammatical Theory* surveys twenty-eight grammars from Bullokar (1586) to Greenwood (1737). Vorlat identifies HELs in Wallis (1653) and Wilkins (1668). She does not identify HELs in Miège (1688), Gildon/Brightland (1711), or Greenwood (1711). Michael offers a narrative overview of important HEL texts but does not attempt a comprehensive inventory of them. In *The Teaching of English* he observes,

The history of the English language, touched on by Gill and Wallis, comes into the school grammars with Gildon and Greenwood, who are using Wallis, but interest in both history and dialect shows earlier, at a less sophisticated level, in John White’s *The Country-Man’s Conductor*, 1701, which includes “some examples of the English of our ancestors, and also of our western dialect.” Interest was strengthened by Benjamin Martin’s *Institutions of Language*, 1748, is seen in Newbery’s *Pocket Dictionary*, 1753, and was reinforced by Samuel Johnson’s dictionary and its imitation by Nathan Bailey. At the school level Charles Wiseman introduced sections on the history of English proper names and on “A comparative view of the English language, both ancient and modern,” which discusses Latin, romance languages, Welsh and Dutch. M’Iqulham, 1781, and Bullen, 1797, included short historical sketches of English; Corbet, 1784, offered “Observations on the ancient and modern languages of England”; Bicknell, 1790, drew on Martin; Fogg, 1796, included a dissertation on the “History and Character of the English Language”; Patrick Lynch, 1796, hoped “to enliven the dry and uninteresting subject of Grammar, by introducing historical notices of its gradual improvements.” The stimulatingly speculative work of Horne Tooke was not read by schoolboys but its influence, acknowledged or not, is apparent in very many of the school grammars. (342)

popular *English Grammar* (1795) goes unrecorded. Also, *ECEG* only identifies the most substantial or explicitly marked HELs. Thus, it does not recognize as “Subsidiary Contents” those HELs whose narratives are reduced or integrated without independent headings into other sections of a text.⁴

Other resources offer more faithful records of HEL writing; however, because they confine their investigations to single genres or exemplary texts, they seldom suggest the extent of the wider textual field. DeWitt Starnes and Gertrude Noyes, for example, identify every HEL in English dictionaries from Edward Phillips (1658) to Samuel Johnson (1755). They do not examine the particulars of these texts or their role in the dictionaries, but they do recognize them as a distinct textual tradition in their own right.⁵ Building from their work, Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez examines fifteen seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dictionary HELs and provides the most extensive study to date of their source material and conventional content and organization. But like Starnes and Noyes, Rodríguez-Álvarez confines her remarks to HELs within this specific genre. She notes, “Similar and even identical accounts are found in other linguistic and historical

⁴ *ECEG* identifies HELs in grammars by Greenwood (1711), Gildon/Brightland (1711), Martin (1737), Coetlogon (1745), Newbery (1745), *An Easy and Comprehensive English Grammar* (1751), Newbery (1753), Newbery (1755), *A New Universal History of Arts and Sciences* (1759), Hammond (1760), Meikleham (1781), Corbet (1784), Coote (1788), and Groombridge (1797). It omits substantial HELs in grammars by Elphinston (1765), Wynne (1775), Bicknell (1790), Fogg (1792), Murray (1796), and Bullen (1797). It omits briefer, unmarked HELs in grammars by White (1701), Markham (1738), Wise (1754), Woolgar (1761), Smetham (1774), Fell (1784), and Hodson (1800).

⁵ Starnes and Noyes find that the earliest dictionary HELs draw on antiquarian sources or recent Anglo-Saxon scholarship (56-7, 65). Later lexicographers then adapt material from their immediate predecessors: Cocker (1704) borrows from Phillips (1658) (79), for example, while Scott (1755) reworks the HEL in Johnson (1755) (183). At the same time, antecedent material is not simply reasserted. Rather, like the dictionaries themselves, the HELs often expand in scope and detail as later texts benefit from accumulated resources. The HEL in Bailey (1721) is “of the kind introduced by Phillips but somewhat broader and more detailed. Specimens of ‘the Saxon Tongue’ are given as well as comments by various scholars on the properties and capacities of the English Language” (100). Likewise, Martin’s (1749) HEL is “much broader and more advanced than that of any predecessor” (160). Starnes and Noyes understand these as noteworthy advances in linguistic thought that “point the way to the future development of philology and lexicography” (68).

volumes; however, they have been left out here as they fall outside the scope of this article” (186).

Similar studies have attended to HELs in eighteenth-century English grammars.⁶ Still others have provided detailed analyses of one HEL in particular: Samuel Johnson’s (1755).⁷ But no study has sufficiently accounted for the history of English as a truly multi- and trans-generic phenomenon. Neither have scholars considered the full range of forms that the history of English takes or the functions it serves within the texts that integrate it. As a result, the textual field that existing scholarship depicts appears sparsely populated, erratically dispersed, and highly idiosyncratic in its treatment of the topic. The development of the history of English through

⁶ Richard Watts argues that within the discourse community of eighteenth-century grammarians, the history of English served as one among many strategies by which the grammarians justified their efforts and communicated their attitudes about English itself. Following Watts, Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez and María Rodríguez-Gil confirm the presence of the history of English—or what they label the “Excellence and/or nature of the English language”—in their catalogue of the common topics of eighteenth-century grammar prefaces. By tracing the emergence and reassertion of these topics over time, Rodríguez-Álvarez and Rodríguez-Gil second Watt’s claim that they form part of an “institutionalized” discourse and that the period’s grammarians must be considered a coherent discourse community (220).

⁷ Gwin Kolb and James Sledd situate Johnson’s *Dictionary* within established traditions of lexicography in order to counter accounts of the *Dictionary* as a singularly original work. Their analysis includes Johnson’s HEL, which they consider “entirely traditional” in its content, heavily reliant on well-known predecessor texts (177-8). Alternatively, Daisuke Nagashima attempts to recover the HEL from this charge of unoriginality. He argues that within the context of other HELs, Johnson’s is almost the only text to offer a wholly scholarly, scientific account of English, untainted by discourses of linguistic nationalism. Nagashima identifies Camden as the first writer to tie English’s history to nationalist sentiment, and “his views were to be handed down, often in an exaggerated form, by later English lexicographers and grammarians, and reach a culmination in Nathan Bailey, with John Wallis and Samuel Johnson as notable exceptions” (44).

Later studies repeatedly return to these questions of the HEL’s source material and its importance within lexicographical tradition. In a series of articles, Robert DeMaria reads the *Dictionary* within the development of Anglo-Saxon studies and interprets the “surprising amount of early English” in the HEL and wordlist as Johnson’s clear recommendation of such study for both academic and political ends (“Johnson’s *Dictionary*” 33). Kolb and DeMaria examine the affiliations between Johnson’s HEL and Thomas Warton’s *Observations on the “Faerie Queene” of Spenser*. They find that Johnson is indebted to that text for the language specimens in his HEL and for some of the interpretive remarks he makes about them (“Thomas Warton’s *Observations*” 330). In *Johnson on the English Language*, Kolb and DeMaria offer an even fuller examination of the sources, composition, and reception of Johnson’s HEL. They note its relatively positive reception in reviews of the *Dictionary* (120-1). They account for which later editions republish it (120) and which later dictionaries borrow from it (121). They also mark textual variants in the HEL from edition to edition (121). In their notes on the text itself, they account for Johnson’s reading of Anglo-Saxon and antiquarian scholarship (126, 127, 183) and point out his (possibly) original observations regarding the language’s development (125).

time and across multiple, adjacent traditions of language study is obscured and its steady impact on popular reading and writing instruction diminished. This apparent scarcity has encouraged the outright dismissal of the history of English as an influential formation in the standardization, professionalization, and teaching of English prior to the nineteenth century. Tony Crowley, for example, acknowledges “work upon the history of the language” by eighteenth-century writers like John Free, Samuel Johnson, and V. J. Peyton, but he characterizes it as scattered and incoherent in comparison to the “textual, institutional and discursive practice” of nineteenth-century historical linguistics (34-6). Likewise, in his survey of the “History of the History of the English Language” as a school subject, Thomas Cable includes only recognizable, nineteenth-century forerunners of current history of the English language textbooks and excludes from his narrative the few older, alternative HELs that he finds in earlier periods (11).⁸

2.1.1 Assembling a Corpus

To recover the textual scope and cultural impact of the history of English, I employ more sensitive, systematic methods for building a corpus of HEL texts and reading them in relation to a wider textual field. The bulk of my corpus comprises texts catalogued by Alston, Kennedy, Vorlat, Michael, the *ECEG* database, and other secondary literature that I cite above. I access these texts through the University of Pittsburgh’s John A. Nietz Old Textbook Collection, as well

⁸ See also Hans Aarsleff’s *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*. There, despite his acknowledgement of eighteenth-century historical linguistic work by John Horne Tooke and Sir William Jones, Aarsleff associates the rise of historical linguistics proper with the nineteenth century (127). Similarly, see Richard Bailey’s examination of the history of the English language as a discourse used to reinforce identity politics. He notes examples of the history of English in the eighteenth century, but dismisses these HELs as few and largely unimportant: Johnson’s was little read and consists mostly of specimens, while Free’s is laughable, lacking in linguistic detail (462). Murray Cohen’s *Sensible Words: Linguistic Practice in England, 1640-1785* is an exception among this scholarship. Cohen sees a shift from a universal linguistics to a descriptive, historical linguistics by the mid eighteenth century (79).

as digital archives such as *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, *HathiTrust*, *Google Books*, and *Internet Archive*. (See Appendix A.)

Within this corpus, I am careful to attend to the multiple forms that the history of English can take across multiple genres of language study and literacy instruction. What I call “full histories of English” or “HELs” are narrative accounts that utilize a common set of content and organizational characteristics. Sometimes, these HELs appear as independent books or essays, or they are foregrounded within other texts by independent headings or as the subject of discrete chapters. More often, they are integrated without overt markers into other sections of a text. In the latter case, the history of English is frequently reduced from its fullest narrative form. It even ceases to be narrative altogether when writers only make brief reference to the history’s key terms (“Anglo-Saxon,” “Norman Conquest”) or simply cite examples of Anglo-Saxon to demonstrate linguistic change. Traditionally, only the most substantial of these textual formations—the full HELs—have received any scholarly attention; however, I consider the truncated formations to be even more compelling evidence of the topic’s deep infiltration of other discourses. In those moments, the history of English is transformed into a commonplace. It is implied or assumed, mobilized for various purposes while the full narrative of the language’s development remains unarticulated.

To locate the history of English in all of these forms, I began by reading the texts in my corpus in full. Eventually, though, a sustained attention to the materials suggested more pointed and economical reading strategies as within any one genre the history of English becomes routinely associated with particular topics or is routinely placed in particular sections. I exploited these conventions to focus my reading while also spot-checking random or interesting sections to catch the occasional outlier. I also benefited from optical character recognition (OCR) search

technologies, which I used to scan whole documents for telling key terms. The resulting selection of texts is partial and interested, as it must be, and it largely reproduces (in aggregated form) corpora that are well established and long studied.⁹ I revisit these materials intentionally in order to demonstrate the prevalence of the history of English in texts that already inform much of our understanding of eighteenth-century cultures of literacy.¹⁰ In this way, I reconfigure the familiar instructional archive around one of its often-overlooked subsidiary topics and offer a critical, alternative account of reading and writing instruction in this period.

⁹ Selection has become a central problem of book history and digital humanities scholarship that seeks to use large corpora to characterize even larger textual fields. In *Book History*, Jessica A. Isaac surveys and critiques this research, urging scholars to better account for their selection processes and thereby to better articulate the representativeness of their samples. Composition scholars, too, have written about the material, fragmentary, and interested nature of archives and of using archives to write histories of literacy, rhetoric, and pedagogy. Among others, see Carr, Carr, and Schultz; Enoch; Glenn and Enoch (“Drama”); Ramsey; Royster; and Warnick.

In the context of this scholarship, it is important to highlight two significant limitations of my own selection process. First, the material and digital repositories that I use provide me with unprecedented but ultimately incomplete access to the texts listed in Alston and the other bibliographies that form the basis of my corpus. Second, my search for the history of English within these texts is certainly compromised by human error and technological constraints. OCR searches may fail to detect search terms (especially when they have to contend with eighteenth-century typography), and the search terms I choose are themselves biased by my own sense of their accuracy. Even by reading texts in full, I may occasionally overlook or undervalue a telling reference to the history of English and so fail to record it. Thus, while the bibliographies I begin with already constitute an imperfect representation of a wider, historical textual field, my own selection and examination of these texts compromises their representativeness even further. While neither of these limitations can be entirely overcome here, they may both be minimized with time: with future access to new archives and with fresh examinations (using revised reading practices and reconsidered search terms) of my corpus. As it stands now, and as I argue in this chapter, I still consider the sheer number of HELs that I have found in eighteenth-century literacy texts—among them the century’s most popular and influential—to be strong evidence of the prevalence and influence of the history of English in that period.

¹⁰ Composition studies scholars who work to recover the literate practices of women, people of color, indigenous populations, LGBTQIA writers, working class writers, and other marginalized groups have demonstrated the importance of seeking out non-traditional archives. See, for example, Glenn and Enoch (“Drama”) and Glenn and Enoch (“Invigorating”) and the scholarship they survey. My own project, however, is not to recover overlooked materials but to revise our reading of a conventional set of instructional texts that have been and remain central to studies of the history of literacy in the eighteenth century.

2.1.2 Reading the Textual Field

As a textual field, the history of the English language has been mediated by existing archives, bibliographies, databases, and scholarly investigations in such a way that its extent and impact are difficult to observe. However, by consolidating existing corpora, by reading across discourses and genres, and by acknowledging diverse textual formations, I am able to characterize the development, scope, and function of that textual field more fully. In the sections that follow, I demonstrate how the history of English develops both *within* and *across* different traditions of language study and literacy education. I trace distinct patterns of its use within single genres or “textbook traditions” while at the same time detailing how those routines occasionally migrate to other instructional texts or are themselves responsive to innovations occurring elsewhere in the field.¹¹ What this reveals is the wide applicability and internal diversity of the history of English (as it is variously adapted to the forms and needs of different divisions of English study) but also the accumulation of key characteristics and a core narrative of English exceptionalism that persist through time. Reading at the level of the textual field also exposes broad revolutions in the relationship of the history of English to other textual traditions and to the cultures of literacy of which it was a part. What emerged first as subsidiary material in only the occasional English grammar or dictionary became by the mid eighteenth century an

¹¹ I adapt my strategy of reading across traditions from Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen L. Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz’s examination of rhetorics, readers, and composition textbooks in *Archives of Instruction*. They find that

Studying textbooks within their traditions, as each of our individual chapters does, clarifies what various books have in common—the topics conventionally covered in each, the materials recycled or appropriated from earlier texts in the tradition—and it also makes visible how they differ—their idiosyncratic treatments of familiar materials. Placing these traditions in relationship to one another, as our collaborative authorship makes possible, has allowed us to trace the intermittent migrations of routines, practices, and principles from one tradition to another and to investigate the quite diverse relationships of each textbook tradition to various cultures of literacy and modes of textual production and reproduction. (16-17)

almost obligatory component of those and other instructional genres. Moreover, by century's end, the history of English began to acquire a professional status and cultural authority that would allow its practitioners to reframe the aims and methods of reading and writing instruction for decades to come.

To map this development, I turn first to the HELs in William Camden and Richard Verstegan's antiquarian scholarship, which inaugurated what would become routine features of HEL writing in this period. I then detail how the history of English was variously incorporated into English dictionaries and grammars, as well as into a range of adjacent textual traditions of English study. Finally, I close by considering how the history of English shaped the politics and practices of literacy instruction in this period and, as I argue more fully in Chapter Two, in the century that follows.

2.2 ANTIQUARIANS, ANGLO-SAXONISTS, AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

The first histories of English appeared at a time of unprecedented interest in the genealogy and antiquity of the language. While sixteenth-century linguistic discourse had centered on the present inadequacies of English, in the seventeenth century, English antiquarians began to investigate its historic origins as a means to consolidate national identity and a sense of English exceptionalism.¹² Responding to Continental enthusiasm for all things Teutonic, these scholars

¹² Of sixteenth-century English linguistics, Richard Foster Jones notes, "Until the close of the sixteenth century comments on the English language were concerned largely with its eloquent or uneloquent nature, the inadequacy of its vocabulary, the confusion and illogicality of its spelling, and the lack of grammatical regulation" (214). See also Helmut Gneuss's account of the sixteenth-century debate over "the—real or alleged—imperfections of the English language, its lack of eloquence, its inferiority not only to the classical languages, but also to French, Italian, and Spanish" (21). On seventeenth-century antiquarians' interest in the origins of English, see Jones's chapters on "The

sought to dispel public confusion about the Anglo-Saxon (as opposed to the British) source of English and the English. In the process, they confirmed the language's Germanic lineage, theorized its superiority over other languages, collected specimens of linguistic change, and institutionalized the study of its oldest written form, Anglo-Saxon.¹³ William Camden and Richard Verstegan's HELs emerged out of this cultural project. They incorporated its discoveries and articulated its language ideologies, folding them into narratives of English's development that would set the pattern for many subsequent accounts.

Ancient Language, Part I" and "The Ancient Language, Part II." See especially his comments on the influence of Continental Germanists such as Joannes Goropius Becanus (214-223) and the association between the antiquarians' historical linguistics and nationalist sentiment (220-35). On this last point, see also R. D. Dunn's edition of Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* (xv-xvi) and Allen J. Frantzen's *Desire for Origins* (48).

¹³ While Anglo-Saxon study appeared in many forms before the seventeenth century (see, for example, Eleanor Adams; Carl T. Berkhout and Milton McC. Gatch; Allen J. Frantzen; Timothy Graham; and J. A. Hilton), in this period it proliferated. Jones notes that "The first sixty years of the seventeenth century witnessed a remarkable interest in Anglo-Saxon; the greatest value was placed upon it, and its study was strongly urged. A lectureship in the tongue was established at Cambridge, poems were written in it, a lexicon of it was compiled, and it takes its place beside Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the learned languages" (232-33). Frantzen concurs, identifying the first Society of Antiquaries as "the first official, and hence 'institutional,' group of Anglo-Saxonists," a group that "gave credibility to the work of the antiquaries and opened the way for [Anglo-Saxon] scholarship outside the demands of theological reform" (48). See also Peter Lucas's edition of Junius and Richard W. Clement on the accelerated development of print resources for Anglo-Saxon study during this period. Many of these specialized texts—William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659), George Hickes's *Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae* (1689) and *Thesaurus* (1705), Edward Thwaites's *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica* (1711), Elstob's *Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* (1715), Wotton's *Short View of George Hickes's Grammatico-Critical and Archeological Treasure of the Ancient Northern Languages* (1735), Junius's posthumously published *Etymologicum Anglicanum* (1743), and Edward Rowe Mores's *Figurae Quaedam Antiquae ex Caedmonis Monachi Paraphraseos in Genesin* (1754)—were tapped as resources for writing the history of English throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

2.2.1 William Camden's History of English

William Camden's HEL appears as the chapter on "Languages" in his treatise *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605).¹⁴ The HEL is fifteen folio pages in length, and in addition to the narrative of English's development it incorporates contemporary theories of language and linguistic change, specimens of English from different periods, and a discussion of English's past excellence and present superiority over other Western languages. In the second and subsequent editions, "Languages" is also followed by an eight-page chapter on "The Excellencie of the English Tongue" by fellow antiquarian Richard Carew, which R. D. Dunn considers a "logical complement" to the celebration of English in the preceding chapter.¹⁵

The narrative itself is organized around a series of historical events (usually foreign invasions) that transformed the sociopolitical situation of Britain. These events inevitably changed English, usually by expanding its vocabulary through contact with other languages; however, Camden also maintains the essential, Anglo-Saxon character of English and its speakers throughout. He begins by distinguishing English sharply from the other languages that constitute Britain's early linguistic landscape: Welsh, Irish, and Latin. He argues that their presence on the island predates English's and that they have origins and geographic distributions

¹⁴ R. D. Dunn notes substantial revisions made to *Remains* during Camden's lifetime, including additions to the chapter on "Languages" in the 1614 second edition. I work from Dunn's critical edition, which takes the 1605 edition as the basic text and integrates authorial revisions and additions from the 1614 and 1623 editions (xlii).

¹⁵ Dunn writes that,

Whether or not it was written with that purpose in mind, Carew's essay is a logical complement to the preceding chapter. Camden's study of language is retrospective, concerned with questions of origin and development; Carew writes about the rhetorical aspect of English with a view to demonstrating its manifold suitability for both prose and poetry. His argument, stated simply, is that England has produced men of letters equal to any. (376-77)

that are distinct from English's.¹⁶ Moreover, he finds that when the "English-Saxon tongue came in by the English-Saxons out of Germany," it displaced rather than mixed with these others, thereby preserving its Germanic integrity (23).¹⁷ Later, Camden admits that there was some "alteration and innovation" in English "brought in by entrance of Strangers, as Danes, Normans, and others which have swarmed hither," but he argues that these changes were negligible (29). Of the Norman Conquest, for example, he notes that "in all that long space of 300 yeares, they intermingled very few French-Norman words, except some termes of law, hunting, hawking, and dicing . . ." (31-2). Conversely, the more significant developments in the history of English Camden attributes not to foreign impositions but to *traffic* ("for new words as well as new wares, have always come in"), *time* ("which altereth all under heaven"), *use* ("which swayeth most, and hath an absolute command in words"), and *pregnant wits* ("specially since that learning after long banishment, was recalled in the time of King Henry the eight") (29). Time, especially, prompts language change, which Camden illustrates by reproducing five versions of the Lord's Prayer written in Old and Middle English (25-7).¹⁸

¹⁶ Of Welsh, Irish, and Latin, Camden writes, "First the British tongue or Welsh (as we now call it) was in use onely in this Island, having great affinitie with the olde Gallique of Gaule, now Fraunce, from whence the first inhabitants in all probability came hither. Afterward the Latin was taken up when it was brought into the forme of a Province, by little and little" (22-23). Then, "After the Irish tongue was brought into the Northwest partes of the Isle, out of Ireland by the auntient Scottishmen, and there yet remaineth" (23)

¹⁷ Camden writes,
the English-Saxon conquerors, altdred the tongue which they found here wholly: so that no British words, or provinciall Latine appeared therein at the first: and in short time they spread it over this whole Iland, from the Orcades to Isle of Wight, except a few barren corners in the Westernne parts, whereunto the reliques of the Britans and Scots retyred, reserving in them both their life and their language. (24)

¹⁸ Camden writes: "But that you may see how powerable time is in altering tongues as all things else, I will set down the Lords prayer as it was translated in sundrie ages, that you may see by what degrees our tongue is risen, and thereby conjecture how in time it may alter and fall againe" (25). The first specimen is from "about the yeare of Christ 700, found in an antient Saxon, glossed Evangelists in the hands of my good friend M. Robert Bowyer, written by Eadfride the eight Bishop of Lindisfarn" (25). The second is from "Some two hundred yeeres after [about 900]" (26). The third is from "About an hundred and three score yeeres after, in the time of king Henry the second [1133-1189]," which Camden finds "in rime sent from Rome by Pope Adrian an Englishman, to be taught to the

Camden's insistence on the Germanic character of English is couched within a wider discourse of Teutonic superiority and English exceptionalism. He establishes the excellence of the Germanic peoples early on.¹⁹ Later, his HEL shifts from a narrative account of English's development to an examination of Anglo-Saxon's excellence and of English's current merit in comparison to other languages. Of Anglo-Saxon, Camden observes that "Great verily was the glory of our tongue before the Norman Conquest in this, that the olde English could expresse most aptly, all the conceiptes of the minde in their own tongue without borrowing from any" (27).²⁰ The current language holds up equally well. Camden does worry that English has recently incorporated too many French and Latin words; however, he still finds that "our English tongue is (I will not say as sacred as the Hebrew, or as learned as the Greeke,) but as fluent as the Latine, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French, and as amorous as the Italian, as

people" (26). The fourth is from "the time of kind Henry the third [1207-1272]" (27). The fifth is from "the time of kind Richard the second [1367-1400]," found "in the Translation of Wickliffe" (27).

¹⁹ One of Camden's first observations about English is that

This English tongue is extracted, as the nation, from the Germans the most glorious of all now extant in Europe for their morall, and martiall vertues, and preserving the libertie entire, as also for propagating their language by happie victories in France by the Franks, and Burgundians, in this Isle by the English-Saxons, in Italie by the *Heruli*, West-Goths, Vandales, and Lombards, in Spaine by the Suevians and Vandales. (23)

And the Anglo-Saxons are the most successful of these groups, as he notes:

And to the honour of our progenitors the English-Saxons be it spoken, their conquest was more absolute here over the Brittaines, than either of the Franks in Fraunce over the Gaules, or the Gothes and Lombards in Italie over the Romans, or of the Gothes, Vandales, and Moores over the ancient Spaniards of Spaine. For in these nations much of the provincially Latine (I meane the Latine used whilst they were Provinces of the Romans) remaineth, which they politickely had spread over their Empire, as is already said. (24)

²⁰ Among other examples, Camden notes that

The holy service of God, which the Latines called *Religion*, because it knitted the mindes of men together, and most people in Europe have borrowed the same from them, [the Anglo-Saxons] called most significantly *Ean-fastnes*, as the one and onely assurance and fast anker-holde of our soules health. The gladsome tidings of our salvation, which the Greekes called *Evangelion*, and other Nations in the same word, they called *Godspel*, that is, *Gods speech*. For our *Saviour*, which wee borrowed from the French, and they from the Latin *Salvator*, they called in their owne word, *Haelend* from *Hael*, that is, *Salus*, safetie, which we retaine still in *Al-hael*, and *Was-hael*, that is, *Ave*, *Salve*, *Sis salvus*. (28)

some Italianated amorous have confessed” (30). He reserves special praise for English’s monosyllables, which are “most fit for expressing briefly the first conceits of the minde . . . so that we can set downe more matter in fewer lines, than any other language” (30). Richard Carew’s essay on “The Excellencie of the English Tongue” expands on these remarks, building a case for the unparalleled “significancie,” “easinesse,” “copiousnesse,” and “sweetnesse” of the modern tongue.²¹

Because of English’s excellence, Camden regrets that it is not the object of greater national pride or more extensive study by its speakers. He finds that “Neither hath any thing detracted more from the dignitie of our tongue, than our owne affectation of forraine tongues, by admiring, praising, and studying them above measure: whereas the wise Romans thought no small part of their honour to consist in the honour of their language, esteeming it a dishonor to answer any forraine in his owne language” (30). This is certainly not a detailed proposal for vernacular English education; however, here Camden does draw an early association between the origins and development of English, the affordances of the modern tongue, and its importance as an object of popular study.

²¹ Carew posits that

The first and principall point sought in every language, is that we may expresse the meaning of our mindes aptly each to other. Next that we may do it readily without great adoe. Then fully, so as others may throughly conceive us. And last of all handsomly that those to whome we speak may take pleasure in hearing us, so as whatsoever tongue will gaine the race of perfection, must runne on these foure wheelles, *Significancie*, *Easinesse*, *Copiousnesse*, and *Sweetnesse*, of which the two foremost import a necessitie, the two latter a delight. (37)

He identifies English’s “significancie” in its polysemous words (38), forcible interjections (38), and fruitful metaphors (39), among other features. English’s “easinesse” is in its monosyllables and dearth of inflections, which make it easy to learn (39). Its “copiousnesse” is attributable to its extensive borrowing from other languages and diversity of dialects (41). Finally, Carew demonstrates English’s “sweetnesse” by comparing its sound to that of other languages, which he finds wanting: “The Italian is pleasant but without sinewses as a still fleeting water. The French, delicate, but over nice as a woman, scarce daring to open her lippes for feare of marring her countenance” (43). Conversely, when English-speakers borrow words from these other languages, they “give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of wordes to the French, the varietie of terminations to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so (like Bees) father the honey of their good properties and leave the dregges to themselves” (43).

2.2.2 Richard Verstegan's History of English

Richard Verstegan published his HEL in Antwerp in the same year. Incorporated into his chapter “Of the Great Antiquitie of Our Antient English Tongue” in *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, it is nineteen pages long and shares much of its core narrative with Camden’s HEL and many of its patriotic attitudes toward language. Like Camden, Verstegan insists on the Germanic origins of English.²² He acknowledges the reality of language change—especially when it is brought on by foreign invasion—but he also minimizes the effects of the Danish and Norman conquests and maintains that English has remained essentially Germanic despite its contact with other languages.²³ He identifies English writers themselves (Camden’s “pregnant wits”) as a primary source of English’s ongoing transformation, singling out Chaucer has an important but problematic figure because “He was indeed a great mingler of English with French” (203). Finally, Verstegan uses his historical narrative as an occasion to evaluate English in the current moment, finding, like Camden, a recent overabundance of foreign borrowings.²⁴

²² Verstegan establishes with his opening sentence that “Our ancient English-Saxon language is to be accompted the Teutonic tounge, and albeit wee have in later ages mixed it with many borrowed woords, espetially out of the Latin and French; yet remaineth the Teutonic unto this day the grownd of our speech, for no other offspring hath our language originally had then that” (188).

²³ Verstegan argues that language change is inevitable, brought on by time if not by contact with other languages: “But as all things under heaven do in length of tyme enclyne unto alteration and varietie, so do the languages also, yea such as are not mixed with others that unto them are strange and extravagant, but even within themselves do these differences grow and encrease . . .” (194). However, he finds that English itself has been little changed by contact with the Danes’ and Normans’ languages, primarily because these languages all share Germanic roots. Verstegan demonstrates the similarity between English and Old French (202), thereby arguing that “neither had [the Normans] made any more alteration in our tounge then did the Danes, because it was indeed the same language, and in effect all one with ours” (203).

²⁴ Verstegan observes that

Since the tyme of Chaucer, more Latin and French, hath bin mingled with our tounge then left out of it, but of late wee have falne to such borrowing of woords from, Latin, French, and other tounge, that it had bin beyond all stay and limit, which albeit some of us do lyke wel and think our tounge thereby much bettred, yet do strangers therefore carry the farre lesse opinion thereof, some saying that it is of itself no language at all, but the scum of many languages, others that it is most barren,

At the same time, Verstegan places a greater emphasis on the antiquity of English than Camden does, and he does so by appealing to scriptural accounts of the origins of language that Camden largely dismisses.²⁵ For example, Verstegan asserts that the original Germanic tongue was certainly spoken at Babel (188) and was possibly spoken in Eden (190). Citing the similarity of certain Biblical names to English words, he conjectures that “if the Teutonic bee not taken for the first language of the world, it cannot be denied to bee one of the most ancientest of the world” (192).²⁶ In tracing this language’s development from Eden to England, Verstegan is understandably more insistent than Camden on the continuity of its Germanic character.²⁷ He is also notably more conservative in his evaluation of ongoing linguistic change, especially English’s borrowing from other languages. He declares that

and that wee are dayly faine to borrow woords for it (as though it yet lacked making) out of other languages to patche it up withal, and that yf wee were put to repay our borrowed speech back again, to the languages that may lay claime unto it; wee should bee left litle better then dumb, or scarsly able to speak any thing that should bee sencible. (204)

²⁵ Camden also opens his *HEL* with an overview of these theories, but does not make them central to his narrative. According to Dunn, Camden “pays lip-service to traditional theories about the origin of language and gently rebukes the current fad for linguistic theorizing, a fad which he infers is no better than speculating about Utopian language (Babelian philology)” (372).

²⁶ For example, Verstegan explains that “Abel, signifieth one is sufficient, an Abelman, for able in Teutonic is written abel, and in this first bearer of that name, rightly signifieth a man enabled unto the service of God: for so was in deed this protomartyr of the world” (192).

²⁷ Indeed, the publication of *Restitution* may actually have pressured Camden to reconsider his own account of English’s Germanic lineage. Dunn notes that in 1605, Camden describes English as an essentially composite language:

This English tongue extracted out of the olde German, as most other from Island [Iceland] to the Alpes, is mixed as it is now, of the olde English-Saxon & Norman-French, as the French of Latine, German, and the olde Gallique, the Italian of Latine and German-Gotish, and the Spanish of Latine, Gotish-German and Arabique, Saracen, or Morisquo. (373)

Camden subsequently downplayed English’s composite nature in his 1614 second edition and made the language’s Germanic roots more prominent. Dunn posits that “The greater emphasis given in the revised text to Old English and to England’s linguistic and ethnic ties with Germany is probably inspired by a trend among continental philologists” (373). Elsewhere, he finds that in the 1614 edition “There are some strikingly similar ideas in Verstegan’s *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* and it is possible that the appearance of Verstegan’s book in 1605 prompted Camden to revise his own discussion of the Germanic element in English” (372).

For myne own parte I hold them deceived that think our speech bettered by the abundance of our dayly borrowed woords, for they being of an other nature and not originally belonging to our language, do not neither can they in our tounge, beare their natural and true deryvations: and therefore as wel may we fetch woords fro the Ethiopians, or East or West Indians, and thrust them into our language and baptize all by the name of English, as those which wee dayly take from the Latin, or languages thereon depending: and heer-hence it cometh (as by often experience is found) that some Englishmen discoursing together, others beeing present and of our own nation, and that naturally speak the English tounge, are not able to understand what the others say, not withstanding they call it English that they speak. (204-5)²⁸

Dunn observes that Camden, in contrast, is more moderate: “He regards the gradual assimilation of foreign words, the modification of native English words, and the coining of new words (within reasonable limits) as the means by which English ‘hath beene beautified and enriched’” (372). Similarly, Carew lauds English’s borrowed words and diverse dialects as important features of the language’s copiousness rather than viewing them as the threat to the English-speaking nation that Verstegan suspects them to be (40-42).²⁹

²⁸ Elsewhere, Verstegan argues that borrowing is wholly unnecessary to using English, writing that “doubtlesse yf our selves pleased to use the treasurie of our own tounge, wee should as litle need to borrow woords, from any language, extravagant from ours, as any such borroweth from us: our tounge in it self beeing sufficient and copious enough, without this dayly borrowing from so many as take scorne to borrow any from us” (206). In order to illustrate this argument, he concludes this chapter with a thirty-four-page glossary of Anglo-Saxon terms alongside words needlessly borrowed from other languages to express the same concepts (207-40).

²⁹ D. N. C. Wood argues that Carew’s essay “was an attempt to refute certain arguments in Richard Verstegan’s *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*” (304). Where Verstegan was a purist, “rejecting foreign borrowings especially those from Romance languages,” Carew emphasized “how much is to be gained from the ‘foreign’ contacts Verstegan disliked” (306).

2.2.3 Histories of English After

After their initial publications, Camden and Verstegan's HELs appeared in several versions during the seventeenth century. Two versions of *Remains* were issued during Camden's lifetime (1614 and 1623) and at least five others after that, including a late-nineteenth-century edition (1629, 1637, 1657, 1674, 1870).³⁰ *Restitution* saw five additional versions, as well (1628, 1634, 1653, 1655, 1673), and both texts were central to antiquarian study during that period. Jones finds that Camden and Verstegan's texts did more than any other "to introduce the continental admiration of the Germans into England and to point out the significance of the derivation of English from them" (qtd. in Dunn 374). Dunn argues that Camden's *Remains* was especially influential, that "its use as a sourcebook by other writers from 1605 onward can scarcely be overestimated" (xxv).

And this is true. Subsequent HELs frequently cite Camden and Verstegan as their sources. Others borrow substantively from them without acknowledgement. Camden's versions of the Lord's Prayer are widely reproduced, and this remains a strategy for illustrating English's development even in current instructional texts.³¹ Other well-traveled material includes Camden's causes of language change (traffic, time, use, and pregnant wits), Carew's criteria for evaluating modern English (significance, easiness, copiousness, and sweetness), and Verstegan's account of English's antiquity.

³⁰ See Dunn xxxvii-xlii for a complete publication history. He argues that "The numerous editions and reprints after 1623 testify to the continued popularity and influence of the *Remains* but none has any authority. The text became more corrupt with each successive edition" (xlii).

³¹ Dunn finds that "Comparisons of the Lord's Prayer in different languages were fairly common but, to my knowledge, [Camden's] is the first comparison of Old, Middle, and Early Modern English versions" (374).

These direct appropriations notwithstanding, Camden and Verstegan's HELs most fundamentally impact the expanding field of HEL writing by setting the pattern of its core content and organization. Like them, subsequent HELs commonly open with an account of contemporary linguistic theory, couching the history of English within examinations of the nature of language or explanations of its origin. In doing so, they usually establish English's antiquity and its Germanic derivation. The narratives that follow are external rather than internal histories, organized by a series of historical events rather than by distinct transformations within English itself. They almost invariably describe the pre-English setting of Britain (the presence of the Celts and the Romans) before recounting the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, the Danish invasions, the Norman Conquest, and the Renaissance. Many HELs include specimens of English to illustrate its development. Many close with an evaluation of modern English in relation to other languages. Throughout, these writers acknowledge language change but nevertheless insist on the minimal influence of the Danes and the Normans as well as on the ongoing Germanic character of English. They also, like Camden and Verstegan, draw a firm connection between language and nation. That is, the antiquity, integrity, and excellence of English is directly related to the antiquity, integrity, and excellence of *the* English.

At the same time, of course, diversity proliferates as the textual field develops. Different writers elaborate on some aspects of English's history and minimize others. Also, attitudes and agendas change, and new historical and linguistic material occasionally enters the field and newly inflects the standard narrative that Camden and Verstegan establish. Moreover, the points of contention that I note between Camden and Verstegan themselves persist and drive diversity in the field. For example, later writers take varied stances on the question of whether English is

wholly Germanic or largely composite in nature. They weigh the benefits of English's borrowing from other languages and differently evaluate the affordances that English's history has earned it.

These contested topics become especially salient as the history of English is integrated more fully into instructional texts. There, they transform from historiographic or linguistic problems and into pedagogical considerations for those teaching others to read and write. If English has truly maintained its essentially Germanic character, can Anglo-Saxon grammar usefully aid students' study of the modern tongue? If English's cosmopolitanism has beautified the language, should further borrowing and dialect diversity be encouraged among its speakers and writers? If English's vocabulary has been sedimented by languages that have their own unique affordances, how can these lexical resources be identified and then leveraged rhetorically in original compositions? As I trace the incorporation of the history of English into different traditions of language and literacy study, I demonstrate that the answers to these questions contribute lasting attitudes and new practices to eighteenth-century cultures of literacy.

2.3 THE DICTIONARY TRADITION

Dictionaries are the first vernacular literacy texts to appropriate or redact the history of English. Relevant texts appear as early as Edward Phillips's *The New World of English Words* in 1658 and then in every decade to 1800. There, full HELs are integrated into general prefaces or as introductory essays in order to explain the origins of English's sedimented vocabulary. Anglo-Saxon and other etymologies are also frequently included in wordlists, as derivation becomes a standard component of English lexicography and a concern of school subjects such as spelling, grammar, and rhetoric. Rodríguez-Álvarez examines several of these dictionaries, treating their

HELs as a cohesive textual tradition with roots in the antiquarian movement and a set of family resemblances that persist over decades.³² To her findings, I contribute a more complex account of the dictionaries' circulation, thereby noting which HELs were marginal and which saturated the textual field. I also direct new attention to the pedagogical function of these HELs, as lexicographers incorporate them not only to provide historical context for their wordlists but also to shape readers' attitudes about English and to improve their use of the language.

2.3.1 Edward Phillips and Other Forerunners

The earliest dictionary to incorporate the history of English is Edward Phillips's *The New World of English Words* (1658). Phillips includes an eleven-page HEL in his preface, which follows the general pattern set by Camden and Verstegan fifty years before. It opens with a discussion of popular linguistic questions about the origin and number of languages. It establishes the early Celtic presence in Britain before describing the Roman, Saxon, and Norman invasions. It identifies English as an ancient, Germanic language that remains Germanic despite other language contact. And it ascertains English's excellence as a modern tongue, pointing to the efficiency of its monosyllables and the "pertinent signification" of its compounds (n.p.).

³² Specifically, Rodríguez-Álvarez argues that rather than being isolated products, historical accounts of English included in eighteenth-century dictionaries had the same sources, shared a similar formal pattern, defended the same ideas about the lineal descent of English from Anglo-Saxon and therefore claimed an ancient heritage which contact with other languages had not been able to blur. Furthermore, their appraisal of the achievements of the English language and of the character of other European languages are formulated in very similar terms, which mirror the political superiority of England in the international arena as well as the racially tainted discourse current at the time. This consensus also extends to other issues such as the faculty of speech, language diversity, language change and the reasons for it, the sample texts used, and the transition from Old to Middle English. (184)

That being said, Phillips also initiates an early discontinuity between the dictionary tradition and its antiquarian predecessors. First, his HEL broadcasts a much more liberal attitude toward language change than Camden and Verstegan do. Phillips concurs with Camden that significant Anglo-Saxon words are lost when synonymous words are borrowed from other languages; however, he finds that these borrowed words have uses and etymologies that are just as remarkable as English's native terms. He also suspects that "the interspersion of forraign words, especially coming from the more southerly and civil Climates, conduce to the sweetning and smoothing of those harsh and rough accents" of northern languages like English (n.p.). Thus, he concludes, "let a man compare the best English, now written, with that which was written three or four ages ago, and if he be not a doater upon antiquity, he will judge ours much more smooth, and gratefull to the ear" (n.p.)

Also, Phillips's HEL is newly adapted for instructional purposes, as it aims not only to commend English's composite vocabulary but also to help unpracticed readers to use it. For example, because English's "hard terms," usually borrowed from other languages, constitute an obstacle for readers and an often-unwieldy tool for writers, Phillips advocates developing a more systematic knowledge of them rather than encountering them "at random, merely, and by chance" (n.p.). To that end, Phillips explains the historic origins of English's borrowings and categorizes them as from Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, or French. He also demonstrates how these importations transformed as they were integrated into English, explaining the telltale inflections by which readers can recognize them now. For example, Phillips notes that "Our Adjectives are formed from the Latin, either by casting away the Final *us*, as from *Promptus* Prompt, from *Iustus* Just, or changing *us* into *ed*, as *Infatuatus*, Infatuated, or into *ous*, as *Obvius* Obvious . . ." (n.p.).

Several subsequent texts are indebted to Phillips's HEL, though few of them match it in historic detail or pedagogical utility. The HEL in James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* (1660), for example, is much briefer at just over three pages, folded into an introductory notice "To the tru Philologer" that also includes histories of French, Spanish, and Italian.³³ Howell echoes Phillips's assertion that English is improved rather than corrupted by its borrowing: "the English came to that perfection, and fullness that she is now arrivd unto, by adopting to herself the choicest, best sounding, and significative words of other languages, which in tract of time were enfranchizd, and made free denizens as it were of England by a kind of Naturalization" (n.p.). He thereby works to raise his readers' estimation of the modern vernacular, though his HEL provides no explicit guidance in the use of the language. Elisha Coles reduces the history of English even further in his introductory note "To the Reader" in *An English Dictionary* (1676). His HEL covers only two short paragraphs, which summarize the impact of the Saxon and Norman invasions and note English's ongoing importation of foreign words. Like Phillips, Coles considers this language contact a source of difficulty for English users, and his HEL serves primarily to articulate the public's need of literacy resources like his dictionary. Unlike Phillips, however, Coles finds nothing commendable in English's composite vocabulary. He writes, "[We] bring home fashions, terms and phrases from every Nation and Language under Heaven. Thus we should fill one another with Confusion and Barbarity, were it not for some such faithful Interpreter as is here presented to the Prince of Isles" (n.p.).

³³ Howell draws heavily on Camden's HEL, centering his brief historical account on specimens of the Lord's Prayer. He also asserts something like Camden's observation that English is essentially Germanic, "But in Hawking, in Hunting, in Heraldry, in Fencing, in Riding, in Painting, in Dancing, in Music, in Aires [it] is all French" (n.p.)

The HEL in *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689) expands the historical account once again.³⁴ It also reasserts the attitude that modern English is corrupted by intermixture.³⁵ Alternatively, Edward Cocker's *English Dictionary* (1704) reworks Phillips's HEL, recirculating that celebration of English's composite nature alongside strategies for learning its more difficult terms.³⁶ Neither of these texts enjoys a wide circulation, however: the *Gazophylacium* appears in two versions and Cocker in three.³⁷ Likewise, Howell's *Lexicon* sees only the one edition. Conversely, Phillips's HEL appears in six versions through 1696 while Coles sees ten versions through 1732.³⁸ As these early examples demonstrate, the dictionary HELs seldom deviate from the antiquarian narrative of English's development, though they do reiterate it with different levels of detail. What does vary—between the dictionaries and the antiquaries, as well as among the dictionaries themselves—is how the historical account is used to underwrite evaluations of modern English and to frame methods for learning it. It is Phillips's and Coles's competing

³⁴ The HEL in *Gazophylacium Anglicanum*'s "Preface" covers eight pages. It opens with a discussion of the confusion at Babel, which "gave Rise to all the several Languages in the Universe; of which, the primitive Language of this Nation was one" (n.p.). It then accounts for Britain's first inhabitants; the Saxon, Danish, and Norman invasions; and the influence of Latin through Catholicism.

³⁵ The HEL notes that English has been changed by "Commerce, Correspondence, Travellers" and "Conquests, Invasions, [and] Transmigrations of Government" (n.p.). The author argues of English that "being so alter'd by the aforesaid Accidents, it has quite lost its primitive Glory" (n.p.). This attitude may evince Coles's influence; it certainly evinces Verstegan's. Starnes and Noyes observe that *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* was based on Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* (1671), and they identify Verstegan as one of Skinner's sources (64-5).

³⁶ The HEL in Cocker's "To the Reader" is eight pages long. It reproduces or paraphrases Phillips's HEL in its discussion of the origin and number of languages, the historical account of English's development, and the methods for identifying words borrowed from other languages.

³⁷ The *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* was reprinted as *A New English Dictionary* in 1691. Cocker's *English Dictionary* saw reprintings in 1715 and 1724.

³⁸ Coles's HEL was especially long-lived. While Phillips's HEL was ultimately removed in J. Kersey's 1706 revision of that dictionary (which was also reprinted in 1720), Starnes and Noyes note that "Coles died in 1680 without ever having revised his dictionary; nor was it revised by anyone else. Notwithstanding, it was reissued at least ten times and retained its popularity for more than fifty years on the market against formidable competition" (63).

evaluations of the English lexicon, as well as their mutual insistence that readers and writers require aid using it, that predominate in the early dictionary tradition.

2.3.2 Eighteenth-Century Exemplars: Nathan Bailey and Samuel Johnson

The textual field changes substantially after 1721 when Nathan Bailey publishes *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, the first in a series of his dictionaries that remain popular throughout the eighteenth century. Its expanded HEL (ten pages long in the “Introduction”) sets a new standard for the dictionary tradition, and few subsequent HELs return to the perfunctory narratives of Howell and Coles. Within the text, Bailey offers a more detailed account of the Celts, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, one that redacts the fuller historical narratives in English grammars by John Wallis (1653) and James Greenwood (1711). He also takes seriously Camden’s original assertion that many factors contribute to language change, not just foreign invasions. Bailey identifies three such factors (“Commigrations or Conquests of Nations,” “Commerce,” and “the Esteem or valuable Properties of any particular Language”) and organizes his HEL around sections dedicated to each. Because all languages are subject to these influences, Bailey considers it little detriment that English has transformed from its original Anglo-Saxon.³⁹ Rather, he follows Phillips, Howell, and Cocker in arguing that English “is become the most Copious and Significant Language in Europe, if not in the World”—a positive evaluation of the modern language that would prevail in eighteenth-century dictionaries from this point onward (n.p.).

³⁹ Still, Bailey reiterates Camden’s argument and Camden’s examples that Anglo-Saxon was as capable as other languages in communicating complex concepts. Thus, he finds that “the English Saxon Language of which the Normans despoiled us in great Part, had its Beauties, was Significant and Emphatical, and preferable to what they imposed upon us” (n.p.).

Finally, while Bailey does not include as much specific guidance in using the composite English tongue as Phillips and Cocker do, he nevertheless cements the connection between knowing the history of English, understanding the true meaning of English words, and using the language appropriately while reading, writing, or conversing. Bailey argues that “Words are those Channels by which the Knowledge of Things is convey’d to our Understandings: and therefore upon a right Apprehension of them depends the Rectitude of our Notions; and in order to form our Judgments right, they must be understood in their proper Meaning, and us’d in their true Sense, either in Writing or Speaking” (n. p.). The problem with English words, though, is that their senses cannot easily be mastered, “not only because [English] is perhaps the most Copious Language of any in *Europe*, but is likewise made up of so great a variety of other Languages both Antient and Modern” (n. p.). Bailey’s wordlist itself facilitates an acquisition of English’s more difficult items, but Bailey also suggests that utilizing English requires a sense of its historical development and mixture with other tongues. Thus, his HEL accounts for “the Reason of which Mixture, and by what Accidents it was brought about” (n.p.). It categorizes these “Accidents” (as stemming from conquest, commerce, or esteem) and describes the sets of word that each ushered into English (ecclesiastical terms, scientific terms, terms of art), thereby ordering the lexicon and providing easier access to its study and use.

Bailey’s HEL is thus a crucial node in the dictionary tradition. It consolidates material from earlier dictionary accounts as well as from the adjacent tradition in English grammars. It propels new practices forward as it is itself imitated or even reproduced by later writers. And it is popular. On his own, Nathan Bailey affords the history of English a wide circulation during the eighteenth century. *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* appears in at least thirty

versions through 1800, almost all of which include HELs.⁴⁰ HELs also appear in the two later dictionaries that Bailey produces. In 1727, Bailey publishes a supplementary volume to his dictionary, which appears in seven editions through 1776 and summarizes the original HEL in its “Preface.” This version of the HEL reduces the historical account, but it maintains Bailey’s original emphasis on the composite nature of English and the affordances that stem from that. Bailey notes that English is compounded of Welsh, Saxon, Danish, Norman and modern French, Latin, Greek, German, and Italian. He argues that

By this Coalition of Language, and by the daily Custom of Writers to introduce any emphatical and significant Words, that by Travels or Acquaintance with foreign Languages they find, has so enrich’d the English Tongue, that it is become the most copious in Europe; and I may (I believe) venture to say in the whole World: So that we scarce want a proper Word to express any Thing or Idea, without Periphrasis, as the French, etc are frequently obliged to do, by Reason of the Scantiness of their *Copia verborum*. (n.p.)

It is English’s copiousness, however, that renders it a difficult language to master, thus necessitating Bailey’s dictionary and its supplement.

In 1730, Bailey publishes the *Dictionarium Britannicum*. There is no HEL in the first edition of this text, but Bailey adds a substantial HEL to the “Preface” of the 1736 second edition. This text reproduces much of Bailey’s original HEL. It also incorporates new material on the divine origin of language, the number of languages, the consonance between languages and their speakers (for example, the English and their language are both “blunt”), and a comparison

⁴⁰ Starnes and Noyes find thirty versions that “burst forth continually with erratic overlappings and irregular numbering up to the year 1802” (106). I count thirty-five versions through 1800. Every text that I have examined contains an HEL except for the 1764 Edinburgh edition. I have not examined the 1737, 1751, 1766, 1794 editions.

of English to other modern languages. The result is an extended encomium of English, one that utilizes other published commentary on the language, as well. Neither the *Dictionarium Britannicum* nor the 1727 supplement see as many versions as Bailey's first dictionary, but they remain influential texts in the development of lexicography and further establish the history of English as a convention of the genre.⁴¹

By the time that Samuel Johnson produced *A Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755, then, the weight of tradition and the common commercial practices of bookmaking made it almost obligatory that his text incorporate an extensive HEL.⁴² His "History of the English Language" is twenty-nine pages long, and (for the first time in the dictionary tradition) it is not integrated into the preface but rather sectioned off as an independent essay before the wordlist. There, Johnson makes extensive use of existing resources to reiterate the standard account.⁴³ He also introduces new practices that would gain traction in later dictionaries. Most notably, Johnson organizes his narrative around forty literary extracts that illustrate the language's development "from the age of *Alfred* to that of *Elizabeth*" (n.p.). These texts include Anglo-

⁴¹ For example, Starnes and Noyes write of *Dictionarium Britannicum* that "Far more comprehensive and more competently executed than any predecessor, this work is justly famous in its own right as well as for the important role it later played as a working base for Johnson's dictionary" (117).

⁴² Allen Reddick and Henry Hitchings argue that Johnson included these prefatory materials simply to meet audience expectations for the dictionary genre. Reddick explains that

At what point Johnson decided to include a Preface, "History of the English Language," and "Grammar of the English Tongue" to precede his wordlist is uncertain—he does not mention that he will publish any prefatory material to his *Dictionary* in the *Plan*, suggesting that he had not then settled on what additional pieces he would include. By this point in lexicographical development, however, purchasers would expect a large folio dictionary like the one Johnson was compiling to have a preface, with either a grammar or a history of the language, or both, incorporated in some way. (71)

Hitchings concurs, noting that Johnson wrote the *Dictionary*'s supplementary pieces last—and permitted several "deficiencies" and "heavy borrowings from other works" to appear in them as he scrambled to get the work to his booksellers—only because "earlier dictionaries had included in their front matter articles of this kind" (191-2).

⁴³ Several scholars have investigated the sources of Johnson's HEL. For example, see DeMaria ("Johnson's *Dictionary*"), Kolb and DeMaria (*Johnson on the English Language*), Kolb and DeMaria ("Thomas Warton's *Observations*"), Kolb and Sledd, and Nagashima.

Saxon religious texts and chronicles, but also poetry and prose by celebrated writers. In this way, Johnson explicitly couples the history of the English language with the history of English literature, and subsequent writers would do so for decades to come.

Alongside Bailey's account, Johnson's HEL defines the dictionary tradition for the remainder of the century. The *Dictionary* itself sees at least forty-seven versions to 1800, and the HEL appears in twelve of the twenty-six versions I have examined.⁴⁴ The other fourteen versions, though they drop the HEL, retain Johnson's extensive use of Anglo-Saxon in the etymologies of his wordlist and in his prefatory grammar, thereby incorporating the language's history more obliquely. This practice was itself influential. Dictionaries had long noted the sources of English words, and a few traced the development of modern words from their Anglo-Saxon roots. However, Johnson was especially interested in Anglo-Saxon etymologies, and following his lead, several later dictionaries that do not otherwise overview English's history nonetheless integrate Anglo-Saxon to trace the history of individual words.⁴⁵ After Johnson, it also becomes increasingly common to supplement dictionaries with an English grammar. As I

⁴⁴ These are the 1755 (1st), 1755 (2nd), 1756 (2nd), 1765 (3rd), 1775 (4th), 1777 (4th), 1785 (6th), 1785 (7th), 1786, 1786 (Harrison's edition), 1797 (Dublin 8th), and 1799 (8th) editions. I also examined the 1760 (2nd), 1770 (4th), 1773 (5th), 1778 (6th), 1783 (7th), 1786 (8th), 1790 (9th), 1792 (8th), 1792 (Edinburgh 8th), 1792 (10th), 1798 (11th), and the 1799 (11th) editions.

⁴⁵ Even if Johnson popularizes the practice, his is not the first dictionary to incorporate specimens of Anglo-Saxon into the wordlist. Anglo-Saxon appears first in *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689) and later in Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730), Dyche's *A New General English Dictionary* (1735), and Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1749). See DeMaria ("Johnson's *Dictionary* and the 'Teutonic' Roots of the English Language") and DeMaria ("Samuel Johnson and the Saxon Shakespeare") on Johnson's interest in Anglo-Saxon studies.

Dictionaries after Johnson that include Anglo-Saxon in their wordlists are Fenning (1761), *An Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (1763), Barlow (1772), Kenrick (1773), Ash (1775), and Marriott (1780). Fenning's dictionary appears in five later versions (1763, 1767, 1768, 1771, 1778) and Ash's in one subsequent edition (1795). The other dictionaries see only the one version.

demonstrate below, these, too, frequently cite Anglo-Saxon in order to explicate the modern tongue.⁴⁶

2.3.3 Descendant Dictionaries

The dictionaries that appear after midcentury draw heavily on Bailey and Johnson's HELs, though they do occasionally interject new practices into the textual field. For example, Benjamin Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1749) integrates an HEL into its introductory "Institutions of Language: Or, a Physico-Grammatical Essay on the Propriety and Rationale of the English Tongue." Martin's familiar, external history of English is a close adaptation of Bailey's (1721), but he adds to it several of Camden's versions of the Lord's Prayer and a detailed categorization of English's borrowed words.⁴⁷ Martin also couches his seven-page HEL within a substantial (109-page) comparative grammar that further demonstrates the traffic between English and other European languages, as well as its descent from Anglo-Saxon. With only two editions, this dictionary is no rival of Bailey's.⁴⁸ Still, Martin's text newly integrates the history of English into a wider body of linguistic knowledge, and it attempts a level of systematization and authoritativeness that informs more successful dictionaries like Johnson's.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Dictionaries that incorporate such grammars include Scott (1755), Marchant (1760), Fenning (1761), *An Universal Dictionary of English* (1763), Johnson (1763), Barlow (1772), Kenrick (1773), Barclay (1774), and Ash (1775).

⁴⁷ For example, Hebrew has given English many of its religious terms; Arabic, terms of theology, medicine, astronomy, geography; Greek, terms of poetry and philosophy; French, terms of cooking; and so on (16-17).

⁴⁸ *Lingua Britannica Reformata* appeared in a second edition in 1754.

⁴⁹ On Martin as a precursor to Johnson, see Starnes and Noyes (146-49).

Other dictionaries from this period, though, do little more than rework existing material or reproduce earlier HELs outright. For example, the HEL in John Newbery's *A Pocket Dictionary* (1753) simply paraphrases Bailey's (1721) historical account.⁵⁰ Similarly, Joseph Nicol Scott's revised edition of Bailey's dictionary, *A New Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1755), includes a slightly reworked version of Johnson's HEL, published earlier the same year.⁵¹ John Marchant's *A New Complete English Dictionary* (1760) includes "A Short Essay on the Origin and Antiquity of the English Tongue," which essentially reproduces the Scott/Bailey HEL but without the many language specimens.⁵² And James Barclay, author of *A Complete and Universal English Dictionary* (1774), reproduces Marchant's HEL almost verbatim.⁵³

2.3.4 Charting the Dictionary Tradition

Taken together, at least twenty-two seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dictionaries incorporate the history of English. Fourteen of these include full HELs. The others incorporate Anglo-Saxon into their wordlists or supplementary grammars. Collectively, these texts see at least 170 versions before 1800 (see Figure 1). I have examined 128 of these, which I chart in Figure 2. There, the early increase in texts from 1660 to 1700 is due largely to the multiple reprintings of

⁵⁰ Newbery's HEL is seven pages long, integrated into "A Concise English Grammar; with a Short Historical Account of the Genius and Progress of that Language." It appears in three later editions in 1758, 1765, and 1779.

⁵¹ Scott published this dictionary thirteen years after Bailey's death. Starnes and Noyes call it the "largest" and "finest" of the Bailey dictionaries, and it was fairly well-received over the next twenty years with seven editions through 1776 (179). See Starnes and Noyes on the HEL's indebtedness to Johnson (183).

⁵² Marchant's HEL is five pages long. His dictionary appears in two later editions in 1762 and 1764.

⁵³ Like Marchant's HEL, Barclay's appears as "A Short Essay on the Origin and Antiquity of the English Tongue." It is four pages long. Barclay's dictionary sees three additional versions in 1782, 1792, and 1799.

Phillips and Coles. Then, Bailey drives the proliferation of HEL texts after 1721, and his account of the language's development dominates the market at least to midcentury. After that point, Bailey's is challenged by alternative accounts that, though individually less popular, begin to appear in great number. And all of these texts diminish in the decades after Johnson's is published. His *Dictionary* and its accompanying HEL achieve an unprecedented level of cultural authority and saturate the textual field in the last quarter of the century.

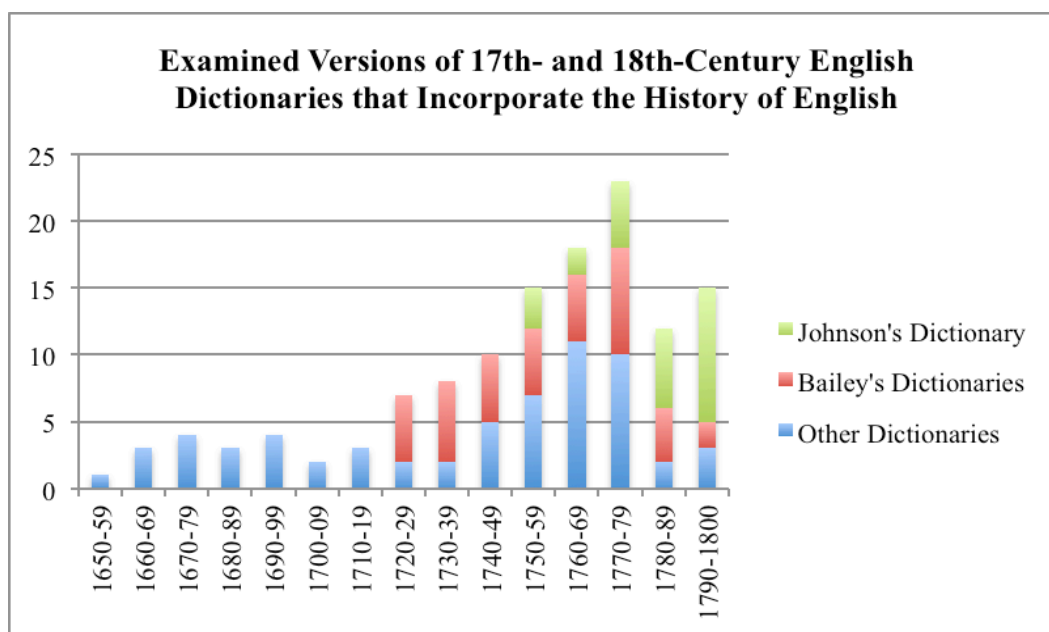


Figure 1: Examined Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Dictionaries that Incorporate the History of English. Because of the difficulty of accessing these texts, even digitally, this chart represents only the 128 versions that I have examined. I have not examined at least one edition of Phillips (1658), four editions of Bailey (1721), two editions of Bailey (1727), seven editions of Dyche (1735), two editions of Newbery (1753), twenty-one editions of Johnson (1755), two editions of Marchant (1760), and three editions of Fenning (1761).

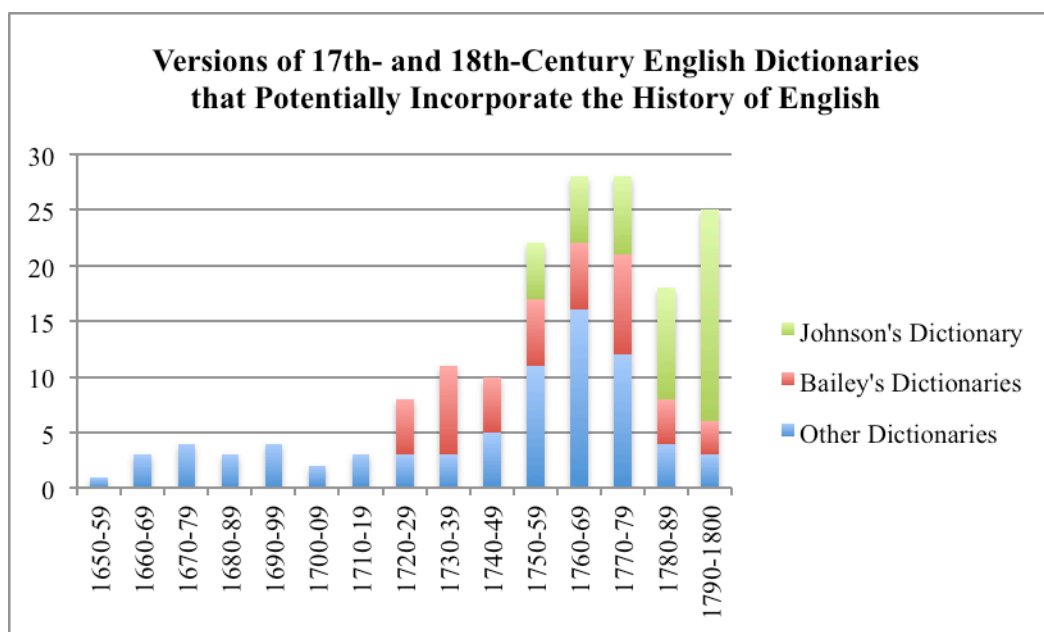


Figure 2: Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Dictionaries that Potentially Incorporate the History of English. I have identified twenty-two dictionaries that incorporate full HELs in their prefatory material or cite Anglo-Saxon in their wordlists or supplementary grammars. Collectively, these dictionaries see at least 170 versions to 1800.

2.4 THE GRAMMAR TRADITION

English grammars constitute the most substantial segment of the HEL textual field in this period. Relevant texts appear as early as Guy Miège's *The English Grammar* (1688), and at least a dozen titles are in circulation by 1750. After that point, scores of new grammars enter the field, including seminal texts by John Ash (1760), Robert Lowth (1762), and Noah Webster (1784), which on their own see well over one hundred versions by 1800. Most of these grammars are discrete textbooks in their own right, directed to a variety of audiences; however, grammatical discourse is highly transferable, and short introductions to grammar are also routinely incorporated into other genres of literacy text, including dictionaries. In the grammars, full HELs

serve much the same purpose that I describe above: to demonstrate English's excellence and integrity and to orient readers to its lexicon. But these texts also make wider and more pointed use of Anglo-Saxon, citing this older phase of English in order to explain specific features of modern English grammar and usage. Perhaps unsurprisingly, because the grammars themselves are more pedagogically oriented than the dictionaries, their incorporation of the history of English is more explicitly pedagogical, as well.

2.4.1 Early Debates Over the History of English

A small number of grammars appearing from the mid-seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century incorporate the history of English. The earliest examples are Latin texts, the most important of which is John Wallis's influential *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653).⁵⁴ Later, at least two vernacular grammars incorporate the history of English, as well. These are Guy Miège's *The English Grammar* (1688) and John White's *The Country-Man's Conductor in Reading and Writing True English* (1701). Miège's HEL appears as the eight page "Prefatory Discourse Concerning the Original, and Excellency of the English Tongue." Its historical narrative is brief, quickly asserting English's Germanic origin and noting its later

⁵⁴ Wallis incorporates an eighteen-page HEL into the preface of his grammar. For the most part, he reproduces the antiquarian narrative. However, he also adds a substantial section on the Celtic languages of Britain that would be taken up by later HELs. Wallis also contributes a long-lived example of the effect of the Norman Conquest on the English language. He notes that modern English uses Anglo-Saxon words to name animals (cow, pig, sheep), but it uses French words to name animal foods (beef, pork, mutton). He suggests that this is because Anglo-Saxon laborers tended to these animals while the privileged Norman invaders ate them (99-101). This example is reiterated even in current HEL textbooks. For example, see Svartvik and Leech (39).

Wallis's grammar appeared in several later editions: 1664, 1672, 1674, 1688, 1699, 1765. (I cite J. A. Kemp's English translation of the 1765 sixth edition here). Large sections of Wallis's HEL also appear in Christopher Cooper's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685), which appears in only the one edition. Kemp suggests that Wallis's may not be the first Latin grammar to include the history of English. Something like an HEL may also appear as 1619 in Alexander Gill's *Logonomia Anglica* (1619) (77).

contact with Latin, French, and Danish. The majority of the HEL is dedicated to demonstrating English's excellence using Carew's evaluative categories, slightly modified as "Facility," "Copiousness," "Significancy," and "Sweetness." Miège argues that English's borrowing has not impaired the language. Rather, his text echoes early dictionary HELs in finding that English "is very much improved by the continental Accession of other Languages, especially the Latine and French."⁵⁵

White, alternatively, includes a section in his *Conductor* titled "Some Examples of the Alteration of our English, for some hundreds of Years past; with some Remarks useful for the better reading and understanding the Language of our Ancestors" (121-28). White does not note the traditional highpoints of the antiquarian account, but he does trace the development of the language using specimen texts. These include legal documents (an Anglo-Saxon land grant), religious documents (Anglo-Saxon translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and a Psalm), and literary documents (poetry by Robert of Gloucester and Leland, with references to Chaucer). White's commentary on the texts defines some of the obsolete words and explains spelling or pronunciation conventions in order to facilitate reading the documents. However, White also points out that many of these usages persist in modern English and should be corrected to suit "our present Pronunciation" (126).⁵⁶

These forerunners notwithstanding, the true exemplars of the early grammar tradition were published in 1711. Again, there were two of them: James Greenwood's *An Essay Towards a Practical English Grammar* and John Brightland and Charles Gildon's *A Grammar of the English Tongue*. These texts are reiterated or referred to for decades, and their "bellum

⁵⁵ Miège's grammar sees only one other version in 1691.

⁵⁶ White's grammar sees only one other version in 1712.

grammaticale” initiates a debate about using the history of English in literacy instruction that would persist for far longer.⁵⁷

Greenwood makes the history of English a prominent feature of his *Essay*. He prefaces the text with a thirty-two-page translation of John Wallis’s Latin HEL. To this, he adds his own commentary as well as excerpts from antiquarian scholarship by Camden, Verstegan, and others, which expand Wallis’s historical account considerably. He also incorporates numerous language specimens. These include Camden’s versions of the Lord’s Prayer, but like White (1701) before him, Greenwood utilizes a range of religious, legal, and literary documents that make his text a clear predecessor of Johnson’s. Greenwood concludes his account by evaluating modern English and proposing methods for its study. On the one hand, he finds that English’s development has made it a copious language, which he counts among its strengths (26). On the other, he insists that ongoing language change also increases English’s difficulty, an observation that in part drives his argument that English (rather than Latin) must be the first language studied in schools.⁵⁸

While his prefatory HEL provides historical context for learning English, Greenwood integrates Anglo-Saxon as a more practical resource in the text proper. Because he (like most HEL writers) believes that English has maintained an essential continuity with Anglo-Saxon, he

⁵⁷ On the authorship of Brightland and Gildon’s grammar, and the competition between this grammar and Greenwood’s, see Buschmann-Göbels’s “*Bellum Grammaticale* (1712)—A Battle of Books and a Battle for the Market.”

⁵⁸ For example, after noting the ongoing change in meaning of English words, Greenwood writes that “we may observe how necessary and useful it would be that our Youth be rightly instructed in the Knowledge of their own Language, together with that of the Latin and Greek, since it will be somewhat hard for a Lad to translate English into Latin, if he be not acquainted with the Sense of the English . . .” (27). Greenwood continues, “It may also be worthy our Enquiry how far the Learning the Principles of Grammar in English, and explaining them by familiar English Examples, (as far as the Thing will bear) would conduce a better, clearer and quicker understanding of Grammar, English and Latin . . .” (27).

assumes that knowledge of Anglo-Saxon can clarify troublesome points of modern usage. For example, Greenwood explains that English's possessive "apostrophe-s" does not denote the word "his" as some believe ("John his book") but the original Anglo-Saxon genitive ending "-es" ("Johnes book") (53-55). Likewise, he observes that though the letter "w" often comes before the letter "h" in modern spelling, "it is really sounded after it, as in *when, what, which*, [which] are sounded *hwen, hwat, hwich*; and so our Saxon Ancestors were wont to place it" (251). Greenwood makes similar recourse to Anglo-Saxon throughout his grammar, where it helps to explain the pluralization of nouns (49), the derivation of words (80-81), and the conjugation of verbs (136-38), among other topics. Such citations were not unprecedented in 1711 (Wallis utilizes them, too), but after Greenwood they enjoy an increase in number and longevity. Greenwood himself reproduces them in the four later editions of his *Essay* and in the nine editions of his *Royal English Grammar* (1737).⁵⁹ Other grammarians reproduce and expand upon them, too, circulating them in dozens of texts during this period and even into the early twentieth century.

Brightland and Gildon also promote the history of English as a resource for grammar instruction, at least in the first edition of *A Grammar of the English Tongue*. They, too, preface their text with a translation of Wallis's HEL, interspersed with new commentary.⁶⁰ Likewise, they cite Anglo-Saxon to explain modern English spelling and pronunciation.⁶¹ Ultimately,

⁵⁹ After 1711, *An Essay Towards a Practical English Grammar* sees editions in 1722, 1729, 1740, and 1753. Greenwood's *Royal English Grammar* (1737) sees subsequent editions in 1744, 1747, 1750, 1754, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1770, and 1780.

⁶⁰ Brightland and Gildon's translation is highly abbreviated at only four pages. Most noticeably, it omits Wallis's substantial section on the Celtic language. At the same time, Brightland and Gildon do incorporate their own commentary, including expanded remarks on the benefits of English's foreign borrowings and the present excellence of the language.

⁶¹ See, for example, Brightland and Gildon's discussions of pronunciation (48, 53) and spelling (136).

though, Brightland and Gildon are notable not for incorporating the history of English into the first edition of their grammar but for challenging its utility in their second edition (1712). There, they drop their HEL and replace it with a critique of recent, competing grammars, including Greenwood's. They consider Greenwood too esoteric for his audience; especially, they criticize his insistence that readers "require some Skill in the Old-Saxon" in order to study modern English (n.p.). Brightland and Gildon argue instead that "the very Nature and Genius of our Language is almost entirely alter'd since that Speech was disus'd" (n.p.). Hence, "the Saxon can be no Rule to us; [and] to understand ours, there is no need of knowing the Saxon" (n.p.).

This critique remains a feature of Brightland and Gildon's *Grammar*, which is disseminated throughout the century in at least ten versions from 1712 to 1782. Several subsequent grammars voice a similar skepticism. For example, Isaac Barker (1733) considers the history of English supplementary rather than essential to learning the modern language.⁶² He directs those who have the "Time and Inclination for these Things" to consult Greenwood's *Essay* rather than his own *English Grammar* (ii). John and James Gough (1754) take a comparable stance, as do Joseph Priestley (1761), Alexander Miller (1795), and Lindley Murray (1795), among others.⁶³ Ironically, though, even as they reject its utility, many of these writers only further establish the history of English as a feature of grammatical discourse. For example,

⁶² Barker writes that it is "a Matter of pure Curiosity, to enquire into the Original of a Language, its Derivation from, and Composition with others; and what Alterations it has undergone in any Number of Years" (ii).

⁶³ Gough and Gough argue that "the Saxon language is thought in no way necessary to the understanding of English; but that the Words derived from thence may be well enough understood, according to their present Acceptation amongst us, without knowing the precise Meaning of the original Words which they came from in the Saxon" (ix). For additional examples, see Joseph Priestley's 1761 *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (iv) and Alexander Miller's 1795 *A Concise Grammar of the English Language* (3-4). See also my discussion of Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1795) in Chapter Two.

Many of these texts see multiple editions. Gough and Gough (1754) see at least five versions to 1792. Priestley (1761) sees at least sixteen versions to 1798. And Murray (1795) sees at least six British and American versions to 1800, and many more during the nineteenth century.

to support their argument, Brightland and Gildon describe several differences between Anglo-Saxon and modern English. They even include a two-page chart of Anglo-Saxon noun paradigms intended to demonstrate how few of its original inflections English has retained. In this way, they paradoxically detail the history of the language even as they dismiss it as a resource for learners. Similarly, while Priestley assures readers that his text contains “no elaborate disquisitions concerning the origins and successive changes of the language” (iv), he still incorporates Anglo-Saxon grammar into his discussions of verbs (122) and derivation (142-3). And in like manner, Murray expands his HEL across the early editions of his grammar even as he questions that material’s relevance for his readership.

2.4.2 Full HELs in Modern English Grammars

Throughout the century, grammarians continue to question whether specialized historical material can aid students of modern English. Many clearly decide that it cannot, as dozens of grammars do not incorporate the history of English in any form. At the same time, other grammarians continue to include full HELs. Early in the century, these only appear as prefatory material. Later, they are integrated into the text proper where the historical accounts serve as adjuncts to other topics. Eventually, HELs are granted separate sections as writers come to consider the history of English a branch of grammatical study in its own right.

After Greenwood, the next HEL to appear is in Benjamin Martin’s *Bibliotheca Technologica: Or, a Philological Library of Literary Arts and Sciences* (1737). There, Martin opens his chapter on grammar with a full HEL. The historical account is relatively short (seven pages) and nondescript, generally recounting the standard antiquarian narrative with large sections borrowed directly from Camden. However, Martin’s HEL is remarkable in reasserting

and even magnifying English's superiority over other languages.⁶⁴ It also newly emphasizes the rhetorical advantages of English's sedimented vocabulary, which has ensured that the language is "abounding with all the Flowers of Rhetoric, capable of all the Delicacy, fine Similes and Allusions of Poetry, and of supplying both the Pulpit and Bar with all the Force and Energy that Speech can pretend to" (138-39). This represents a distinct shift in attitude from the first quarter of the century, which is defined by Greenwood's uncertainty about English's many borrowings.⁶⁵ Instead, Martin's wholly positive assessment runs in parallel with Nathan Bailey's (1721), and together these writers make praise for the composite vernacular a regular feature of the period's literacy texts.

Martin's account enjoys a wider circulation than any other grammar HEL at midcentury. It appears in three additional editions of the *Bibliotheca* to 1776, and other grammars also reproduce it. For example, John Newbery includes it in the preface of his *Easy Introduction to the English Language* (1745) as well as in his *Grammar Made Familiar and Easy* (1748), both of which see multiple editions.⁶⁶ In 1748, Martin expands his historical account and incorporates

⁶⁴ Martin writes,

But notwithstanding our Language is thus a Mixture or Compound of such heterogeneous Ingredients; yet it must be withal consider'd, that only the choice and valuable Parts of other Tongues have been selected and incorporated together in the Body of our own, which therefore may be look'd upon as the Quintessence of various Tongues; and by enfranchising and indenizing foreign Words and Terms of Arts and Science, it is indeed become a very copious, pithy, significant and learned Language . . . (138)

⁶⁵ Greenwood (reiterating Wallis) finds that after the Norman Conquest, "a vast Medley of foreign Words has been received into our Language; not that the English is of it self poor and barren, but is sufficiently enrich'd with Words and Elegancies; and, if I may so speak, is copious to an Excess. Nor is there any Word which it cannot furnish us with out of its own Store, to express our most refin'd Conceptions, in a significant and full Manner" (10).

⁶⁶ Newbery's *Easy Introduction to the English Language* appears in at least five additional editions throughout the midcentury (1748, 1755, 1769, 1776, 1787) and his *Grammar Made Familiar and Easy* appears in at least four (1752, 1769, 1770, 1776). On the contested authorship of these grammars, see their entries on the *Eighteenth-Century English Grammars* database.

it into an independently published essay on the “Institutions of Language.” He appends this essay to his dictionary the following year, and it is circulated by later grammars, as well.⁶⁷

Other HELs appear in the second half of the century. Few of them achieve the lasting influence of Greenwood and Martin, but some do reimagine the place of the history of English within grammar instruction. James Elphinston (1765), for example, includes an HEL in his chapter “Of Foreign or Remote Etymology.” The historical account itself is brief, but it initiates an extensive discussion of English’s borrowed words. Like Phillips, Cocker, and Martin (1749) before him—though more extensively than any of those writers—Elphinston categorizes English’s borrowings and explains how to identify them. He thereby promises readers a heightened awareness and mastery of their lexically diverse language. He insists, “we are now enabled to distinguish a native from a foreigner, and to carry each word to its class; to analyse any compound into its parts, and to trace any branch to its root” (391). Richard Wynne similarly couples the history of English to etymological study in *An Universal Grammar* (1775), and grammars increasingly do so into the nineteenth century.

Alternatively, William Meikleham (1781) and John Corbet (1784) allot independent sections for their HELs.⁶⁸ So does Peter Walkden Fogg, whose *Elementa Anglicana* (1792) dedicates a separate “Grammatical Dissertation” to the “History and Character of the English Language.” There, Fogg includes an expansive HEL illustrated with several language specimens.

⁶⁷ For example, Alexander Bicknell incorporates Martin’s “Institutions” into *The Grammatical Wreath* (1790), where he spreads the material across two dedicated chapters on the subjects “Of the Origin of Language” and “The Progress of Language.”

⁶⁸ Like many late-century HELs, these two are borrowed from earlier writers. Meikleham reproduces the HEL in Newbery’s *Pocket Dictionary* (1753), while Corbet reproduces the HEL in Bailey’s *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721).

He also enumerates the rhetorical affordances that English has accrued and explains why its contact with other languages has made English easier, not more difficult, for students to learn:

For all styles, the grave, the gay, the didactic, the humorous, and the pathetic, [English] furnishes both appropriate terms and apposite phraseology. In preciseness it may perhaps vie with most others, though there is still sufficient motive to engage the labours of philologists to this most important point. Its simplicity is truly admirable. Disengaged from the load of terminations, and from the consequent train of syntactical rules, which encumbers the classical novice, a few easy variations, and a lucid order, do the whole business of its grammar.

(154)

Lindley Murray also indicates that the history of English deserves independent attention, as he increases the prominence of his HEL across the early editions of his *English Grammar* (1795). In 1796, he incorporates it into his section “On Derivation.” From 1797 onward, he highlights the HEL with a section and subheading of its own.⁶⁹

In total, I record eighteen vernacular grammars that incorporate full HELs. Miège (1688) and White (1701) are early forerunners, while Greenwood (1711) defines the tradition during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Martin’s HEL dominates the period, circulating in various forms from 1737 until at least 1790, often in popular texts by other writers. After midcentury, several additional HELs appear. These occasionally introduce new practices. More often, they simply reproduce earlier narratives from either the grammar or the dictionary tradition, and few

⁶⁹ Elphinston sees one additional edition in 1766. Meikleham sees at least five versions to 1799 and Corbet sees two others in 1785 and 1788. Wynne and Fogg’s texts see only the one edition.

see many versions. Lindley Murray is an exception. While his *English Grammar* sees only five British and American editions by 1800, it comes to saturate the textual field in the next century.

2.4.3 Anglo-Saxon in Modern English Grammars

While full HELs are a common enough sight, most of the grammars in my corpus actually incorporate the history of English more obliquely. Some contain highly reduced HELs, passages that reference key points in English's development but that stop short of elaborating the full historical narrative.⁷⁰ Many more omit the narrative altogether but cite Anglo-Saxon in their explanations of modern English grammar. Such citations are the defining feature of the grammar tradition. They appear in the majority of texts and in conjunction with a range of grammatical topics: the declension of nouns (especially the possessive case); the conjugation of verbs (especially irregular verbs); the derivation of words (especially parts of speech); and spelling and pronunciation, among others.

All together, my corpus includes fifty-three discrete grammars that cite Anglo-Saxon. Many of these incorporate it minimally, using it in conjunction with only one or two of the most

⁷⁰ For example, Thomas Smetham (1774) includes something like an HEL in his preface, where he attributes English's excellence to its history of contact with other languages. He writes, "The English language owes its excellency to its being a composition of the most heterogeneous ingredients; a medley of innumerable other languages. The beauties of almost every tongue have been selected to grace ours; and, with few or none of the defects of any, to present us with the charms of all" (vii). John Fell (1784) also notes English's diverse linguistic sources, though he laments that these crowd out the language's original Anglo-Saxon. He argues that "The most effectual method of preserving our language from decay, and preventing a total disregard to the Saxon part of it, is to bring about a revolution in our present mode of education" (xi). That is, to teach grammar in English rather than in a foreign language (xi).

Smetham sees a second version in 1775, while Fell has only the one. For additional examples, see Thomas Wise (1754), William Woolgar (1761), and Thomas Hodson (1800). Wise sees at least fourteen versions to 1782. Woolgar sees three throughout the 1760s. Hodson has only the one edition.

common topics.⁷¹ For example, of the twenty-nine grammars that use Anglo-Saxon to discuss declension, twelve use it to discuss only that topic. One of them is John Ash (1760), who follows Greenwood in noting that English's possessive case "undoubtedly came from the Saxon, and the best English Writers after the Norman Conquest, even down to the Time of Chaucer and the Reformation, formed it . . . by the Addition of *s*, *es*, or *is*" (34). Similarly, Daniel Fenning (1771) observes that English's "apostrophe-s" "is an abbreviation of the old Saxon Genitive, which ended in *is*. Thus the Saxons, to express *the treachery of Judas*, would have said *Judasis treachery*; whereas we now say, by contraction, *Judas's treachery*" (22).⁷²

Alternatively, other texts incorporate Anglo-Saxon as a more regular resource. I have already described Greenwood's *Practical Essay* (1711) and *Royal English Grammar* (1737), early exemplars that make repeated use of Anglo-Saxon and forward that material to later grammars.⁷³ Michael Maittaire (1712) is another early example, and after midcentury several such texts appear.⁷⁴ Of these, Robert Lowth and Noah Webster deserve special consideration, both because of their own diverse incorporation of Anglo-Saxon and for their enduring influence over subsequent texts. Lowth cites Anglo-Saxon across several sections of his *Short Introduction*

⁷¹ The most common topics to feature Anglo-Saxon are the derivation of words (thirty texts), the declension of nouns (twenty-nine texts); spelling and pronunciation (twenty texts); the conjugation of verbs (eighteen texts); and pluralization (seven texts). Less common topics include the declension of adjectives (two texts) and grammatical gender (one text).

⁷² For additional examples, see Solomon Lowe (1737), John Carter (1773), and Wells Egelsham (1780), among others.

⁷³ Among other texts, Greenwood was especially influential on the grammars in mid-century dictionaries. For example, Scott (1755), Fenning (1761), and *An Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (1763) cite him as a source in their grammars. They reproduce his Anglo-Saxon along with much of his other material. He was also a significant influence on Robert Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and Noah Webster's *Grammatical Institute* (1784), two of the most popular grammars after midcentury.

⁷⁴ For example, see Robert Lowth (1762), *English Grammar* (1781), Noah Webster (1784), John Fell (1784), Lewis Brittain (1788), Alexander Bicknell (1790), Peter Walkden Fogg (1792), Alexander Caleb (1792), Lindley Murray (1795), Richard Postlethwaite (1795), and Henry St. John Bullen (1797).

to *English Grammar* (1762). He uses it to explain the possessive case (25-7), to classify verbs (67-72, 80-83), to define words (128), and to parse modern English syntax (132).⁷⁵ Above all, Lowth cites Anglo-Saxon to account for English's ostensible irregularities, which he presents as evidence of the language's underlying organization. For example, Lowth (1775) demonstrates that modern English's irregular verbs actually correspond with particular classes of Anglo-Saxon strong verbs. In one class, for instance, the irregular preterit forms such as stand/stood and dare/durst correspond with Anglo-Saxon standan/stode and dyrran/dorste. In another class, bring/brought and buy/bought correspond with bringan/brohte and bycgean/bohte. Such correspondences reveal that "The formation of verbs in English, both regular and irregular, is derived from the Saxon" (47). Thus, irregulars—far from being signs of English's insufficiency or imperfection—actually maintain the structure of Anglo-Saxon's original verb system.⁷⁶

Webster makes similar observations in his *Grammatical Institute* (1784). He draws heavily on the Anglo-Saxon material in both Greenwood and Lowth, which he uses to discuss declension, derivation, style, and other topics. For example, in his discussion of derivation Webster argues that "By recurring to the Saxon and Gothic originals, most of the English particles are found to be abbreviations or combinations of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Indeed most adjectives are formed in the same manner from nouns and verbs" (9). So, the modern suffix "less" is abbreviated from the Saxon verb "lesan," to dismiss (17). The termination "ly" is from the adjective "liche," like (17); "if" is from the imperative form of "gifan," to give (25);

⁷⁵ Lowth even adds Anglo-Saxon with successive editions. By 1775, he cites it to categorize letters ("y" is a vowel, not a consonant [3]), to explain compounded words like "afoot" and "afishing" (65), and to stipulate proper pronunciation: "who" is pronounced "hwo" because in Anglo-Saxon it was "hwa" (25).

⁷⁶ See Gustafsson on Lowth's use Anglo-Saxon to classify English irregular verbs in the eighteenth century.

“unless” is from the verb “onlesan,” to dismiss (25); “of” is from the noun “afora,” consequence or offspring (28).⁷⁷

Lowth’s *Short Introduction* and Webster’s *Grammatical Institute* were both immensely popular, and they alone would have made Anglo-Saxon a common feature of grammar instruction in this period. *ECEG* records at least fifty-seven British and American versions of Lowth to 1800. Moreover, his grammar is silently paraphrased or blatantly reproduced by later grammarians who also utilize Anglo-Saxon.⁷⁸ Webster is possibly even more popular. *ECEG* records at least sixty-two versions of *Grammatical Institutes*, mostly published in the United States. Together with their nearest competitor, John Ash (1760), these texts are not only the most popular English grammars to incorporate Anglo-Saxon, they are the most popular English grammars of the century (Baugh and Cable 259).⁷⁹ A second tier of texts in my corpus enjoy moderate circulations, but they do not rival Lowth, Webster, and Ash in disseminating Anglo-Saxon as a resource for learning modern English.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ This use of Anglo-Saxon appears in both of Greenwood’s grammars, and all of the references in Greenwood’s texts trace the Anglo-Saxon origins of the same English particles that Webster does. Webster also argues openly with Lowth about the Anglo-Saxon origin of modern English verbs like “afishing” (96)

⁷⁸ Those who explicitly cite Lowth and incorporate his Anglo-Saxon include John Ash (1761), Joseph Priestley (1761), Anselm Bayly (1772), Joshua Story (1778), Wells Egelsham (1780), John Fell (1784), Noah Webster (1784), J. Wilson (1792), Caleb Alexander (*Grammatical System* 1792), and John Hornsey (1793). Samuel Johnson also incorporates Lowth into the grammar of the fourth edition of his *Dictionary* (1777).

⁷⁹ Ash (1760) sees at least fifty-two versions to 1800.

⁸⁰ This tier of texts include Brightland and Gildon (1711) with at least thirteen versions; Greenwood (1711) with five; Greenwood (1737) with ten; Priestley (1761) with seventeen; Hodgson (1770) with six; Fenning (1771) with eleven; Harrison (1777) with seven; Harrison (1787) with eleven; Alexander (1792) with six; and Murray (1795) with six. The remaining grammars in my corpus see significantly fewer editions. Of the fifty-three texts that I examine, almost half of them (twenty-four) appear in a single version. An additional fifteen texts appear in more than one but less than five versions.

2.4.4 Charting the Grammar Tradition

Taken together, I have identified seventy seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grammars that incorporate the history of English in the form of full HELs, citations of Anglo-Saxon, or both. Collectively, these see at least 398 versions to 1800 (see Figure 3). I have examined 189 of these, which I chart in Figure 4. Full HELs appear early on, and they maintain a consistent (if relatively minor) presence in the tradition throughout the century. They reach their height between 1760 to 1790, primarily due to the circulation of Martin's (1737) popular HEL and the appearance of several new (though less popular) accounts by Elphinston (1765), Wynne (1775), Meikleham (1781), and Corbet (1784). Highly reduced HELs by Wise (1754), Woolgar (1761), Smetham (1774), and Fell (1784) also see multiple editions during this thirty-year span.

The use of Anglo-Saxon sees incredible growth across the century. There is an early spike in use from 1710 to 1719 because of the appearance of Greenwood (1711), Brightland and Gildon (1711), and Maittaire (1712). There is another spike from 1750 to 1759, primarily because of Greenwood (1711) and Greenwood (1737). Almost on its own, then, Lowth's *Short Introduction* (1762) accounts for the expansion of these texts in the 1760s. After that, Anglo-Saxon appears in dozens of other grammars, though Lowth, Ash (1760), and Webster (1784) account for the majority of texts for the remainder of the century. Webster, especially, sees multiple editions during the 1790s.

The proliferation of the history of English in grammatical discourse is even more extensive than these figures suggest because they only include discrete grammar texts. As I note in the following section, chapters on English grammar often appear in a range of other literacy texts (primarily spellers, spelling dictionaries, and encyclopedias) and these, too, often incorporate HELs or include citations of Anglo-Saxon.

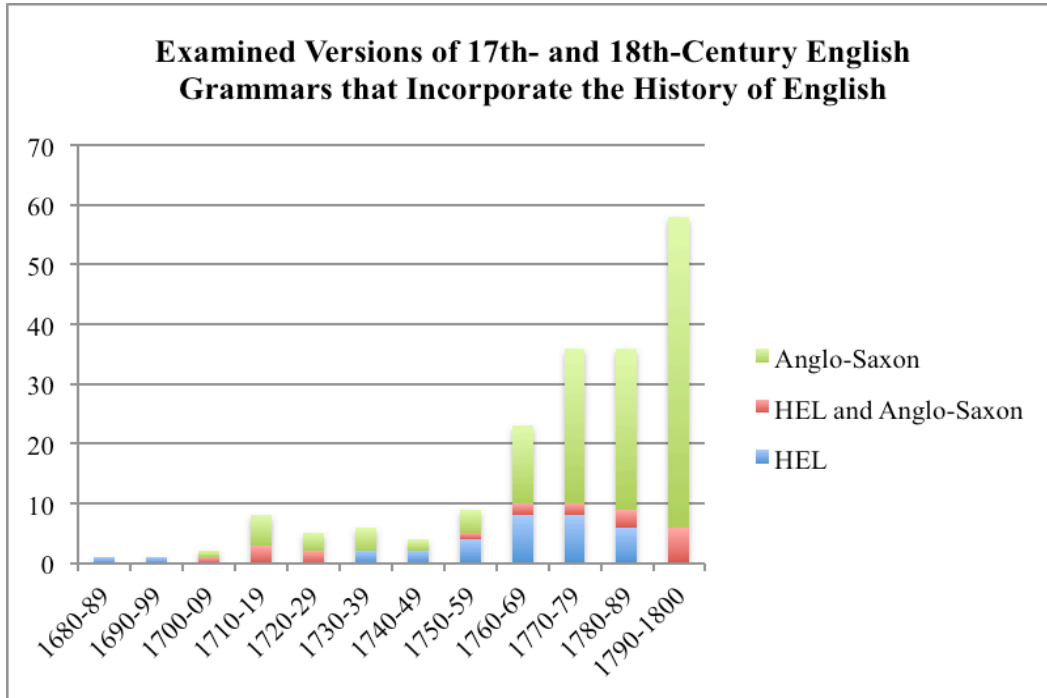


Figure 3: Examined Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Grammars that Incorporate the History of English. Because I do not have access to all editions of these texts, this chart represents only the 189 versions that I have examined.

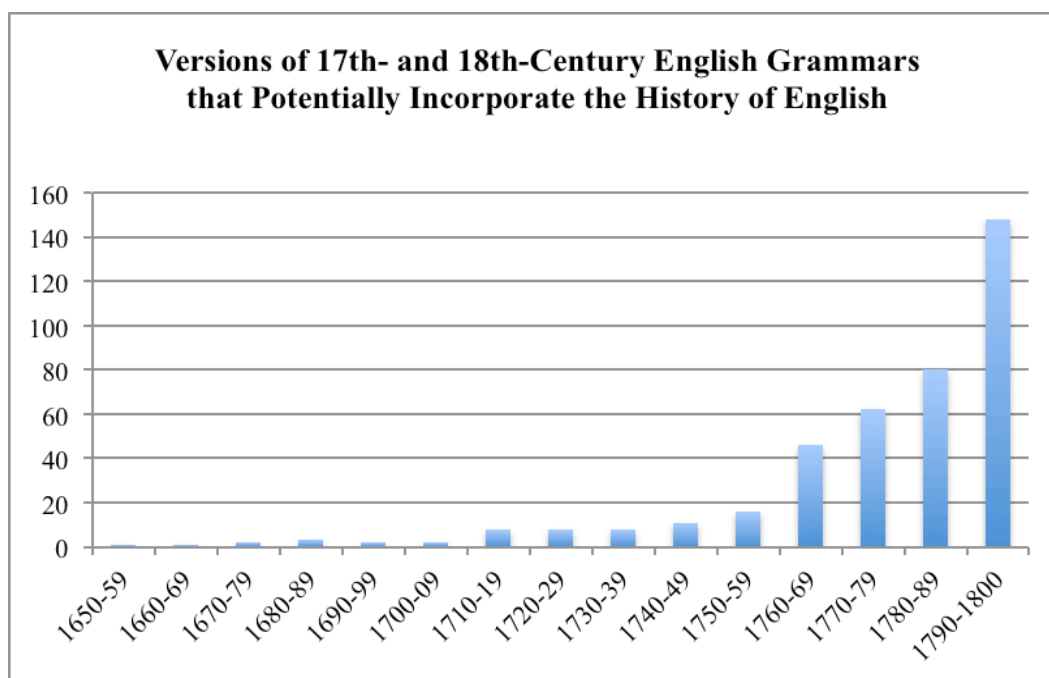


Figure 4: Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Grammars that Potentially Incorporate the History of English. I have identified seventy grammars that incorporate full HELs, Anglo-Saxon, or both. Collectively, these grammars see at least 398 versions to 1800.

2.5 ADJACENT TRADITIONS

While dictionaries and grammars constitute the bulk of the textual field in this period, the history of English also appears in other texts dedicated to language and literacy study. These include popular instructional genres such as spellers, spelling dictionaries, rhetorics, letter-writing guides, and encyclopedias. They also include scholarly treatises on grammar and historical linguistics, including the first book-length HELs. Often, these texts incorporate the history of the language as a part of supplementary chapters on English grammar. In other cases, they newly adapt it to distinct concerns within their own divisions of English study.

Among the instructional texts, spellers make practical use of the history of English from early on. There, appeals to Anglo-Saxon help to explain the sounds of letters, the division of syllables, and the derivation of words, among other topics. Thomas Dyche (1709) and Nathan Bailey (1726), for example, compare the sounds of modern English letters with their Anglo-Saxon originals in order to clarify current pronunciation. Dyche observes of the letter “c” that “The ancient Saxons always sounded it hard, like *k*; but we pronounce it often times soft like *s*” (77). Similarly, Bailey observes that “*Wh* is never found but in English Words that are of the antient British, or rather Saxon Original; and in those the *h* is sounded before the *w*, as wheal, wheel, when, where, who, etc as hwheel, hwen, hwere, hwoo” (13). Alternatively, Thomas Tuite (1726) relies on Anglo-Saxon derivations to define his “Rules of Dividing Words into Syllables.” For instance, he insists that when dividing words like “*Clap-ham, Chat-ham, Elt-ham, Grant-ham, Fevers-ham, Leus-ham, Strens-ham*, and the like names of towns,” “ham” must be sectioned off as a discreet syllable because it represents a distinct Anglo-Saxon word meaning “a home, or habitation; and is often us’d in the end of proper names of towns or cities” (76).⁸¹

Spelling dictionaries, in contrast, make more perfunctory use of the history of English. They include HELs in their prefaces or Anglo-Saxon in their supplementary grammars, but these are invariably borrowed from texts in other traditions. For example, John Newbery’s *A Spelling-Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) includes an HEL in its “A Compendious English

⁸¹ For additional examples, see William Baker’s 1724 *Rules for True Spelling and Writing English* (vi-vii), the 1740 *Irish Spelling-Book* (12-13), Robert Nares’s 1784 *Elements of Orthoepey* (passim).

These spellers see widely divergent circulations. Dyche, for one, is incredibly popular. Murray Cohen calls it “the most popular spelling book of the century” (48). E. Jennifer Monaghan concurs. She finds that “Over fifty English editions are documented by 1800, and that number is certainly an underestimate of the total output. One London printer alone, Charles Ackers, printed thirty-three editions between 1733 and 1747, averaging nearly eighteen thousand copies annually” (218). Dyche was popular in North America, as well. His speller, along with Henry Dixon’s and Thomas Dilworth’s, “blanket[ed] the American colonies in imported and local imprints until after the American Revolution” (Monaghan 218). On the other hand, Bailey sees a second edition in 1733, while Barker, Tuite, *The Irish Spelling-Book*, and Nares see only single editions.

Grammar; with Concise Historical Account of that Language.” This HEL is the same paraphrase of Bailey’s (1721) that appears in Newbery’s *The Pocket Dictionary* (1753). Samuel Hammond’s *A Complete and Comprehensive Spelling-Dictionary of the English Language* (1760) includes a version of Martin’s (1749) HEL in its “A Compendious English Grammar; with a History of the Language.” And the HEL in the preface of Anne Fisher’s *An Accurate New Spelling Dictionary* (1781) is an adaptation of Bailey’s (1721), as well. Alternatively, John Entick’s *The New Spelling Dictionary* (1795) incorporates Anglo-Saxon into its supplementary grammar. Entick borrows his comments on the Anglo-Saxon genitive from Ash (1760).⁸²

In addition to spellers and spelling dictionaries, the history of English is integrated into the odd letter-writing guide, rhetoric, and instructional miscellany. It also appears in several encyclopedias, which feature entries on the English language or English grammar.⁸³ For example, *The Complete Letter-Writer* (1756) includes a supplementary grammar adapted from Greenwood’s *Royal English Grammar* (1737). For the most part, the text omits Greenwood’s many references to Anglo-Saxon, but it does include a reduced HEL in its account of English’s Latin, French, and Greek borrowings (34-37). Alternatively, Hugh Blair incorporates a full HEL into his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). The account opens his lecture on the “Structure of Language—English Tongue,” where Blair uses it to initiate a discussion of English’s stylistic affordances, just as many other HEL writers do before him. *Essays on*

⁸² Most of these texts enjoy moderate circulations. Newbery sees at least twenty-one versions to 1800, though the HEL is occasionally omitted (for example, see 1748, 1752, 1780, 1788, and 1792). Hammond sees only one edition, but Fisher sees five versions. Entick sees at least thirty-nine versions from 1765 to 1800, but Anglo-Saxon does not appear in the grammar until at least 1795 and then in three later versions to 1800.

⁸³ See Ephraim Chambers’s *Cyclopaedia: or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728), which includes an extensive HEL under the heading “English.” See also *A New Universal History of Arts and Sciences* (1759), which includes its HEL in a section on “Grammar,” and John Seally’s *The Lady’s Encyclopedia* (1788), which does the same.

Rhetoric: Abridged Chiefly from Dr. Blair's Lectures on that Science (1784) does the same, offering a reduced version of Blair's historical narrative that would also appear in many later abridgements. William Mavor's *Youth's Miscellany* (1798) also follows suit. Its chapter "On the English Language" reproduces a fuller version of Blair's HEL and similarly uses it to itemize the language's rhetorical resources.⁸⁴

Outside of these instructional texts, the history of English is increasingly incorporated into more specialized examinations of language throughout the period. James Wilkins's famous *Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668) is an early example. As part of his argument for the necessity of a universal language, Wilkins includes an HEL that demonstrates "the various changes and corruptions to which all vulgar Languages are obnoxious" (6).⁸⁵ Later, grammatical treatises by Joseph Priestley (1762) and John Horne Tooke

⁸⁴ Mavor's text sees only the one edition, but *The Complete Letter-Writer* and Blair's *Lectures* were both very popular and influential. *The Complete Letter-Writer* sees at least sixty-three versions from 1755 to 1800, and Eve Tavor Bennat considers it one of the most popular letter-writing guides of the period. She argues, "*The Complete Letter-Writer, or Polite English Secretary* (1755) came as close to becoming a standard, universally available, compendium during the second half of the eighteenth century as any letter manual managed to get" (Rodríguez-Gil and Yáñez-Bouza). Blair sees far fewer editions during this period (at least seven British and American editions), and so does the *Essays on Rhetoric* (at least eight British and American versions). However, Blair and abridgements of Blair become seminal to rhetorical education in the next century, as I discuss in Chapter Two.

⁸⁵ Wilkins's HEL appears in his second chapter, "I. Concerning the various changes and corruptions to which all vulgar Languages are obnoxious. II. Particularly concerning the changes of the English tongue. III. Whether any Language, formerly in use, be wholly lost. IV. Concerning the first rise and occasion of new Languages." It is a close adaptation of Camden's, complete with specimens of the Lord's Prayer.

(1786) include extensive citations of Anglo-Saxon.⁸⁶ George Lemon (1783), Charles Coote (1788), and Noah Webster (1789) supplement similar works with highly elaborated HELs.⁸⁷

Most notable, though, are scholarly treatises dedicated exclusively to the history of English. The first of these are John Free's *An Essay Towards an History of the English Tongue* (1749) and V. J. Peyton's *The History of the English Language* (1771).⁸⁸ Free's *Essay* describes Britain's early linguistic landscape in unprecedented detail.⁸⁹ Moreover, its heightened level of methodological rigor presages the professionalization of the history of English as a field of study in the next century. This is especially evident in Free's more critical relationship to his source

⁸⁶ Joseph Priestley's *A Course of Lectures on the Theory of Language and Universal Grammar* (1762) includes several citations of Anglo-Saxon, which serve to explain spelling, the derivation of English's parts of speech, and the declension of nouns, among other topics. John Horne Tooke's *Epea Pteroenta: or, The Diversions of Purley* (1786) includes similar material. Priestley sees only a single edition during this period. Horne Tooke sees only a second edition in 1798; however, Ian Michael (*Teaching* 342) and Stephen Carr ("Reproducing" 53) both not his influence on later texts during this period and in the nineteenth century.

⁸⁷ Lemon incorporates an HEL into the preface of his *English Etymology: or, A Derivative Dictionary of the English Language* (1783). There, he traces the history of the several languages that have contributed to English (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Celtic, French, Saxon, German, and Icelandic), and couches this account within praise for English's composite nature and present excellence. His wordlist also includes extensive information on English's Anglo-Saxon and other linguistic roots. Coote's *Element of the Grammar of the English Language* (1788) also incorporates Anglo-Saxon throughout, and his chapter "Of Derivation" features an HEL. Finally, Webster includes an HEL in the first of his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789), where it serves to reinforce his arguments about reforming orthography and developing a specifically American standard of English. Each of these texts sees only a single edition.

⁸⁸ In addition to the HEL monographs by Free and Peyton, see scholarly articles dedicated to the history of English by William Drake (1779, 1789) and John Clerk (1790), as well as the English translation of German philologist Johann Adelung's *Three Philological Essays* (1798).

⁸⁹ The first volume of Free's *Essay* (1749) is eighty-eight pages long and contains "Four Preliminary Dissertations" that survey the languages present in Britain before the Anglo-Saxons arrive: 1) "Of the Antiquity and Extent of the Roman or Latin Tongue, as once spoken in Britain"; 2) "Of the British or Welsh Tongue"; 3) "Of the Arrival of the Pyhtas, or the Pehits, corruptly called Picts by the Romans; of their Settlement in North-Britain; the Original of their Name; and the Nature, Extent, and Duration of their Language"; and 4) "Of the Arrival of the Scots of Ireland, and their Settlement in the North-west Parts of Great-Britain; with some Account of the Extent of the true Scotch, or Eerst Language, in what is properly the Scotch Territory." The 1773 third edition adds a fifth dissertation, "Of the Æra of the Language properly called English," and the 1788 fourth edition adds an essay on "The Political Importance of the Name of England." This increases the page length to 152 and 155 pages, respectively. The proposed second volume, treating the history of English after the Anglo-Saxon invasions, never appears. Because of this, the *Essay* is often dismissed for not being an actual HEL (for example, see Nagashima [44-5]). However, Free's extended attention to Britain's pre-English linguistic landscape is a well established feature of HEL writing (for example, see Camden, Wallis, Greenwood, and their imitators) and warrants his inclusion in that tradition.

material. Where many HELs simply perpetuate received knowledge, Free surveys previous scholarship, compares and synthesizes extant accounts, and explicitly challenges established interpretations of the historical record. Especially, Free privileges the authority of what he considers eyewitness accounts over the theorizing of later antiquarian writers.⁹⁰ Peyton, in contrast, mainly synthesizes and reproduces the antiquarian HEL traditions of his time. He draws heavily on the accounts of Camden, Martin (1737), and others to compose his *History*; consequently, it re-presents (if in an expanded form) the standard narrative found in many instructional materials.⁹¹

Though these specialized texts seem directed to linguists and antiquarians rather than to student readers or literacy instructors, even they admit the relevance of the history of English to everyday acts of reading and writing. Free, for example, dedicates his *Essay* to the Prince of Wales, for whom he imagines the text will have particular literate benefits. He argues that his *Essay* (1773) can offer the Prince greater political agency because knowing the history of English can grant him access to England's ancient legal tradition. Free writes, "I must observe to

⁹⁰ For example, in one passage Free refutes the antiquarian scholar Thomas Innes's argument that the Picts were originally Britons and their language originally Welsh:

With regard to the former Error, if nothing more were to be added, what Mr. *Wallace* has just observed upon the Remains of the *Pictish* Language in the *Orkneys*, and the *North* of Britain, is a sufficient Proof, that it was not the *British* or *Welsh*; and, with regard to the *People* being originally the same, not only the ever-hostile State of the two Nations, after the *Departure* of the Romans, and the Advantages the *Britons* in the North always took of the least Remission of *Pictish* Power; I say, not only these Circumstances evince the contrary, but also the concurrent Testimonies of our *antient* Writers some *Contemporaries* with the *Picts*, and *Eye-witnesses* of their Actions, at a Period too, when their *Power* and *Origin* was most known and regarded. And therefore the Presumption of some *modern* Authors is the most astonishing, in advancing their own *Chimera's* and *Conjectures*, or the *Hearsay* of *Foreigners*, against the *harmonious* Testimony of our own Writers, and those of the *greatest* Antiquity. (75-6)

⁹¹ Peyton's *History* is also published as a monograph, though it is significantly shorter than Free's at only thirty-four pages. Peyton presents his HEL as a series of "metamorphoses" that mark out the highpoints of the standard narrative: the original British inhabitants, the arrival of Latin with the Romans, and the subsequent transformations that occur in Britain's languages as the Erse, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman languages are imported and as the English tongue is "beautified and enriched" during the English Renaissance (12). Peyton's text sees only the one edition.

your Lordship . . . that all our original fundamental Laws, which make the *Basis* of the *English* Constitution, were written primarily in *Saxon*, and that even those, which have been preserved in *Latin*, etc by adopting Words made out of *Saxon*, cannot be understood without it . . .” (23). If the Prince cannot understand these laws, Free argues, he cannot act independently and according to his own judgments, and must rather depend on the counsel of others (22): “It becomes therefore a Duty incumbent on a King of *England* . . . to make himself well acquainted with the *Language*, and *Antiquities* of our Ancestors the English Saxons” (23). At the same time, Free also insists that his text should be “circulated and taught in the Free Schools, of every Diocese” so that it “may be a means not only of improving our Youth in the Knowledge of the English Tongue,” but also “of bringing them acquainted with their Original, and their Interest as Englishmen” (15). Peyton, on the other hand, dedicates a substantial section of his HEL to arguing that English, rather than Latin or the other modern languages, should be the focus of grammar school education. His HEL justifies that position, like many before it, by demonstrating the excellence that English has attained throughout its long development.⁹²

2.6 THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURES OF LITERACY

In total, my corpus includes 122 titles that see at least 801 versions by 1800. I have examined 473 of these, 438 of which incorporate the history of English (see Figure 5). Only 168 versions contain full HELs of the kind generally recorded by existing bibliographic accounts (though this

⁹² Specifically, Peyton reproduces Camden’s comments about vernacular education, as well as similar arguments in Archibald Lane’s *A Key to the Art of Letters* (1700).

number already far exceeds any extant tally of HEL writing in this period). The others incorporate the history of English in the diverse, alternative forms that I describe above. Taken together, these texts represent a textual field that cuts across multiple divisions of language study and literacy instruction during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are produced along distinct genealogical lines, often sharing common practices that persist for decades. They also grow in complexity and cultural authority as the period progresses. A body of specialized HEL writing develops, while alongside it the HELs in literacy texts are increasingly granted independent attention and subjected to heightened scholarly rigor. In short, the texts that I survey here call into question the scholarly commonplace that the history of English emerged as a coherent intellectual formation only in the nineteenth century. More importantly yet, they newly demonstrate the prevalence of the history of English as a school subject and suggest its considerable role in the period's cultures of literacy.

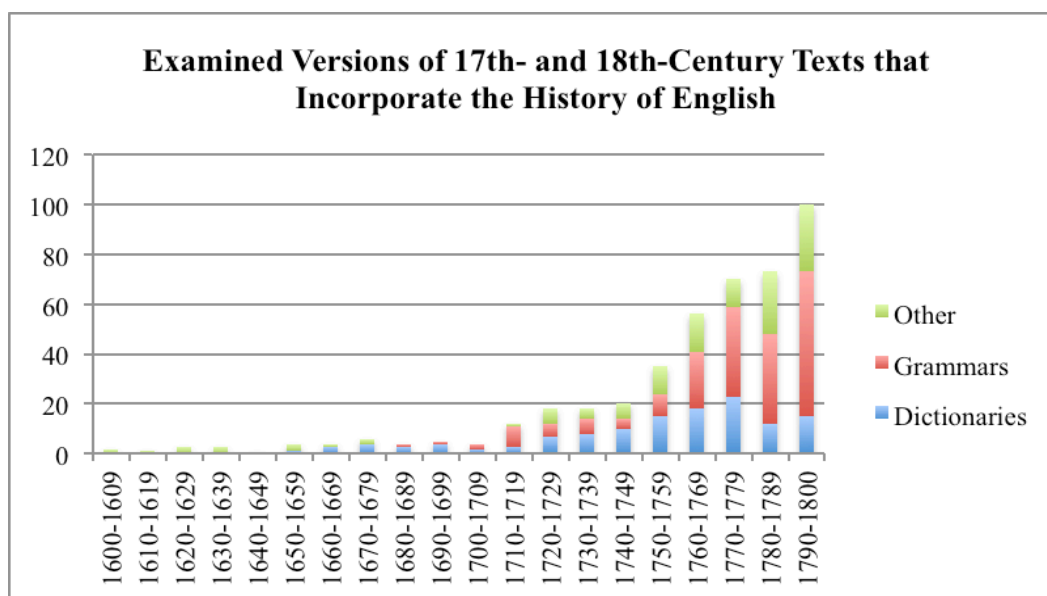


Figure 5: Examined Versions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Texts that Incorporate the History of English. This chart represents a total of 438 texts: 128 dictionaries, 189 grammars, and 121 other texts, including spellers, spelling dictionaries, encyclopedias, rhetorics, and letter writing manuals.

I have already detailed several instances in which the history of the language is used as a practical resource to aid the reading and writing of modern English. Here, I account for its impact on broader trends in literate practice, as well. These developments are well documented by scholars such as Richard Foster Jones, Joan Beal, and Raymond Hickey, among many others who describe the transition from Latin to English education and the standardization of the vernacular. What remains unaccounted for, however, is how the history of English bolsters these developments, especially within the context of the period's everyday instructional materials. There, the history of the language functions as a theoretical, rhetorical prerequisite for vernacular education. Specifically, it establishes the merit of English and the necessity of its advanced study. It also implicitly (and at times explicitly) codifies an elite dialect of the language that remains central to English study even today.

First and foremost, the history of English asserts the excellence of the vernacular (and thereby its suitability to replace Latin) at a time when many had begun to challenge traditional classical education.⁹³ This discourse emerges in HELs as early as Camden's (1605) and Verstegan's (1605), and as I have demonstrated, it is reiterated throughout the textual field for two centuries. Sometimes, these texts establish English's excellence on a purely ethnic or racial basis, as the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons as a people is frequently transferred to the language that they spoke. More often, and increasingly as the period progresses, positive evaluations of English are framed in terms of the language's (ostensibly) objective linguistic strengths and its suitability to communication across a variety of contexts. Phillips (1658), Miège (1688), and Bailey (1721) demonstrate this, among the many others I cite above. But perhaps most notable is Martin (1737), who observes that English is "abounding with all the Flowers of Rhetoric, capable of all the Delicacy, fine Similes and Allusions of Poetry, and of supplying both the Pulpit and Bar with all the Force and Energy that Speech can pretend to"—that English, in other words, is not only sufficient but ideal for literary, legal, and religious discourses (138-39).

English is so exceptional and so suited to multiple spheres of communication that several HELs call for reforming grammar school curricula so that English becomes their focus. Again, Camden suggests this early on (30). Later writers are more overt. For example, Greenwood (1711) argues in his HEL that English instruction should precede Latin instruction because "Learning the Principles of Grammar in English, and explaining them by familiar English Examples, (as far as the Thing will bear) would conduce a better, clearer and quicker

⁹³ Jones attributes the rise of vernacular education in Britain in part to the emergence of discourse about English's practicality or "usability" in comparison to Latin, especially among Puritans of the seventeenth century (293-323). Beal points to the growth of the middle class, the spread of education, and the democratization of politics (1-13). Hickey surveys similar causes (1-13).

understanding of Grammar, English and Latin . . .” (27). Peyton concurs, arguing in his *History of the English Language* (1771) that “Experience will plainly shew, that a youth, who is made a good grammarian in his mother tongue, may afterwards, under good conduct, read and understand all the Roman authors extant, either in prose or verse, in as little, or less time than another of equal age and capacity can be master of Lilly’s Grammar alone” (16). Elsewhere, HELs do not themselves argue for vernacular education, but the history of the language and its discourse of English exceptionalism are nevertheless yoked to other materials that do. For example, Maittaire laments in the preface of his *English Grammar* (1712) that “Youths are forced to learn, what they can’t understand; being hurried into Latin, before they are well able to read English” (iv). He argues, “The Ignorance of English can never be a good foundation or ingredient towards disposing of Youth for the Learned Languages. The knowledge of it must serve as an Introduction to them; else ‘twill be in vain to expect [there will] ever be an Improvement to that” (iv-v).

Across the textual field, multiple HELs similarly establish English’s merit and underwrite arguments to make it the primary language of instruction. They also thereby contribute to contemporary efforts to standardize English, as these activities correspond to what Einar Haugen identifies as the core processes of any language planning endeavor: the fostering of loyalty or pride in the language, the elaboration of the language to ensure that it can be used for a wide range of functions, and the codification of the language, or “the reduction of variability within the selected language . . . and the establishment of norms” (qtd in Beal, 90). This last process is readily apparent in texts that cite Anglo-Saxon, where historical forms of English are used to

validate certain modern usages as “correct” and to exclude alternatives.⁹⁴ However, even full HELs codify English. Indeed, Jim Milroy argues that “conventional” histories of English inevitably do so:

They classify English as Germanic; they stipulate the dates of Old, Middle, and Modern English; they define the influence of French on English; they codify the Great Vowel Shift; and so on. As manuals of usage are believed to carry authority, so histories of language (including historical dictionaries) are also believed to carry authority. They can give time-depth to the everyday forms of the current language and thereby seem to justify these forms and even sanctify them. They are, however, selective. They foreground and legitimize certain parts of the attested evidence from the past and give justifications for rejecting other parts of the evidence. By sifting through the evidence, they establish a *canon* for the orthodox history of English. (7-8)

HELs that include language specimens only escalate such canon formation. That is, the excerpts that White (1701), Greenwood (1711), Johnson (1755), and others include do not simply illustrate language change; they situate particular writers within an approved linguistic genealogy that eventually acquires prescriptive authority. As I show in Chapter Two, by the mid nineteenth century, rhetorics, composition textbooks, and dedicated history of the English

⁹⁴ Thus, Bicknell (1790) incorporates multiple citations of Anglo-Saxon into his section “Containing such Rules and Observations as are needful for the Attainment of the English Language in its utmost Purity and Elegance.” Similarly, Fogg (1792) argues that Anglo-Saxon “is well worth the acquisition of all lovers of correctness in speech” (147).

language textbooks routinely use these genealogies of great authors as the standard against which to measure (and marginalize) new usages, including those found in student writing.⁹⁵

Because it participates in these large-scale transformations, the history of English is much more than a practical grammatical resource in this period. Rather, it is a transformative force within eighteenth-century cultures of literacy, bolstering and directing the development of English as a whole, both the school subject and the language itself. And that is one of the fundamental lessons of the HEL archive: the history of English is always composed in order to shape English in the present moment. It is composed to police the language's borders, to justify its uses, or to unify or exclude its diverse speakers. This is true of the period I examine here, where the historical narrative is mobilized not only to help students learn English but to situate English at the center of popular education and national linguistic identity. And it remains true in centuries to come, as I demonstrate in subsequent chapters.

2.7 FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE NINETEENTH

Mapping the textual field of HEL writing necessarily reconfigures our understanding of eighteenth-century cultures of literacy. It also promises to revise our understanding of language study and literacy instruction in later centuries, as the textual formations I describe above enjoy significant staying power. In the nineteenth century, the history of English continues to appear in dictionaries and grammars. It also proliferates in other genres of literacy text (rhetorics,

⁹⁵ See my examination of HELs in nineteenth-century American rhetoric and composition textbooks in Chapter Two.

composition textbooks, etymology textbooks, histories of literature) as the subject gains relevance and the aim of English study itself transforms.

Eventually, English philology emerges as an academic discipline and a college course in its own right, and dedicated history of the English language textbooks also appear. Informed by the new linguistic science, these textbooks substantially alter the discourse about the history of English; however, even they owe much of their material to the historical narratives I describe here. Collegiate HEL textbooks like George L. Craik's *Outlines of the History of the English Language* (1851) and Thomas Lounsbury's *History of the English Language* (1879) often divide their material between "internal" (linguistic) and "external" (historical) accounts of language change. While the detailed accounts of internal change represent a new addition to the textual field, the external, historical accounts conform to the pattern set by earlier HELs. Moreover, these HEL textbooks draw on similar source material and include similar language specimens as their eighteenth-century predecessors. They also evince the same brand of critical historiography that Free first lends the history of English in 1749.

Though much persists, much is also changed, and there are large developments in the textual field as it transitions from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth. This is especially true in the United States, which is the subject of Chapter Two. There, the history of English is increasingly incorporated into educational paradigms that value practical application. Consequently, elaborate pedagogical apparatuses develop around the topic, including extensive exercises on reading and writing. At the same time, the history of English is used to anchor new cultural investments to literacy instruction. These include an interest in social conformity and a particularly American brand of Anglo-Saxonism, both of which reshape the school subject. As in the eighteenth century, this cultural, pedagogical work takes place across a range of instructional

texts, including many of the period's bestsellers. Taken together, these materials situate the history of English firmly within secondary and post-secondary English curricula in the nineteenth century and right at the foundation of our current field of composition studies.

3.0 “WHAT PLACE HAS OLD ENGLISH PHILOLOGY IN OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS?”: TEACHING LITERACY AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY UNITED STATES

When the Modern Language Association held its second annual convention at Columbia College in 1884, the history of English was on everyone’s mind. Whether the topic of discussion was pedagogical practice or curricular design, the training of teachers or the evaluation of textbooks, members affirmed that their field’s future lay in deepening its commitment to philological science and the historical study of English. Francis Gummere, especially, advocated this turn, as he found the present state of English education woefully in need of modernization. In “What Place Has Old English Philology in Our Elementary Schools?” he proposed that English instruction at primary and secondary levels be put on a “sound philological basis,” much as it already had been in U.S. colleges and universities (170). This would not only ensure that early instruction remained informed by the field’s best scientific research, it would yield practical pedagogical benefits, as well. According to Gummere,

It is impossible to teach elementary English well unless the instruction be based on a historical study of the language. We make a subject clear by applying common-sense to it. But the moment we come to written English, we are confronted by a seeming total lack of common-sense in the speech itself,—a wild confusion of symbols set over against a natural and methodical system of sounds;

strange constructions; intricate syntax. If we attempt to lead scholars through this maze, we are doomed to failure unless we are guided by a sense of the spirit of the language, for we do not know a language till we know its past. (174)

Gummere was not alone in his thinking in 1884 or at later conventions, where many others also considered historical language study indispensable at all levels of English education.⁹⁶ But despite the urgency of their calls, Gummere and his colleagues actually arrive fairly late on the educational scene. Their desire for attention to the history of English in American schools is less the sign of a vanguard movement and more the official recognition (and scientific reorientation) of a trend long since developing. By 1884, American schoolteachers were already teaching the history of English. They had been doing so for some time and in ways that yoked the historical study of language to many of the century's approaches to literacy instruction.

In this chapter, I examine the diverse connections between literacy and the history of English in the nineteenth-century United States. First and foremost, this is a recovery project, an attempt to bring new attention to an overlooked facet of literate culture in this country and an overlooked mainspring of current composition studies. Our disciplinary histories demonstrate that composition developed across a range of allied school subjects in this period. These included writing, rhetoric, and grammar, but also elocution, letter writing, oratory, and others (Carr, "Composition" 435). Largely missing from these studies is the history of English, as few have accounted for how widely-used instructional genres like rhetorics, composition textbooks, and grammars integrated that subject into English curricula. I argue that taken together these

⁹⁶ For example, see H. C. G. Brandt, Th. W. Hunt, and James Garnett's articles in the *Transactions*.

textbooks made the history of English a shared resource for American readers and writers and a formative (if now largely forgotten) component of the field of composition.

I focus on those popular instructional materials here. My first goal is to offer a preliminary census by which we can gage the presence of the history of English in scenes of literacy instruction. I pay special attention to textbooks that other scholars have identified as the century's most influential. I also identify little-considered texts that nevertheless attest to the breadth of the history of English as a textual field (see Appendix A.) Further, I am careful to attend to the full range of textual formations in this period. Sometimes a history of English (HEL) is titled and foregrounded as an introduction or distinct chapter in a textbook. More often, HELs are truncated and integrated to various degrees into other chapters or only suggested by brief citations of Anglo-Saxon. In the latter case, the history of English is synecdochally implied and mobilized by one or more of its key terms even as the fuller narrative of the language's development remains unarticulated.

My second goal is to demonstrate the rhetorical, pedagogical function of the history of English in these textbooks and in the larger cultures of literacy of which they were a part. I consider how the history of English participated practically in reading and writing instruction, arguing that it was a part of educational paradigms valuing mental discipline and linguistic control that scholars such as Ian Michael and Robert Connors describe. I find it also played a significant role in the century's theories and valuations of style, thus suggesting a link to more practice-oriented pedagogies, as well. At the same time, following Deborah Brandt, Harvey Graff, and others, I consider how the history of English participated in the ideological function of literacy instruction in this period. Specifically, I argue that the history of English provided a vehicle by which emergent ideals about nation, race, and linguistic purity were disseminated to

young students and affixed to reading and writing in a way that continued to influence those subjects well beyond the nineteenth century.

3.1 THE OLD ACCOUNTING AND A NEW ACCOUNT

I begin this chapter with Gummere and his colleagues because their writing marks two important shifts in historical language study from the eighteenth-century context that I have already examined. First, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the English language had become the province of newly consolidated academic disciplines that institutionalized its study in higher education. Far from being the auxiliary concern of grammarians and lexicographers, the history of English had become the subject of a university course, a textbook tradition, and a professional literature, and these were administered by a cadre of specialists who claimed expert credentials and an affiliation with disciplinary methods, resources, and prestige. Moreover, such entities developed in tandem with a purportedly scientific paradigm for writing HELs that brought new attention to internal linguistic change. Thus, when philologists like George L. Craik, Robert Gordon Latham, George Perkins Marsh, and Thomas Lounsbury produced the first book-length HELs to appear in nearly a century, those collegiate textbooks supplemented older, external accounts of conquest with new examinations of phonological, morphological, and syntactic change.

This is not to say, however, that every HEL writer held such credentials or that the institutionalized study of English's history necessarily homogenized the textual field. Older formations of the history of English continued to circulate, often in the dictionaries and grammars that housed them in the eighteenth-century. They also proliferated in new, increasingly

popular genres of literacy instruction: rhetoric and composition textbooks, etymology textbooks, and histories of literature. These HELs were produced by a diverse array of individuals—rhetoricians, teachers, professional textbook writers—and like their eighteenth-century predecessors, they are short, external histories, often evincing ideological holdovers from seventeenth-century antiquarian study or admitting other cultural investments similarly at odds with a purely scientific examination of the language. I will have occasion to discuss the different characteristics of what I call the *antiquarian tradition* and the *philological tradition*; however, the archive of nineteenth-century HEL writing is too dynamic to easily divide it into two branches serving two different audiences. Rather, older and newer paradigms of writing the history of English regularly run up against one another. They actively compete for cultural authority, borrow from and rework one another, or, what is very often the case, simply appear side by side.

The emergence of philological science represents one transformation from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century English language history. That history's more overt connection to literacy education, especially in the United States, is the other. I have argued that when the history of English first emerged as a school subject in the eighteenth century, it did so already in relation to literacy instruction. However, there were few explicit theorizations of the importance of the history of English to literacy at that time.⁹⁷ In the nineteenth century, such remarks are more regular and more elaborate as writers routinely associate their HELs with a number of literacy concerns: with developing mental discipline and linguistic control; employing correct grammar and standard forms; cultivating a forceful, "Anglo-Saxon" style; and internalizing nationalist or

⁹⁷ English lexicographers did make some remarks in this vein, suggesting as Gummere does that knowing English's past helps one navigate its complex present. Similarly, learned treatises on English's history by John Free and V. J. Peyton also assert the literacy-related benefits of knowing the history of English.

racial ideals. They also link the history of English to specific exercises in reading and writing. Moreover, these associations were increasingly explored in the United States in addition to Britain as writing the history of English became a more common enterprise in this country during the nineteenth century. Indeed, both full narratives of English's history and briefer appeals to Anglo-Saxon appeared in U.S. textbooks by the period's most influential writers. In the early- to mid-part of the century, these writers generally deployed HELs from the antiquarian tradition in the service of literacy instruction. Later, material from the philological tradition became more prominent as the professionalization of English studies prompted scholars like Gummere to promote their brand of historical language study both inside and outside of higher education.

These developments in the history of “the history of the English language” as a school subject are seldom touched on in our accounts of literacy, rhetoric, and composition in America. The history of English is not mentioned at all in two of our earliest examinations.⁹⁸ Nor is it treated in many more recent accounts.⁹⁹ The topic is likewise underrepresented in foundational scholarship on the history of textbooks.¹⁰⁰ Those studies that do treat the history of English often

⁹⁸ See James Berlin, *Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges*, and Nan Johnson, *Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America*.

⁹⁹ Ann Ruggles Gere does describe how U.S. clubwomen “produced and consumed texts that explored the ideas surrounding Americanization” in the late nineteenth century, among them texts forwarding Anglo-Saxonist racial ideals (58-9). Similarly, Lucille Schultz notes that nineteenth-century composition books usually “represented the values and lives of the European American, Christian *haute bourgeoisie*,” especially where “*European American* really signified *Anglo-American*” (*Young Composers* 29). But neither investigate how such attitudes and literate practices might have been reinforced by popular textbooks’ frequent citation and celebration of the Anglo-Saxon roots of modern English.

¹⁰⁰ See Clifton Johnson, *Old Time Schools and School Books*; John A. Nietz, *Old Textbooks*; Charles Carpenter, *History of American Schoolbooks*; and Nietz, *The Evolution of American Secondary-School Textbooks*. In *Old Textbooks*, Nietz observes the presence of “Saxon Roots” in Epes Sargent and Amasa May’s 1872 *Etymological Reader* (91-2). In *Evolution*, he notes HELs in composition and rhetoric textbooks by Boyd, Quackenbos, and Lockwood (18, 21-22). He also cites Glenn C. Hess’s analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American textbooks, which lists the “Origin, progress, and structure of language” as one of eight common topics (24, 25). Like

do so only obliquely as they discuss the impact of philology on the development of English studies. However, such accounts regularly admit philology's influence only on literary study and usually suggest a disjunct between philology and literacy instruction.¹⁰¹ In a rare moment, Robert Connors does observe an HEL—"something of the origins of English"—in Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). Yet, he assigns no significance to it, even within what he considers the nineteenth century's first and arguably most influential textbook (126). Alternatively, Stephen Carr regularly finds philological material in nineteenth-century rhetorics.¹⁰² However, his specific attention to philology as an emerging science also contracts the textual field in such a way that the alternative, antiquarian tradition of writing English's history becomes difficult to observe.¹⁰³

Nietz, Carpenter observes the emergence of etymological spelling books in the second half of the nineteenth century (157-58). More importantly, he lists half a dozen Anglo-Saxon grammars and readers in his chapter on "Rhetorics and Foreign Language Books" (119-21).

¹⁰¹ Albert Kitzhaber, for example, posits that grammar and usage, "whether in rhetoric texts or in grammatical handbooks, were still in the tradition of eighteenth-century prescriptive grammar in spite of the great progress that philology and linguistics had made in the nineteenth century" (199). Robert Connors seems to concur, arguing that advances in historical language study had little effect on actual classroom practice that in the later nineteenth century focused almost exclusively on correctness (133).

¹⁰² Carr finds that "Nineteenth-century rhetorics do not treat some traditional topics—the topoi of classical invention, for example, or memory—while they address subjects that had been, or will become, the province of other forms of literacy instruction—of grammars, readers, philology, literary criticism, and literary history" (23).

¹⁰³ For example, Carr does not identify the HEL in Blair's *Lectures* but instead conflates it with Blair's quasi-mythological account of the origin of language in general:

Blair's account of language (VI-IX) addresses the origin of speech and writing and the emergence of parts of speech. His arguments are based not on philological research, but on what I would call an "imaginary anthropology": like many eighteenth-century philosophers of language, that is, he constructs a scenario of the state of primitive man and infers a plausible developmental process, drawing occasionally on classical languages to flesh out an argument. Thus, he imagines that a savage desiring fruit would start an utterance with a word designating the object of that desire, not the English order of "give me fruit," but "fruit give me," and links this with the structure of Latin and other supposedly ancient or primitive languages, including Greek, Russian, and Gaelic. (35)

Carr finds that "this section probably exerts the least influence on subsequent rhetorics: Blair's arguments quickly become outdated, and rhetorics that attend to the history of language draw on the new findings of comparative linguistics and philology" (36). By defining the textual field only in terms of "imaginary anthropology" and "philology," and by focusing only on Blair's history of language rather than on his history of the *English* language, this account elides Blair's participation in the still viable antiquarian tradition of writing the history of English.

Ian Michael offers perhaps the most explicit account of the history of English in nineteenth-century literacy materials, though he concentrates on the British rather than the American context. He observes that the history of English is cited in many forms and across a range of textbooks. For example, he notes the emergence of etymology as a school subject in the early nineteenth century and finds several etymology textbooks (or sections on etymology in other textbooks) that are dedicated to teaching the “derivation and formal history” of English words (*Teaching* 357). Regarding HELs specifically, Michael finds several texts in circulation, both collegiate HEL textbooks and shorter accounts in texts intended for lower grades. After mid-century, he finds that HELs were so prevalent in literacy instruction that “there was nothing unusual in the appendix on ‘pure English as understood from the history of the language’ in Edward Higginson’s grammar of 1864 or in the six pages of Anglo-Saxon paradigms included in Dalglish’s grammar of 1866” (*Teaching* 358).¹⁰⁴

However, even Michael’s record is only suggestive of the full archive of nineteenth-century HELs. He finds that “during the 1850s at least a dozen school grammars contained chapters on the history of the language,” but he provides no references and no nuanced distinction between HELs that would have saturated the textual field (such as Blair’s, as I will argue) and more marginal productions. Neither does he explore the diverse functions of the history of English within the instructional texts that integrated it. Rather, Michael homogenizes its role, seeing HEL writers as only “responding to the powerful claims of philology for a leading place in the curriculum” (*Teaching* 359). If the HELs had any pedagogical function in the

While Blair’s imaginary anthropology may have lost cultural currency as later rhetorics tapped philological science, Blair’s HEL did not, necessarily. At least, HELs just like it continued to appear in other rhetorics and other textbook genres throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁰⁴ On the history of English in nineteenth-century British literacy texts, see also Michael’s “More Than Enough English Grammars” and *Early Textbooks of English*.

textbooks at all, it could only be conservative, as “Philology, at the school level, tended to reinforce the dry, overanalytical pedagogy from which, by the 1830s, the teaching of young children, at least, was just beginning to free itself” (*Teaching* 359).

I argue that the history of English was much more extensive in its textual distribution and much richer in its pedagogical motivations than our scholarship has hitherto acknowledged. Indeed, despite the uneven or negligible attention paid to them, I find that HELs often appeared in the very textbooks that historians consider defining of nineteenth-century cultures of literacy. They also appear in many, more marginal texts, which attests to their popularity or at least to their conventionality as a component of the period’s instructional materials. I chart the circulation of the history of English in such texts below. I also detail how educators repurposed that subject for literacy instruction, using it to advance theories about standardization, “Anglo-Saxon” style, and linguistic exceptionalism that (as I show in Chapters Three and Four) linger as unexamined assumptions among beginning writers, new teachers, and even in composition scholarship today. In this way, I recover the history of English as one of composition’s earliest intellectual mainsprings, and I call into question contemporary practices that still admit its often-exclusionary politics.

3.2 HUGH BLAIR’S HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Composition scholars generally consider Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* to be the nineteenth century’s first, most widely distributed, and most frequently reiterated textbook

on rhetoric.¹⁰⁵ The *Lectures* was first published in London in 1783, and the HEL in the ninth lecture shares characteristics with the many other antiquarian HELs that circulated in that century. It is short (fourteen pages) and situated within a larger discussion of language and grammar. It is an external rather than an internal history, recounting what were by then conventionally important historical events rather than actual processes of linguistic change. For example, Blair opens with a description of the linguistic situation of Britain before the arrival of English and thereby distinguishes English (and the English) from other languages present on the island, especially Celtic.¹⁰⁶ He then describes the Saxon conquest and the subsequent displacement of the Britons and their language.¹⁰⁷ Finally, he describes a series of invasions and linguistic incursions on the English while simultaneously minimizing their impact on the English language's essentially Anglo-Saxon character. For example, Blair admits that because of the Danish invasions, English had "some intermixture of Danish," but he carefully notes that Danish was "a Language, probably, from the same root with the Saxon" (170). Similarly, while Blair admits that William the Conqueror "introduced his Norman or French as the Language of the court, which made a considerable change in the Speech of the nation" (170), still "the Teutonic dialect is the basis of our present Speech" (171).

¹⁰⁵ For an account and critique of Blair's critical reception, see Stephen L. Carr's "The Circulation of Blair's *Lectures*."

¹⁰⁶ Blair writes,

The Language which is, at present, spoken throughout Great Britain, is neither the antient primitive Speech of the island, nor derived from it; but is altogether of foreign origin. The Language of the first inhabitants of our island, beyond doubt, was the Celtic, or Gaëlic, common to them with Gaul; from which country, it appears, by many circumstances, that Great Britain was peopled. (169)

¹⁰⁷ Blair writes,

This, then, was the Language of the primitive Britons, the first inhabitants, that we know of, in our island; and continued so till the arrival of the Saxons in England, in the year of our Lord 450; who, having conquered the Britons, did not intermix with them, but expelled them from their habitations, and drove them, together with their Language, into the mountains of Wales. (170)

This historical account covers about four pages or roughly the first quarter of Blair's HEL. In the remainder of his text, Blair weighs the linguistic irregularities and affordances that result from English's history and suggests their implications for writers of modern English. On the one hand, he admits that "Our words having been brought to us from several different regions, straggle, if we may so speak, asunder from each other; and do not coalesce so naturally in the structure of a sentence, as the words in the Greek and Roman tongues" (172). At the same time, though, he finds that such disadvantages "are balanced by other advantages that attend it; particularly, by the number and variety of words with which such a Language is likely to be enriched. Few Languages are, in fact, more copious than the English" (173). Along with its copiousness, Blair credits English's hybrid lexicon for the language's "power of expression" regarding the "higher subjects of composition" (174); its "strength and energy" (174); and its "power of accommodation to different styles and manners" (175), among other qualities. Finally, he argues that "Whatever the advantages, or defects of the English Language be, as it is our own Language, it deserves a high degree of our study and attention, both with regard to the choice of words which we employ, and with regard to the syntax, or the arrangement of these words in a sentence" (181). Thus, he suggests a connection between studying the history of English and knowing how to use the modern tongue—between recognizing the history of English words, the origins of English's strengths, and understanding how to exploit those in original composition (181).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Blair again suggests the importance of a rhetor knowing the history of English words in his tenth lecture, "Style—Perspicuity and Precision." There, he argues that purity, one component of perspicuity of style, "is the use of such words, and such constructions, as belong to the idiom of the Language which we speak; in opposition to words and phrases that are imported from other Languages, or that are obsolete, or new coined, or used without proper authority" (187).

In eighteenth-century Britain, Blair's HEL would have circulated alongside the many others that appeared in the period's grammars and dictionaries, but more successfully than these others, Blair's would survive into the nineteenth-century. Indeed, it would thrive, as the *Lectures* was taken up as an instructional text on both sides of the Atlantic and particularly in the United States. As Connors observes, "American rhetoric was for more than fifty years completely in thrall of the ideas of Hugh Blair" (71-2).¹⁰⁹ And though it is difficult to describe how Blair's HEL was put to use in the various scenes of instruction to which the *Lectures* carried it, it is at least possible to observe how fully present—how commonplace—the history of English would have been in a culture of literacy that was itself saturated by Blair. Unlike other eighteenth-century writers who placed their HELs in front matter that often changed or disappeared with successive editions of a grammar or dictionary, Blair situates his HEL squarely in the ninth lecture. It would thus have appeared in each of the fifty-six full American editions that were published in every decade of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ This includes Abraham Mills's 1829 edition, an inexpensive "college standard" that includes review questions for students appended to the end of each lecture (Connors 79). Blair's HEL also appears in truncated form in the three most widely circulating abridgements that Carr records: the 1784 London *Essays on Rhetoric*:

¹⁰⁹ Likewise, Carr finds that in the United States Blair's *Lectures* is the only rhetoric of the time to approach a national circulation, achieved through the local publication of many versions with small but overlapping systems of distribution. From 1802 through 1830, Blair's treatise appears in some twenty-six complete versions and fifty-one abridgments, far outpacing the combined printings of all other rhetorics then circulating in the States. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, moreover, remained in wide use until the 1880s. It is also copied, redacted, quoted, and silently paraphrased in most later rhetorics and in the educational apparatus of many readers and composition books as well. ("Reproducing" 33)

Elsewhere, Carr offers the most complete account to date of the *Lectures*' many formations, which include 112 full editions (56 of them American) and 110 abridgements, all but a handful of them American ("Circulation" 96-104). The 1829 Abraham Mills edition is the most widely circulating full edition ("Circulation" 81), and five different abridgements also see significant reprintings ("Circulation" 85).

¹¹⁰ See Carr for a full list ("Circulation" 96-98).

abridged chiefly from Dr. Blair's Lectures on that Science; the 1802 U.S. *An Abridgment of the Lectures on Rhetoric*; and the 1830 U.S. *Dr. Blair's Lectures on rhetoric: abridged: with questions* ("Circulation" 86).¹¹¹ (See Figure 1 below.)

The Mills edition and the abridgments do offer some indication of how Blair's HEL may have been used in instructional contexts. For example, Mills's review questions follow the HEL almost point for point, and many questions are only comprehensible when read immediately alongside the lecture and in conjunction with any preceding questions.¹¹² This essentially catechetical format frames the HEL as a text to be memorized and recited in its entirety. It also reproduces and underscores Blair's own emphases within the HEL's contents, where the actual historical account is only a preface for the longer explanation of English's present condition. Thus, Mills's questions encourage students to have some knowledge of English's early development, the topic that the first eleven of the sixty-six review questions cover:

How did the Saxons treat the Britons? Of what was the Saxon tongue a dialect; and of what did it lay the foundation? How long did it continue to be spoken throughout the southern part of the island? What language did he introduce? Of what, then, is the English which is now spoken a mixture? What language is spoken in the low countries of Scotland? For what, can we not easily account? What are, still, uncertain and contested points? What appears, from what has been said, to be the basis of our present speech; and how has it been imported among

¹¹¹ See Carr for the circulation of these abridgements. He finds that *An Abridgment of the Lectures on Rhetoric* "was the most widely disseminated abridged version, appearing over 60 times under this title, as well as in another 23 versions entitled *Dr. Blair's Lectures on rhetoric: abridged: with questions*" ("Circulation" 86).

¹¹² For example, Mills asks "What language is spoken in the low countries of Scotland? For what, can we not easily account? What are, still, uncertain and contested points?" (101a).

us? From what ancient language are many of our words, also, derived; and how did we receive them? What evidence have we of this? (101a)

However, in the remaining questions Mills requires students to know far more about how English's history affects the language's present structure and use. For example, of English's irregular grammar, Mills asks, "From the influx of so many streams, what naturally follows? What can we not expect from [the language]? Why is its syntax narrow? What remark follows?" (101a-101b). On the advantages of English's sedimented vocabulary, he asks, "In what subject is our language particularly copious? How has this been produced? In what also are we rich; and in what does it differ from prose?" (101b). And on its relation (and often superiority) to other modern languages, he asks, "In what does the French tongue surpass ours? How may any one be convinced of this? For what is the French, of all languages, the most copious; and for what is it the happiest language in the world? But where does ours excel it?" (101b).

This distribution of material is maintained and even exaggerated in abridgements of the *Lectures*. There, the historical account is transformed from a detailed narrative into a basic premise—marked by key terms like "Saxon" and "Norman conquest"—that can be cited seemingly without elaboration in order to establish the fact of the language's hybridity. For example, in Mills's abridgement, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres: chiefly from the lectures of Dr. Blair* (1832), the historical account is condensed into a single sentence that introduces and justifies a four-page discussion of English's present strengths and structure: "The language which has been spoken throughout Britain, ever since the Norman conquest, is a mixture of the ancient Saxon and Norman French, together with such new and foreign words as

commerce and learning have, in a succession of ages, gradually introduced” (74).¹¹³ Other popular abridgements reduce the historical narrative in similar ways.¹¹⁴

Such redactions highlight the essentially theoretical, rhetorical function that the history of English performs across multiple versions of the *Lectures*. Even in its fullest form, it is largely prefatory: an obligatory explanation of the language’s composite nature and an introduction to its stylistic affordances. Students were likely expected to memorize this material; however, it was not presented as a practical resource in its own right. At least, despite Blair’s assertion that etymology informs style, he does not provide any etymological information himself but apparently assumes that students will access it elsewhere. Some later textbooks integrate HELs in a similar way, including them as early chapters or appendices that familiarize students with the history and present condition of English but that rarely explicitly inform lessons in the textbook proper. Other textbooks, though, integrate the history of English more fully into their pedagogical apparatuses, elaborating on its implications for reading literature, cultivating style, or studying grammar, among other topics.

¹¹³ Fittingly, Mills includes only one review question over this material: “Of what is the language, spoken throughout Great Britain ever since the Norman conquest, a mixture; and what is observed of it?” (74).

¹¹⁴ The sentences in Mills and in each of the abridgements below are nearly identical variations of Blair’s original comment about William the Conqueror: “He introduced his Norman or French as the Language of the court, which made a considerable change in the Speech of the nation; and the English, which was spoken afterwards, and continues to be spoken now, is a mixture of the antient Saxon, and this Norman French, together with such new and foreign words as commerce and learning have in progress of time, gradually introduced” (170). See *Essays on Rhetoric* (116-17), *An Abridgment of the Lectures on Rhetoric* (59), and *Dr. Blair’s Lectures on rhetoric: abridged: with questions* (59).

3.3 HISTORIES OF ENGLISH IN RHETORICS AND COMPOSITION TEXTBOOKS

Because of its wide distribution in both complete and abridged versions, Blair's *Lectures* would have made the history of English a regular feature of language and literacy instruction in at least the early half of the nineteenth century. But Blair's text was not alone. Other rhetorics and composition textbooks circulated alongside it and deployed the history of English for various literacy-related ends. Two popular mid-century examples are James Boyd's *Elements and Rhetoric of Literary Criticism* (1844) and George Quackenbos's *Advanced Course in Composition and Rhetoric* (1855), both of which incorporate substantial HELs. Situated between sections on "Original Composition" and "Modern British Literature," Boyd's HEL spans sixteen pages and eleven short chapters that draw heavily on the antiquarian tradition for their content, organization, and attitudes toward English's excellence.¹¹⁵ As in Blair's HEL, the present condition of English and the cultivation of style are clearly articulated concerns.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Boyd's HEL is formatted as a catechism and divided into chapters covering the traditional highpoints of English's history: "Of the Primitive Languages of Europe," "Of the Effects of the Saxon Conquest," "Of the Effects of the Danish Conquest," and "Of the Effects of the Norman Conquest," among others. Boyd's source was likely Robert Connel's *A Catechism of English Composition* (1831), which he acknowledges in his introduction (xii). (Boyd's HEL even retains a positive bias toward the Scottish people and Scottish writers from this source, which was published in Edinburgh in 1831. See, for example, his critique of the Anglo-Saxons [185] and his praise of Scottish poets [191].) His final chapter also incorporates a redacted review of Bosworth's *Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* (1838) from the October 1839 issue of *The Edinburgh Review*, which praises Anglo-Saxon for (among other reasons) being the language from which "we derive the words which are expressive of the earliest and dearest connections, and the strongest and most powerful feelings of nature, and which are, consequently, invested with our oldest and most complicated associations" (195).

¹¹⁶ For example, in his account "Of the Modern History of Our Language," Boyd echoes Blair in noting that English's history has made it "copious, elegant, and energetic, well fitted for every species of subject, abounding in all the richest stores of literature, whether designed for improvement or pleasure, and adorned alike with the treasures of religion, science, and philosophy, the effusions of fancy, the records of history, the sublime inventions of imagination, and the majestic movements of the noblest oratory" (192). Also like Blair, he maintains that purity of style requires "The use of such words and modes of expression as are perfectly English, and warranted by good authority," while "a violation of purity" is "The use of such words as are either foreign to the language or have become antiquated by disuse" (54). However, Boyd supplements Blair by actually offering an example of this

However, Boyd also commits significantly more space to the language's early development, and his HEL serves students primarily as an introduction to important literary figures throughout English's history. Boyd outlines this objective in his introduction (xi-xiii). He elaborates its importance further in the HEL itself, where his third chapter forwards an argument for the mutually formative relationship between the English language, literacy instruction, and literate culture.¹¹⁷

Quackenbos dedicates an even larger section to the history of English in his *Advanced Course*. Constituting the entire first part of the five-part textbook, the "History of the English Language" spans sixty-seven pages and fourteen chapters, and it provides the history of communication, language, and writing generally before focusing specifically on English's history and present condition. Much of this text is indebted to the antiquarian HEL tradition and to Blair's HEL in particular. However, Quackenbos's HEL also incorporates specialized linguistic discourse from the emerging field of philology in order to provide more elaborate external and internal accounts of English's development.¹¹⁸ George Latham's collegiate textbook, the *Handbook of the English Language* (1852), is Quackenbos's primary source for

"perfectly English" style: the English Bible "is the purest specimen of English, or Anglo-Saxon, to be found in the world" (167). Samuel Johnson's writing, on the other hand, is a clear violation (332). Moreover, in the final chapter of his HEL, "The Component Parts of the English Language," Boyd cites the October 1839 *Edinburgh Review* article as a rough guide for recognizing the Anglo-Saxon words in modern English: they are the words that describe "the greater part of the objects of sense" (194); "the heavenly bodies" (194); the elements, seasons, and divisions of time (195); familial relationships (195); and "the chief emotions," among other topics (195).

¹¹⁷ Boyd observes that English was once "rude and irregular in its structure, meager in its vocabulary and power of expression, and destitute of every thing deserving the name of literature" (182-3). It continued in that state until English (rather than Latin) became the literary language and books and literacy instruction became widely available. Only then did great writers begin to cultivate the English language "Because, till such time as writers find numerous readers, they can not be expected to bestow much pains upon their compositions" (183).

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Quackenbos's linguistic analysis of ancient Celtic (39). See also his analysis of the "Changes by which Anglo-Saxon was converted to English," which include "The omission of inflections or changes in the termination of the noun, the substitution of prepositions to express its relations to other words" (51). See also the "Analysis of the English Language" for Quackenbos's account of changes to the English lexicon (52).

this material, and his citation of it marks an early irruption of expert philological knowledge into the HELs of popular rhetorics and composition textbooks.¹¹⁹

In terms of pedagogical application, where Boyd's HEL introduces students to a course of reading, Quackenbos's is more closely aligned with writing instruction. It prefaces sections on punctuation, rhetoric, prose composition, and poetical composition, while the HEL itself concludes with a review of English grammar. Moreover, Quackenbos reiterates Blair's observations about English's stylistic flexibility (57-61) and echoes his admonition against using words that do not "properly belong to the genius of the language," such as foreign, obsolete, or newly-coined words (270-75). Like Boyd, Quackenbos presents much of this material for simple rote memorization.¹²⁰ However, he also includes resources to guide students in analyzing and employing English's sedimented vocabulary as well as exercises that require them to make practical use of their historical knowledge of English.¹²¹ For example, after the section on

¹¹⁹ Latham's *Handbook* (1852) is one of the first textbooks dedicated entirely to the history of English, possibly preceded only by George Craik's *Outlines of the History of the English Language* (1851) and Latham's own *The History and Etymology of the English Language* (1849). After mid-century, the number of such textbooks greatly increased in Britain and the United States. For example, see Edwards (London 1858), Keane (London 1860), Marsh (New York 1860), Craik (London 1861), Craik (London 1862), Marsh (New York 1862), Marsh (London 1868), Morris (London 1872), Shepherd (New York 1874), Campbell (London 1876), Lounsbury (New York 1879), Weisse (New York 1879), Hadley (London 1880), Bromby (London 1881), Daniel (London 1881), Chambers (London 1882), Bierbaum (London 1883), Meiklejohn (Boston 1887), Kellogg and Reed (New York 1891), Ramsey (New York 1892), Champneys (New York 1893), Emerson (New York 1894), Emerson (New York 1896), and Kluge (Boston 1898).

These texts developed alongside philology's own establishment in collegiate English studies in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Connors on the integration of German philology in American higher education after the Civil War (150) and Gerald Graff on philology's impact on English departments (55-6). The *Transactions* articles by Gummere and others that I cite above testify to the late-century push to incorporate philological science even outside the collegiate English curriculum.

¹²⁰ Both Boyd and Quackenbos present their HELs as material for students to memorize. Boyd's HEL is formatted in the call and response of a catechism while Quackenbos's is accompanied by point-by-point review questions similar to those that Mills includes in his edition of Blair.

¹²¹ Regarding English's vocabulary, part of Quackenbos's "Analysis of the English Language" incorporates the same 1839 *Edinburgh Review* essay that Boyd uses to outline the language's core Anglo-Saxon vocabulary (52-3). This chapter also draws on Latham in order to more fully parse the Saxon, Norman French, Modern French, Latin, Celtic, Greek, and "Miscellaneous Elements" of the English lexicon.

“Essential Properties of Style.—Purity.—Propriety,” he asks students to replace Latinate derivatives or foreign terms with their more established Anglo-Saxon counterparts in sentences like “This change of fortune has quite transmogrified him” (277) and “All these things required abundance of *finesse* and *delicatesse* to manage with advantage” (278). Presumably, students should draw on advice in Quackenbos’s section on “Newly-coined words,” where he insists that

We should avoid such cumbrous words as *numerosity*, *cognition*, *irrefragability*, and hundreds like them, whose meaning can be as accurately, and far more intelligibly, conveyed by words in existence long before they were invented. With some writers, the coining of these Latin derivatives seems to have been a passion. Saxon they reserved for conversation; their compositions they deemed it necessary to adorn with ponderous Latin. The former was their natural idiom; the latter, their labored after-thought. (272)

Similarly, in his section on “Foreign words,” Quackenbos says, “These are to be rejected, when there are pure English words which express the thought equally well” (273).

After mid-century, exercises like Quackenbos’s became more common as textbook writers increasingly integrated the history of English into specific writing lessons on etymology, diction, and style. Sara Lockwood, for example, begins her *Lessons in English* (1887) with a chapter on the “History of the English Language” and with two chapters on “The Saxon Element” and “The Classical Element” in particular. While the HEL itself is only presented for rote memorization (it concludes with 120 review questions much like Mills’s), the subsequent chapters supplement that account with specific etymology lessons and exercises that ask students to use their new knowledge of the history of English while reading and writing. In “The Saxon Element,” for example, Lockwood asks students to identify Anglo-Saxon words in samples of text and to

explain how they know that the words are Anglo-Saxon (48-9). She also asks students to “Write a paragraph of ten lines, composed largely of Saxon words” on subjects such as “How We Learn to Talk,” “My Little Brother,” “What the Wind Sang,” “Boys,” and “The Sad Story of a Shipwreck” (49). Similarly, in “The Classical Element,” Lockwood asks students to provide the Anglo-Saxon equivalents for a list of classical terms (62); to identify classical terms in sample paragraphs and to “Re-write each paragraph so as to express the same thought, but mainly in Saxon words” (62); and to “Write in classical style one of the old nursery rhymes, such as ‘Jack and Gill,’ ‘Old Mother Hubbard,’ ‘Little Drops of Water,’ or ‘Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star’” (63).¹²²

Not every textbook writer at this time incorporates the history of English into literacy instruction to the extent that Lockwood does. John Seely Hart, for one, considers the HEL in his *Manual of Composition and Rhetoric* (1871) to be entirely supplementary and explicitly sections it off from the rest of the textbook in his final chapter.¹²³ However, a string of textbooks at the

¹²² In both of these chapters, Lockwood includes samples of student writing produced in response to these or similar exercises. For example, one pupil supposedly rendered the Saxon poem

There was a little girl,
And she had a little curl
That hung right down on her forehead;
And when she was good
She was very, very good;
But when she was bad, she was horrid

as the classical paraphrase:

At a recent period in the annals of the human family, there existed a diminutive feminine specimen of humanity, whose most conspicuous personal decoration was a capillary spiral appendage of minute dimensions. This descended perpendicularly upon her alabaster brow. At intervals when she was amiably disposed, she produced upon all beholders the impression of being excessively agreeable; but when she abandoned herself to the natural inclinations of an unregenerate spirit, she exhibited such symptoms of depravity that her deportment became positively execrable. (63-4)

¹²³ Hart prefaces his HEL by noting that “These remarks are not intended as part of the text, to be studied in the ordinary routine of the classroom, but as a matter of information for those students who may not have access to the numerous and extended volumes which are devoted to this particular subject” (337). Still, he acknowledges connections between the history of English and literacy instruction throughout. He explains that “Rhetoric is, from its very nature, so closely connected with the study of Language, that I shall make no apology for appending to the present treatise some remarks on the English Language, giving a general outline of its origin, history, affiliations,

turn of the century by Mead (1894), Lewis (1897, 1900), and Mooney (1903) clearly follow Lockwood's lead. William Mead, for example, divides his *Elementary Composition and Rhetoric* into sections on "Theory" and "Practice," and he includes an HEL in his theoretical chapter on "Words." There, Mead uses it to introduce students to the reality of language change and to urge their vigilance over ongoing transformations in the standard language.¹²⁴ The HEL also prefaces Mead's discussion of diction, where like others before him he forwards etymology as a resource for cultivating style.¹²⁵ In the second half of his textbook, then, Mead includes a range of exercises in which students put these concepts into practice. Some of the exercises ask

and character, and some suggestions as to the manner in which its study and culture are to be pursued" (337). He also reiterates the value of Anglo-Saxon diction (by criticizing Johnson and praising Shakespeare, Bunyan, and the English Bible) and especially laments its absence in scientific discourse: "I cannot doubt, therefore, that if the terms of science had been, from the first, and throughout, carefully elaborated out of our own native materials, the difficulties in the communication of science would have been much lessened" (360-61).

¹²⁴ Mead argues that successful writers must develop an awareness of English's past and present transformations:

For instance, the word *town* was in the oldest English written *tūn*, pronounced *toon*, and meant an enclosure. The word *fowl* was written *fugol*, pronounced something like *foogle*, and was applied to a bird of any sort. Changes like these are constantly going on. A word generally used to-day may narrow its meaning to-morrow, and after a time may go out of use altogether. A writer of English must therefore aim to become familiar with the words accepted as English by those speakers and writers who best represent the English of his own day. (9-10)

¹²⁵ Mead notes, for example, that

Some linguistic purists insist that English words should in all cases be preferred to words of foreign origin. The rule cannot be made so dogmatic, since the whole matter depends upon the use we wish to make of the words. The safest rule is to select those words, of whatever origin, that most exactly express our meaning. If clearness is our sole purpose, we may, when the subject is simple and untechnical, convey our full thought by means of the native vocabulary alone. But if, in a scientific treatise or in any writing that takes us a little outside of the usual run of experience, we confine ourselves to words of English origin, we shall write a clumsy and blundering style, that will be hardly intelligible. Beauty and force, as well as clearness, are best secured by a judicious alternation of the native and foreign elements. (24)

Mead argues that etymology is not only a guide to selecting appropriate words but to judiciously coining new ones. He says,

People who are ignorant of the history of our language are prone to enlarge their vocabulary by adding well-known terminations to words already in good use. Where the proposed word supplies a real need, and the termination is of the same origin as the word to which it is added, the objections are not serious; but where to words of English stock foreign terminations are needlessly appended, the danger of deterioration is great. (26)

students to repeat or explain key points in the history of English.¹²⁶ Some ask students to examine the work of recent writers and to think about which writers best represent the current standard.¹²⁷ Still other exercises invite students to analyze and develop their own writing or speech, or to revise the writing of others. For instance, Mead asks students to “Analyze with the help of the dictionary a page of your own writing, and note how many languages are represented in the words you use” (196); to “Classify and discuss the slang used in your own neighborhood” (197); and to “Select from a page of Macaulay (for example, a page from his *First Essay on Johnson*) the familiar words and put more dignified words in their stead” (197).¹²⁸

Edwin Lewis generally follows suit in *A First Book in Writing English* (1897) and *A Second Manual of Composition* (1900), where he includes HELs in his chapters on the “Sources of English Vocabulary” and on “Words,” respectively. Like Lockwood and Mead, he presents the history of English as a stylistic resource for young writers, supplementing his historical account with sections on the Anglo-Saxon and Latin elements of English and with exercises that

¹²⁶ For example, “What do you understand by *native* English words?” (196); “Why did the English borrow more words from Latin than from Arabic or Hebrew or Chinese?” (196); “How does one language borrow words from another? Who does the borrowing?” (196); “Give a brief account of the relation of English to Anglo-French (or Norman), as described in Scott’s *Ivanhoe*” (196).

¹²⁷ For example, “Read a page of Thackeray or Macaulay or some other standard author, and classify the words that are unfamiliar to you. Are they foreign or native? Are the nouns or verbs or adjectives?” (195); “Who are some of the writers and speakers now best entitled to determine the use of English words?” (197); “Write as long a list as you can of words that have been introduced within a few years, and point out any objections to their use” (198).

¹²⁸ Other such exercises include: “Write a condensed account of some of the changes in the meaning of English words, with illustrations from Trench: *On the Study of Words* and *English Past and Present*. (Lecture VII)” (195); “Count the entire number of words in one of your own compositions, and compare the extent and variety of your vocabulary with that of some good English writer” (195); “Make a list of provincial words used in your own district, or in regions familiar to you” (197); “Show in what respects the slang that you use is better than other language would be” (197); “Rewrite the quoted paragraph, using the plainest and simplest words” (197); “Rewrite in plain language Hood’s caricature of Johnson’s style” (197); “Rewrite the quoted paragraphs, using native words in place of borrowed words, and *vice versa*” (197-98).

quiz students on matters of derivation.¹²⁹ Margaret Mooney's *Composition-Rhetoric*, on the other hand, offers a distinctly alternative approach. Ultimately, she deploys the history of English for purposes similar to those of her predecessors, but she also develops a more directed, textured apparatus for framing students' encounter with that topic. She opens her section on "The Formation of the English Language" with questions that elicit students' current understandings of the subject and asks them to reflect on "What kind of knowledge has enabled you to answer all these questions correctly?" (13).¹³⁰ Then, instead of integrating an HEL into her textbook,

¹²⁹ Lewis argues that knowledge of the history of English and etymology are prerequisites for those who want to write with force and precision. For example, in *A First Book* he observes that "Whether our Latin words come directly through the ancient classics, or through the Roman tongues, such as French, Italian, and Spanish, to know their full force one must know the original meaning of them, as used by the ancient race of world-conquerors" (188). Likewise, in *A Second Manual*, Lewis prefaces his HEL by noting,

In this section a very short historical sketch of the development of the English vocabulary is given. Such a sketch may seem like a digression from our immediate practical purposes; but the student who knows nothing of the history of his language is unable to use words with a full sense of their meaning, and finds it difficult to use them with precision. The word *daisy* carries a fairly definite idea to uneducated Englishmen, and a fairly definite though different idea to uneducated Americans; but it carries a richer and more beautiful meaning to the educated Englishman or American, for he knows that it is derived from *day* and *eye*, and means "the day's eye." The habit of looking up the history of words in a good recent dictionary is invaluable. (252)

To cultivate this knowledge, Lewis's textbooks include exercises such as:

Below are listed a few of the many Latin words that have given us English words. Recall as many as possible of their derivatives, and define each in terms of the original meaning. Thus *acer*, sharp, gives us *acrimony*, sharpness, *acid*, sour. Some member of the class may know that through the French it gives us *vinegar*, sharp wine. Make notes in your note-book of any derivatives that are new to you. (*First Book* 189-90)

And:

"Written Exercise.—Examine the following passages separately. Classify all the words in two columns, one giving those of Saxon derivation, the other those of Latin derivation. Consult the dictionary in case of doubt. Then compare the English of Dr. Johnson with that of Dr. Blackmore. The former is writing in his own person as an eighteenth century scholar; the latter in the person of the stout John Ridd, a seventeenth century youth. (*First Book* 192)

¹³⁰ Her questions direct students' attention to the current linguistic environment in the United States and in their own lives: "Name as many languages as you can that are spoken, written, and printed in the United States to-day"; "What languages are taught in the schools that you have attended?" (12). They also ask students about the history of English and other languages in North America: "What evidence have we in our language that the Indians once inhabited places in this State where they no longer live?"; "What languages were spoken in the New World before Columbus visited it?"; "What languages did Columbus speak?"; "What language did his crew speak?"; "How did they make the Indians understand them?"; "How were they able to understand the Indians?"; "What evidence have we in our language that the Spaniards explored and settled different parts of our country?"; "What evidence that the French, the Dutch, and the English did the same?" (12-13).

Mooney directs students to outside resources to study English's history.¹³¹ In the discussion of etymology and style that follows, she includes familiar accounts of the Celtic, Latinate, and Anglo-Saxon elements of English, as well as corresponding exercises (13-16). However, she also leads students to engage with the stylistic considerations of English's sedimented vocabulary by integrating a series of poems and prose excerpts with accompanying questions. For example, Mooney includes a poem by Addison Alexander written in and about Anglo-Saxon monosyllables. She directs students to memorize and reflect on the poem, asking "What has the author illustrated by his choice of words in this poem?" and "Name some subjects suggested in this poem upon which a prose writer would naturally express himself in words of Anglo-Saxon origin rather than in words of Latin origin" (17). She then asks students to write a series of texts ("in the form of a letter to a school friend at a distance a short account of a storm you have recently witnessed from a safe shelter" or "a short account of your last visit to the country") and to consider the effect of the Anglo-Saxon and Latinate words that they use (17-18):

In which of the foregoing exercises have you used the greatest number of words derived from the Latin? Estimate your habitual use of Latin derivatives in your written work. Do you think it would be possible for an English speaking person to exclude the Latin element from his speech? From his writing? Do you think it desirable for students to choose Anglo-Saxon words in preference to those of

¹³¹ Mooney says,

Students should read those chapters of English history which deal with the four great invasions of England (Britain), the Roman, the Saxon, the Danish, the Norman French, for the purpose of discovering the elements that finally united to form the English tongue. Read the account of the introduction of Christianity into England and notice the effect upon the language. Notice that the revival of classical learning in the fifteenth century brought the Latin element into our language for the third time. (13)

Latin origin? What seems to you the best guide in the choice of words for written composition? (18)

Practical exercises like these elaborate on Blair's early association of the history of English with style, and together they constitute a common feature of HELs in late nineteenth-century composition and rhetoric textbooks. This family resemblance aside, though, these HELs still remain highly idiosyncratic in how they present the history of English for instructional purposes. There are substantial variations in length and scope as well as in the degree to which the HELs are integrated into other material in the textbooks. Lockwood and Hart, for example, each dedicate discreet chapters to the history of English. These chapters are considerable in length (thirty-nine pages and twenty-seven pages) and encompass several other linguistic topics in addition to their accounts of English's development: Lockwood's includes a history of philology, theories of the origin of language, and a classification of all Indo-European languages, while Hart's includes an introduction to linguistic science, an explanation of the family tree model of language development, and an account of the development of the Indo-European language family in particular. They also draw heavily on recent philological scholarship for their content, suggest additional readings for students, and (in Lockwood's case) quiz readers over this material with review questions. In these ways, Lockwood and Hart foreground the history of English as a school subject and a professional discourse that deserves study in its own right. Alternatively, Mead and Lewis subordinate the history of English to other literacy topics, incorporating HELs as mini-lessons or explanatory devices in sections dedicated to "Words" (Mead), the "Sources of the English Vocabulary" (Lewis 1897), and "The English Vocabulary" (Lewis 1900). These HELs are short (no more than six pages) and untitled, and they reproduce only an abbreviated version of the antiquarian historical narrative rather than incorporating more

recent philological investigations. As in Blair, these accounts largely serve an introductory, explanatory function, establishing the historicity of English before phasing into discussions of English's current structure or specific lessons on etymology, diction, and style.

The differences among these texts might be attributed to audience, but their authors actually advertise their use to similar high school, normal school, and college student populations.¹³² Instead, what the range of HELs suggests is the presence of multiple, competing understandings of the role of the history of English within nineteenth-century cultures of literacy, each of which enjoyed varied prominence within the larger textual field. Blair and his abridgments circulated widely. At mid-century, Boyd and Quackenbos were also popular. Carr considers Boyd's *Elements* "a steady seller, with twenty-one printings into the 1870s," while Quackenbos's *Advanced Course* may be "the most often issued U.S. rhetoric" with thirty-two (almost yearly) printings from 1855 to 1889 ("Reproducing" 55, 243). Hart's *Manual* was "One of the most frequently published of all American-authored rhetorics," with at least twenty-six versions from 1870 through the early 1900s (Carr, "Reproducing" 67, 241), and Lockwood saw twelve issues from 1887 to 1900 (Carr, "Reproducing" 242). And these textbooks retained their HELs across multiple, stereotyped reprintings. Mead, Lewis, and Mooney's textbooks were less well known. Mead's (1894) saw a second printing in 1896. Lewis's *First Book*, printed privately for students at the Lewis Institute in Chicago in 1896, was published by the MacMillan Company in 1897 and in four additional versions to 1905. Lewis's *Second Manual* (1900) was reprinted in 1901 and 1913, while Mooney's textbook (1903) has only the one edition.

¹³² Lockwood addresses her textbook to first- and second-year high school students (xi). Hart's is subtitled "A Text-Book for Schools and Colleges." Mead's textbook "is an outgrowth of several years of experience in teaching English composition in secondary schools and in college, and it contains nothing that has not stood the test of actual trial" (3). Lewis's textbooks are directed to first-year high school students (1897) and second-, third-, and fourth-year high school students (1900). Mooney's is subtitled "For High Schools, Academies and Normal Schools."

While such figures might suggest that the textual field was dominated by the expansive, often philological accounts of Boyd, Quackenbos, Lockwood, and Hart, the history of English actually appeared more regularly and more widely (if also more obliquely) in highly truncated versions like those in Blair's abridgments. That is, instead of including full HELs, many composition and rhetoric textbooks only reference the history's key terms or cite specific examples of Anglo-Saxon, thereby implying and mobilizing English's history in order to make arguments about style. Early in the century, for example, a series of textbooks associates knowing the history of English—and particularly knowing the etymology of words—with developing perspicuity or clarity of style. Richard Whately (1833) argues that an orator's perspicuity depends largely on diction, and he recommends a style comprised primarily of Anglo-Saxon words, especially when tailoring a message to an uneducated audience (169-74). Samuel Newman (1836) concurs, arguing in his own account of perspicuity that "in the selection of words and forms of expression, the writer must adapt himself to those, for whom his production is primarily designed" (162). And when communicating with a "promiscuous assembly," he advises that "It may be well . . . to select words of Saxon origin, in preference to those of foreign derivation, even though the latter should be in more common use among educated men" (162-3). Subsequent writers reiterate such advice and eventually transform it into a prescription. Charles Morley (1838), for one, simply directs students to "Prefer words of Saxon origin," omitting any nuanced discussion of audience in favor of forwarding a universal maxim (81).¹³³

¹³³ Similarly, Henry Noble Day (1850) argues that Anglo-Saxon words are necessary in any situation where a writer wants to achieve clarity of style (244-45) and "proper energy" (256-57). He repeats these remarks in *Rhetorical Praxis* (1861) and in *The Art of Discourse* (1867). And in his section on perspicuity, James Cruikshank (1870) writes that "As a general rule, short words are to be preferred, and of Saxon rather than of Latin origin" (197).

Later textbook writers couple Anglo-Saxon derivatives to other dimensions of an effective style. Alexander Bain (1867), M. A. Bonnell (1867), James De Mille (1878), and Brainerd Kellogg (1880) associate Anglo-Saxon words with simplicity and intelligibility.¹³⁴ Others praise the Anglo-Saxon element of English for its energy or vigor.¹³⁵ Charles Coppins (1880) argues that Anglo-Saxon words are “expressive,” “forcible,” and have a “sweetness of sound” (26-7). C. W. Bardeen (1884) calls them “crisp,” “vigorous,” and “unmistakable,” arguing that they are “in better taste” and more “free from liability to misapprehension” than words of classical origin (384). Austin Phelps (1895) advocates using primarily Anglo-Saxon words because “A Saxon style is almost certain to be a pure style,” free of foreign words, provincialisms, and vulgarisms (52).

Other writers, especially later in the century, were less ready to celebrate the efficacy of Anglo-Saxon derivatives alone. However, they too suggest that the history of English is an

¹³⁴ Bain (79) and Bonnell’s (60) comments are brief; De Mille and Kellogg’s are more elaborate. De Mille argues that “Simplicity is best attained by the employment of words of Anglo-Saxon origin” (20). He cites studies by Richard Trench, Sharon Turner, and George Perkins Marsh to determine the proportion of Anglo-Saxon words used by “standard authors,” arguing that the most popular and intelligible books in the language exhibit a predominance of the Anglo-Saxon element” (20-6). Kellogg also argues that “The simplest words in the English language are those which belong to the mother-element of it—the Anglo-Saxon” (86). He includes exercises that ask students to practice using such words, directing them to “Find Anglo-Saxon expressions, each a single word, where it is possible, for these good words of Latin and Greek origin, and use them in sentences of your own” or to “Rewrite this paragraph with great care, finding, where it is possible, Anglo-Saxon words for those italicized” (86-7).

¹³⁵ M. B. Hope (1859), for example, argues that “emphatic expression” emerges in part from “the etymological history or source of the different elements of our language” (197). The Anglo-Saxon element creates emphatic expression because Anglo-Saxon derivatives are clear; because they are the “*effective, impassioned, bosom-words* of the English language”; and because they are “*short, terse*, pointed words, on which the whole stress of the voice admits of being thrown, with *emphatic power*, instead of *long, straggling* words, sprouting into growth, in one’s very hands,—as in the inflected languages of Europe” (197-98, emphasis in original). Similarly, John Quackenbos (1896) argues that

Words that are plain and bold, but neither blunt nor coarse; words that are particular and not general, incisive, clean-cut, “stript from their shirts” like man-of-war’s men prepared for action,—are the true exponents of an energetic style. Economy further demands the smallest number of syllables consistent with precision and clearness. Hence the force of our short Saxon words, which so present ideas that they may be apprehended with the least possible mental effort. (175)

See also Alfred Welsh’s 1885 *Complete Rhetoric* (95) and Alphonso Newcomer’s 1899 *Elements of Rhetoric* (233-37).

important rhetorical consideration. For example, John Genung (1886) adjures students to “Seek to use both Saxon and Classical derivatives for what they are worth, and be not anxious to discard either” (43). Barrett Wendell (1891) finds that Anglo-Saxon and Latinate words are each appropriate in different situations. Thus, he recommends that writers develop an etymological, stylistic breadth or flexibility since “Sometimes we wish to do one thing, sometimes another; according as we wish to do one or another thing we choose our words from one or the other of the chief sources of our language” (55-6). Adams Sherman Hill advocates a similar flexibility in *The Principles of Rhetoric* (1878), *The Foundations of Rhetoric* (1892), and *The Beginnings of Rhetoric and Composition* (1902). In *Principles*, he observes that “Whatever the language might have been but for the Norman Conquest, it is now a composite language, in which every part has its function, every word in good use its reason for existence” (100).¹³⁶

Textbooks like these brought the history of English to every level of education in America and often achieved a wide circulation, some of them rivaling Blair, Boyd, Quackenbos, Lockwood, and Hart.¹³⁷ For example, Carr finds that “In 1832, the first American edition of

¹³⁶ Similarly, E. O. Haven (1869) finds that “The best writers employ a great variety of words, not confining themselves to the Anglo-Saxon or to the Latinized style. Much depends upon the nature of the subject, the character of the audience addressed, and the purpose of the author, whether to instruct, convince, or amuse” (40). John Nichol (1879) observes that

Words derived from the Latin have their proper places in our speech: there are ideas we cannot express without them, and they enable us to vary our form of expression. To extrude them would therefore be a serious loss. The exclusive use of Saxon terms and monosyllables is an uncalled for and absurd surrender of much of our inheritance from the past. It is therefore a foolish fashion and a grave fault of style . . . We should be as simple in our choice of words as we can be without rejecting any of the conspicuous advantages which, by the very fact of its being in its vocabulary a composite language, the use of English affords. (74)

And John McElroy (1885) writes, “The truth is that, while the recommendation to be Anglo-Saxon in diction is most strenuously to be insisted upon—a recommendation first made, apparently, by Trench, but echoed by numbers of able writers, Marsh, Oliphant, Herbert Spencer, Bain, Austin Phelps—yet it must not be allowed to hamper, still less to fetter, the writer” (144). He continues, “Language that is simple, clear, precise, good in any way, is always, no matter what its derivation, superior to that which is raised to a preference by an arbitrary standard” (143-44).

¹³⁷ See Carr on the target audience of many of these textbooks, especially their increasing stratification of audience after the Civil War (“Reproducing” 21).

Whately's *Elements of Rhetoric* appears to immediate success: *Elements* roughly matches the circulation of all versions of Blair over the rest of the century" ("Reproducing" 50). Also noteworthy are Newman's *Practical System*, which appeared in at least twenty U.S. printings (Carr, "Reproducing" 243), and Day (1850), Bain (1867), and Kellogg (1880), who were also steady sellers.¹³⁸ Finally, Carr notes that at the end of the century few new rhetorics appeared that would have competed with the circulation and influence of texts like Hill's *Principles of Rhetoric*, Genung's *Practical Elements*, and Wendell's *English Composition* ("Reproducing 75-9).

All together, I record sixty-nine nineteenth-century American rhetoric and composition textbooks. Nineteen of these include HELs; fifty incorporate the history of English more obliquely into their discussions of rhetoric and writing. Because no definitive bibliography of this period's instructional materials exists, it is impossible to calculate the percentage of textbooks that include such material. However, the most recent, thorough account of these materials records 110 rhetorics and composition books in its bibliography (Carr, Carr, and Schultz). If this number even approximates the size of the textual field, then it is possible that at least half of American rhetoric and composition titles incorporated the history of English in some form. These numbers, coupled with the presence of HELs in many of the most popular textbooks, indicate that the history of English enjoyed a robust presence in the period's instructional literature. As Figures 6 and 7 demonstrate, versions of Blair's HEL would have dominated the textual field at least through the 1850s. After that, the field diversified as new iterations of the history of English appeared in new textbooks with increased frequency to the end of the century. And this tally does not include grammars, where the history of English was

¹³⁸ See Carr on Day (60), Bain (63), and Kellogg (68).

already a well-established feature by the nineteenth century and even more common. Neither does it include the other genres literacy textbook—dictionaries, etymology textbooks, and histories of literature—that in this period also incorporated the history of English.

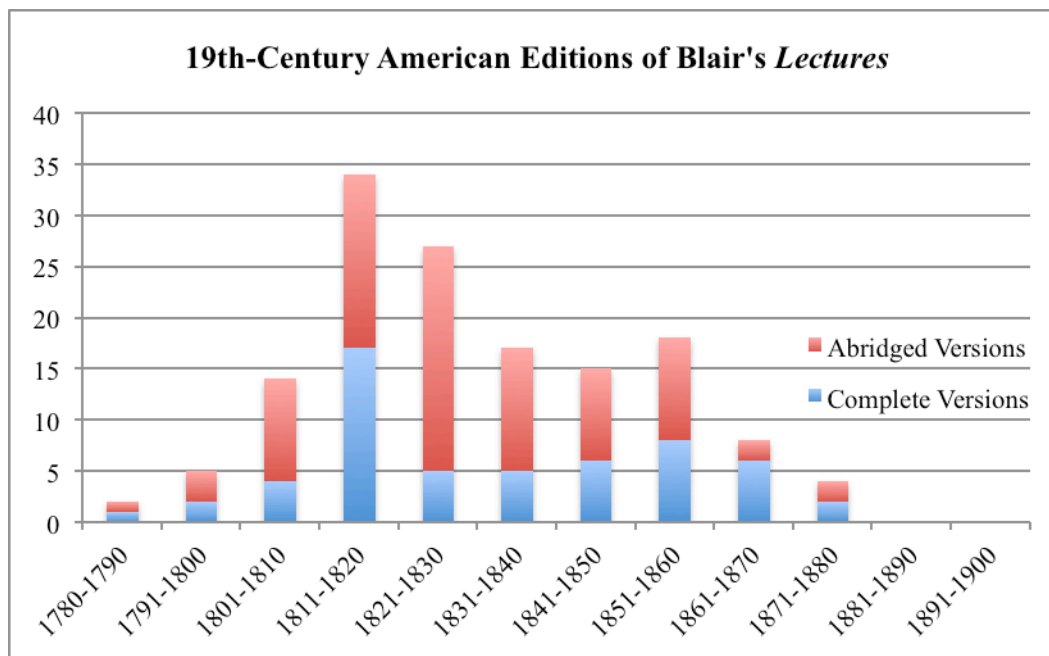


Figure 6: Nineteenth-Century American Editions of Blair’s *Lectures*. This chart illustrates data from Carr (“Circulation”). The figure represents the fifty-six complete American versions of the *Lectures* and eighty-eight American abridged versions. Carr notes the existence of full editions in the 1880s and 1890s but does not record specific publication dates (98).

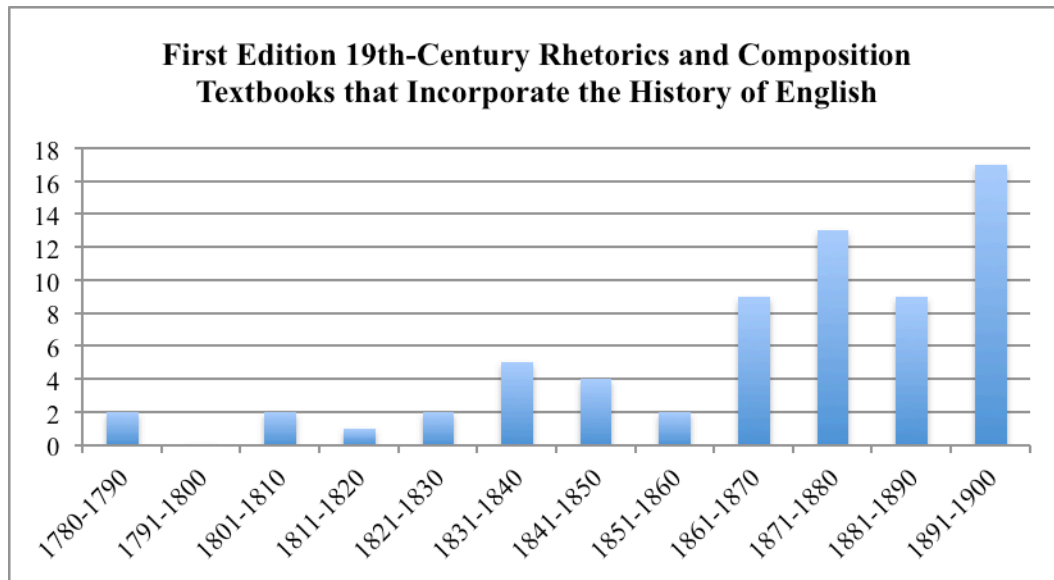


Figure 7: First Edition Nineteenth-Century Rhetorics and Composition Textbooks that Incorporate the History of English. Because I do not have access to their first editions, this figure charts later versions of nine textbooks that I have examined, which are noted in my bibliography.

3.4 HISTORIES OF ENGLISH IN MODERN ENGLISH GRAMMARS

Alongside discussions of style, nineteenth-century literacy textbooks also routinely cite the history of English in order to explain modern English grammar and usage. Occasionally, this occurs in rhetorics and composition textbooks.¹³⁹ More often, such appeals to English’s history

¹³⁹ An early example is John Ripplingham’s *Rules for English Composition* (1816). Ripplingham includes an HEL to underwrite his argument that English (rather than Latin) grammar instruction is necessary for those who would “write and speak English with elegance and accuracy” (viii). He observes that some believe that Latin grammar instruction is sufficient for learning to compose in English. This is supported by the misconception that “our tongue has been derived from the Latin” (vi). “But the fact is otherwise,” Ripplingham argues: “English has been formed, not of Latin altogether, or even in the greater part. Its origin and genius is Saxon; and the structure of it is Saxon to this day—except that it has dropt much of the Saxon inflexion, and become more simple . . . We are also indebted to the Greek, the French, the Hebrew, and others for a multitude of radical and adopted words” (vi-vii). He concludes that “A language thus derived must have many peculiarities; some incorporated with the phrases it has imported, and others arising from such an heterogeneous combination. These peculiarities cannot be appreciated by the knowledge of Latin only, or of any other language” (vii).

Additional examples include Day (1868), who cites Anglo-Saxon to explain modern English’s genitive case (58-59), its noun-participials (152), and its irregular plurals (337). Genung (1890) explains the Anglo-Saxon

appear in the period's many discrete grammar textbooks. The most popular of these was undoubtedly Lindley Murray's. Published first in Britain in 1795, Murray's *English Grammar* became immensely popular on both sides of the Atlantic in the next century. A comprehensive account of American editions does not exist; however, Carr finds "several hundred U.S. versions in various formats" ("Reproducing" 31), while Connors concludes that "English grammar teaching in America was utterly shaped by Lindley Murray's *English Grammar*" (71-72).¹⁴⁰

The use that Murray makes of the history of English increases across the early editions of his text. In the first edition, the presence of the history of English in any form is negligible: Murray includes an Anglo-Saxon alphabet (2) and explains that modern words derived from Anglo-Saxon are accented differently than Latinate or Greek words (147). In the 1796 second edition, however, Murray includes a full HEL in his section "On Derivation," while in the 1797 third edition he highlights the HEL with a section and subheading of its own.¹⁴¹ By 1808, Murray employs the history of English more pointedly yet, including Anglo-Saxon derivations in order to explain the origin and function of modern English adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions (183-85).¹⁴² Despite these expansions, Murray is clearly ambivalent about including the history

verbs *willan* and *sceal* in order to distinguish the meanings of modern English "will" and "shall" (113-14). And Gilmore (1876) cites Anglo-Saxon extensively throughout his entire section on grammar (9-74).

¹⁴⁰ On the success of Murray's grammar and on its influence on nineteenth-century American literacy instruction, see also Tieken-Boon Van Ostade's "200 Years of Lindley Murray: An Introduction." See Bernard Barr's "Towards a Bibliography of Lindley Murray" for a preliminary account of editions.

¹⁴¹ Murray adapts his HEL from Charles Coote's 1788 *Elements of the Grammar of the English Language*.

¹⁴² For example, Murray taps Anglo-Saxon to distinguish between two modern senses of the word "but." The first develops from "the imperative *bot*, of the verb *botan*, to boot, to superadd, to supply: as, 'the number three is not an even number, *but* an odd;' that is, 'not an even number, *superadd*, (it is) an odd number'" (184). The second develops from "the imperative, *be-utan*, of the verb *beon-utan*, to be out. It is used by way of exception: as, 'She regards nobody, *but* him;' that is, 'nobody *be out* him'" (184). Murray adapts this material from Horne Tooke's 1786 *Diversions of Purley*.

of English in his grammar.¹⁴³ He argues alternatively against “Ancient usage,” which “is not the test by which the correctness of modern language is to be tried,” and the needless innovations of modern writers (188). Ultimately, Murray calls for moderation: “On all occasions, they who endeavor to improve our language, should observe a happy medium between too great, and too little, reverence for the usages of ancient times” (188).

The American grammars that follow Murray’s offer a varied sense of the role of the history of English in grammar instruction. In many grammars, HELs are brief and unmarked, and they lack explicit commentary about their purpose within the text or the wider curriculum. Some of these HELs are tucked into introductions.¹⁴⁴ Others are integrated into sections on etymology or derivation.¹⁴⁵ Still others are relegated to appendices or footnotes.¹⁴⁶ W. H. Wells (1881) presents his HEL as only a one-page “Historical Notice” between his preface and his introductory note “To Teachers” (7). Alternatively, grammarians like William Chauncey Fowler (1850), Gould Brown (1851), J. M. D. Meiklejohn (1887), and Alonzo Reed and Brainerd Kellogg (1891) incorporate more elaborate HELs. For example, the first part of Fowler’s *English Grammar*, “The Origin and History of the English Language,” covers eighty pages and dozens of sections on the Indo-European language family, the evolution of English, and current dialects. Also at midcentury, Brown’s *Grammar of English Grammars* features a separate chapter on “The Origin and History of the English Language” and another on “Changes and Specimens of

¹⁴³ Notably, the history of English is not incorporated into Murray’s own abridgement of his *English Grammar* in 1797.

¹⁴⁴ For example, see William S. Balch (1839), W. Colegrove (1879), and Hubert Gray Buehler (1900).

¹⁴⁵ For example, see Jonathan Morgan (1814) and W. H. Wells (1846).

¹⁴⁶ For example, see Smith B. Goodenow (1839), John Frost (1845), W. Colgrove (1852), E. Oram Lyte (1899), W. B. Powell (1899), Susan Louise Arnold and George Lyman Kittredge (1900), and Alonzo Reed and Brainerd Kellogg (1900).

the English Language,” which presents literary excerpts from the nineteenth century back in time to the “Anglo-Saxon in the Time of King Alfred.”¹⁴⁷

Alongside their HELs, these grammarians often offer extensive commentary on why students should study the history of English. Fowler finds that it offers learners “the accumulation of the experience, the wisdom, and the genius of a nation” and that it encourages the development of mental discipline, among other benefits (35-8). Brown argues that it enables students to value the literature of the past and to “better judge the credibility of modern pretensions to further improvements” (74). Reed and Kellogg argue that studying the history of English allows one “to know that language critically,” and they insist that

no one can be said to be well educated in English who is unacquainted with the changes which the Anglo-Saxon grammar and words have undergone in becoming English, and who is unfamiliar with the meaning, and unskilled in the handling, of the prolific Latin roots from which, by the aid of prefixes and suffixes, such hosts of English derivatives have been formed. (iii)

Other grammarians comment less expansively on the issue but nevertheless suggest the importance of studying the history of English, either as a school subject in its own right, as an introduction to language study generally, or as a means of mastering modern English grammar in particular.¹⁴⁸ Above all, like their eighteenth-century predecessors, they demonstrate how older

¹⁴⁷ Additionally, the third part of Meiklejohn’s *The English Language: Its Grammar, History, and Literature* runs 77 pages and includes chapters on “The Periods of English,” “History of the Vocabulary,” “History of the Grammar,” “Specimens of English of Different Periods,” “Modern English,” and “Landmarks in the History of the English Language.” The first chapters of Reed and Kellogg’s *The English Language: A Brief History of Its Grammatical Changes and Its Vocabulary* include “The Early Conquests and Languages of Britain,” “The Norman Conquest and the New Tongue,” “Orthographical Changes of Anglo-Saxon Words in Becoming English,” and several chapters on grammatical and lexical changes.

¹⁴⁸ A number of grammars include review questions and exercises with their HELs, indicating that the material was important enough on its own for memorization. For example, see R. W. Baily (1855), J. E. Murray (1886), William

forms of the language, especially Anglo-Saxon, can help to explicate specific features of the modern tongue. These include the pronunciation of letters and the placement of accent; the regular inflection of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs; irregular pluralization and conjugation; the derivation of parts of speech; and the etymology of words.¹⁴⁹

Like the rhetorics and composition textbooks of this period, the grammars exhibit an increased influence from professional philological study as the century progresses. Fowler's *English Grammar* (1850) marks the early irruption of philological discourse into American grammars. He counts philologists such as Jacob Grimm, Franz Bopp, Robert Gordon Latham, and Edwin Guest among his sources and explains that "Some of the practical results of their investigations I have embodied in this work" (v). Meiklejohn (1887) and Reed and Kellogg (1891) incorporate this discourse heavily, as well, and it appears to a lesser degree in grammars by William Swinton (1872), David Salmon (1880), and William Maxwell (1891), among others. However, the majority of grammars continue to draw on older protocols of English language history. Their HELs reiterate the highpoints of the antiquarian narrative in lieu of more scientific examinations of internal language change, and their citations of Anglo-Saxon follow well-rehearsed patterns from the previous century. As I demonstrate in Chapter One, Anglo-Saxon appears in scholarly treatises on modern English grammar as early as 1653. It appears in vernacular instructional grammars as early as 1688 and then regularly thereafter. By the

Dwight Whitney and Sara Lockwood (1894), and Reed and Kellogg (1900). Elsewhere, HELs appear as chapters or short sections in general introductions to language study. For example, see William Balch's (1839) first chapter on "General Principles of Language."

¹⁴⁹ For example, on pronunciation see John Walker (1822) (32) and Richard Green Parker and Charles Fox (1841) (45). On inflection, see Robert Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf (1894) (111). On irregulars, see William Cardell (1826) (24-25) and William Chauncey Fowler (1870) (20). On derivation, see William Balch (1839) (81-5), Smith Goodenow (1839) (75, 85-6), and R. W. Bailey (1855) (118-19). And on etymology, see J. M. D. Meiklejohn (1887) (127-31), among the many others grammars listed in my bibliography.

nineteenth century, practices of borrowing and imitation among grammarians had already cemented Anglo-Saxon's association with many of the grammatical topics I list above.

The long entrenchment of these protocols likely contributes to the fact that the history of English is deployed in this instructional genre more often than in any other kind of literacy textbook I examine. I record seventy-two nineteenth-century grammars in addition to the dozens that I treat in Chapter One. Twenty-eight of these incorporate full HELs; forty-four cite Anglo-Saxon in their discussions of particular grammatical topics (see Figure 8). HELs become increasingly popular in these texts as the century progresses while Anglo-Saxon maintains a steady presence through the bulk of the period. While Figure 8 does indicate a dearth of new grammars incorporating the history of English in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, this does not necessarily represent a gap in the textual field as a whole. Rather, new editions of eighteenth-century grammars continued to appear during these years. Editions of Noah Webster's *Grammatical Institutes* (1784) were issued in 1800 and 1804. Likewise, Murray's *English Grammar* appeared in at least nine American versions from 1805 to 1819. Moreover, like the preceding figure, Figure 8 does not account for all versions of each of these textbooks. Thus, the presence of the history of English in the period's instructional materials would have been far larger than this chart can represent since several of the grammars achieved long-lasting circulation.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Manfred Görlach's *An Annotated Bibliography of Nineteenth-Century Grammars of English* provides the most thorough publication history of these texts. Among the bestselling grammars, he records twenty-three new editions and reprintings of Barrett (1845) through 1873; nineteen versions of Brown (1823) to 1856 and over two dozen others to 1923; twenty-one versions of Brown (1851) to 1884; thirty-six versions of Bullions (1834) to 1873; ten versions of Butler (1845) to 1880; eighteen versions of Fowler (1850) to 1868 and at least eleven additional versions to 1899; eighteen versions of Kerl (1865) to 1892; eight versions of Parker and Fox (1834) to 1843; twenty-one versions of Reed and Kellogg (1877) to 1893; eleven versions of Swinton (1877) to 1890; nine versions of Tower (1859) to 1870; seventeen versions of Weld (1845) to 1858; seven versions of Wells (1846) to 1848 and at least ten others to 1866; at least seventeen versions of Whitney (1877) to 1898; and seven versions of Whitney and Lockwood (1892) to 1899.

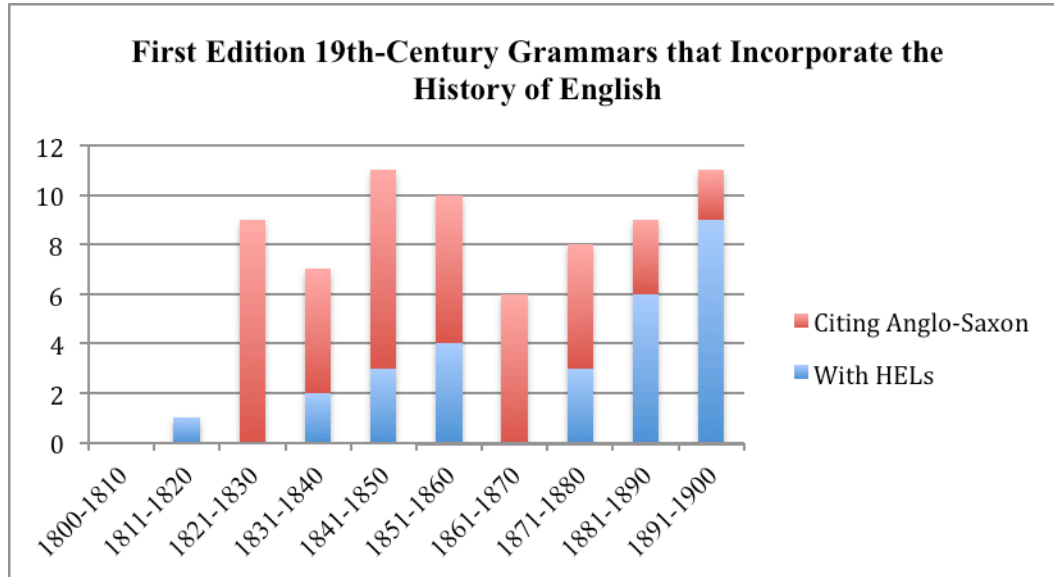


Figure 8: First Edition Nineteenth-Century Grammars that Incorporate the History of English. Because I do not have access to their first editions, this figure charts later versions of twenty textbooks that I have examined, which are noted in my bibliography.

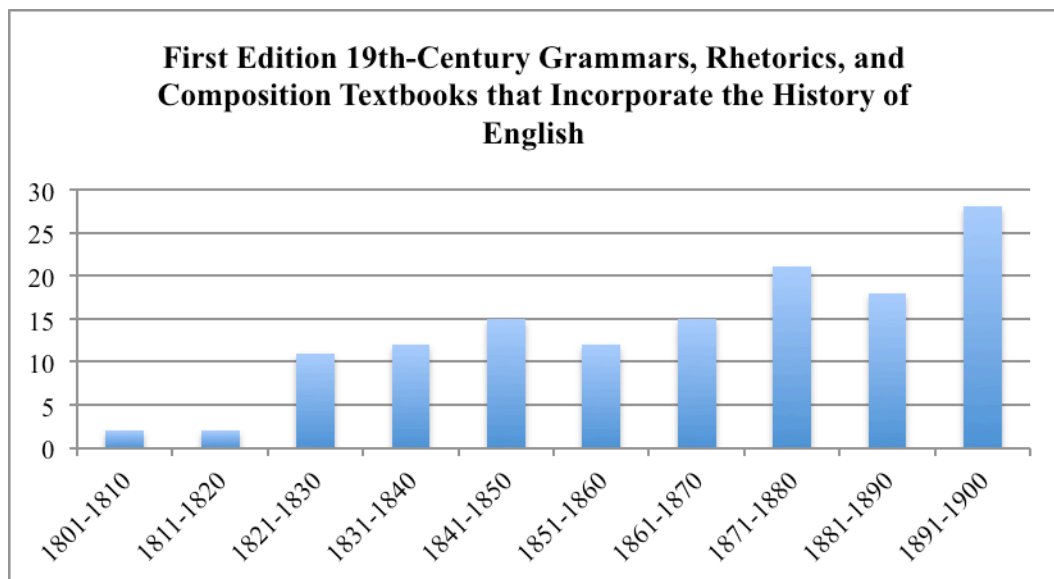


Figure 9: First Edition Nineteenth-Century Grammars, Rhetorics, and Composition Textbooks that Incorporate the History of English. See my notes on editions in Figures 6 and 7.

3.5 HISTORIES OF ENGLISH ELSEWHERE

While the histories of English that I examine appear most regularly in the nineteenth century's rhetorics, composition textbooks, and grammars, they were occasionally deployed in other instructional materials, as well, and even in the period's popular periodicals. Dictionaries, for instance, continued to incorporate HELs into their prefatory material. Some of these were new editions of popular eighteenth-century British texts such as Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), which saw its first American edition in 1818.¹⁵¹ Others were produced by American writers, including "America's two great nineteenth-century lexicographers," Noah Webster and Joseph Worcester (Hitchings 244). An HEL appears in the first edition of Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) and then in various subsequent versions.¹⁵² Similarly, Worcester includes an HEL in several editions of his *Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language* (1846). Histories of English were common enough in these and other dictionaries that Arthur Gilman feels the need to teach students how to read them in his *Short Stories from the Dictionary* (1886), a guide for students intended to show "how the great dictionaries may be made useful to their readers" (5). There, Gilman suggests that knowing the history of English can help students understand the meaning of words as well as English's often-misleading orthography.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Johnson's *Dictionary* had significant influence in the United States long before the first American edition appeared, however. According to Hitchings, "The American adoption of the *Dictionary* was a momentous event not just in its history, but in the history of lexicography. For Americans in the second half of the eighteenth century, Johnson was the seminal authority on language, and the subsequent development of American lexicography was coloured by his fame" (244).

¹⁵² For example, see the 1841 octavo edition, the 1890 *Webster's International Dictionary*, and the 1898 *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*.

¹⁵³ Gilman's second chapter, "Outside and Inside," gives a section-by-section tour of Webster's dictionary, including its HEL. Gilman notes,

The history of English was also integrated into newer genres of literacy instruction such as etymology textbooks, histories of literature, and readers. Ian Michael describes the transformation of etymology as a school subject in the nineteenth century, noting that “Etymology had by the 1820s ceased to carry its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reference (in school grammars) to the classification and inflections of words; it now referred to their derivation and formal history” (357). After that point, discrete etymology textbooks began appearing in Britain and the United States to introduce students to these topics, encouraging a familiarity with English’s Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon roots and with strategies for word building and precision in writing.¹⁵⁴ These texts routinely cite Anglo-Saxon in their chapters on

Children cannot be expected to have much interest in this history, because it contains much that they cannot understand; but it would be well for them to look at it, so as not to think it a strange thing when they notice it in turning over the leaves of the book when they are old. It shows what sort of a language ours is, and how it has changed during the history of England and America. On one page I see that our word “good” was once spelt “god,” and it makes me think that God is so called because we think of him as the “Good One.” Do you not suppose that is the true reason? On the same page I see that “why” was once spelt “hwy,” and that explains to me why we pronounce the “h” before the “w” now. Did you ever notice that? The same is true of “which,” that was spelt “hwich,” and it is plainer to be noticed that “h” comes before the “w” in that word.

A little further over, I find some specimens of the English of our forefathers, and it looks very strange at first; but as I look at it, I see some words: “andswarode,” “wyrce,” “man,” “min,” “hym,” “hys,” and they remind me of “answered,” “work,” “man,” “mine,” “him,” “his.” These were written long before Webster’s Spelling-book had been thought of, at a time when it seems to us a though every man spelt as he chose. You will think many of the words in these specimens of old English very strange, and perhaps some of them will look “funny” to you. It will do you good to look at them, even if you do not do it very carefully. (22-23)

¹⁵⁴ Arguing for the place of etymology as a school subject, Epes Sargent insists in *A School Manual of English Etymology* (1873) that

Etymology, or that part of it which relates to derivation, is . . . becoming more and more an indispensable study in our higher and many of our common schools. It is conceded by our best teachers that where Latin and Greek are not regularly taught, some means of acquainting pupils with the great indebtedness of our English to those languages ought to be found, so that etymology may have a place in every well-ordered course; for the study of it, even where the classical branches are not omitted, is important in directing attention to derivations that might otherwise be overlooked, or in initiating a habit of precision in the use of words. (5)

the Germanic source of English's vocabulary. Several also include HELs in their introductions or early chapters in order to provide an overview of English's sedimented lexicon.¹⁵⁵

Histories of literature or introductions to literary study also emerged as a textbook genre at this time. Early examples include Robert Chambers's *Historical Sketches of English and American Literature* (1837) and E. L. Rice's *Introduction to American Literature* (1846). Later in the century, such textbooks become more common, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, where HELs appear either in separate chapters or incorporated into sections on the Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁵⁶ The history of English also occasionally appeared in the related genre of the reader. For example, George Cathcart's *Literary Reader* (1892) includes an HEL in its opening chapter on "The Beginnings of English Literature," where it is interwoven with an account of the language's earliest literary texts. Alternatively, Epes Sargent and Amasa May's *The Etymological Reader* (1872) does not include an HEL but does cite Anglo-Saxon throughout its substantial "Etymological Introduction." This section offers preliminary information on "The Science of Etymons" and the various roots of modern English. The remainder of the textbook comprises literary selections, each of which is followed by "Select Etymologies" of words from the text.

¹⁵⁵ For example, see James Lynd's *The Class-Book of Etymology* (1847), John L. Chapman and James Scott's *A Hand-book of Engrafted Words* (1853), William W. Smith's *A Complete Etymology of the English Language* (1867), Epes Sargent's *A School Manual of English Etymology* (1873), William Swinton's *New Word-Analysis* (1879), Charles F. Johnson's *English Words: An Elementary Study of Derivations* (1891), and Alonzo Reed and Brainerd Kellogg's *Word-Building* (1892).

¹⁵⁶ For example, Chambers incorporates an HEL into his section on literature of the Anglo-Saxon period while Rice's appears in a discrete opening chapter on the "Origin of the Language." For later examples of these textbooks, see Henry Noble Day's *An Introduction to the Study of English Literature* (1868), J. M. D. Meiklejohn's *A Brief History of the English Language and Literature* (1887), and Charlton M. Lewis's *The Beginnings of English Literature* (1900).

Outside of textbooks like these, the history of English had an even more diffuse circulation in a number of nineteenth-century periodicals. These include education journals such as *The Common School Journal*, *Massachusetts Teacher*, and *The Chautauquan*, as well as popular periodicals like *The Knickerbocker*, *Literary Messenger*, *The Youth's Companion*, and *Friend's Review*.¹⁵⁷ While I don't examine these texts at any length here, materials like these further attest to the wide distribution of the history of English in the nineteenth century.

Far from being an odd or antiquarian appendage in only a small number of nineteenth-century textbooks, I have shown that the history of English cut across multiple discourses and textbook traditions and was incorporated into national bestsellers and single-run treatises alike. Moreover, I have shown that the history of English was integrated into these texts in multiple, meaningful ways. It framed their dispositions toward language, underwrote their arguments about grammar and style, and professionalized their practices, alternatively aligning their concerns with established antiquarian thought and with emerging scientific paradigms of language study. In the section that follows, I elaborate on how the history of English functioned within wider trends and transformations in U.S. cultures of literacy, as well.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, "A Brief History of the English Language, and of the Principal Changes It Has Undergone" in *The Common School Journal* (1842); "Craik on the History of the English Language" and "Craik on the History of the English Language: The English a Gothic Tongue" in *Massachusetts Teacher* (1864); and "English Literature: A Bird's-Eye View of the Subject" (1880) and "Required Reading for December: What English Is" (1884) in *The Chautauquan*. See also "The English Language" in *The Knickerbocker* (1840); "The History of the English Language" in three parts in *Literary Messenger* (1840); "The Language We Use" in *The Youth's Companion* (1861); and "A New Spelling" in *Friend's Review* (1879).

3.6 THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CULTURES OF LITERACY

The history of English is integrated in diverse ways and with diverse pedagogical purposes in nineteenth-century literacy materials. In different textbooks, it is given different placement and prominence. In one, an HEL is foregrounded as an introduction; in another, it is appended at the end. Elsewhere, HELs and Anglo-Saxon are incorporated into a range of possible chapters, made adjacent to a variety of other subjects, and are thus given unique resonances within individual textbooks' projects. Still, even within this diversity I find patterns of deployment that emerge across the textual field. Anglo-Saxon is most regularly cited as a grammatical resource but also often as a stylistic or rhetorical one. Full HELs, on the other hand, frame the import of literacy education more broadly, orient students to English's sedimented vocabulary, or introduce them to a canon of literary and linguistic exemplars. As I argue in Chapter One, some of these functions have been a part of the history of English almost since its inception and are simply perpetuated in these texts alongside the other common features of HELs. Here, I argue that other functions also developed—or were amplified—in correspondence with the specifically nineteenth-century American educational scene. I account for the broad trends in literacy instruction that for many scholars characterize this period, and I mark analogous uses of the history of English. First, I examine the shift in educational contexts away from developing student's mental discipline toward more ostensibly practical learning activities. Second, I examine how the HELs I find in the period's many literacy textbooks implicate English education at that time (and still today) in problematic discourses of standardization and Anglo-Saxonism.

3.6.1 The Educational Context: Mental Discipline and Practical Application

In *Archives of Instruction*, Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen L. Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz identify two developments that characterize the nineteenth-century educational scene. First, schooling became more stratified and systematic as the century progressed, but also more inclusive, more democratic (4). For the first time, it began to serve a significantly varied audience that included women, African Americans and Native Americans, immigrants, and working class students, though the access to education that each of these groups enjoyed was unequal and often occurred in different sites (6-7). Second, the pedagogical approaches for teaching these students gradually transformed. Specifically, “the goals and forms of study, in both schools and colleges, substantively changed as the century came to its end, from the earlier focus on ‘mental discipline’ toward an emphasis on being more ‘practical’” (4). In textbooks, the early theories of mental discipline shaped literacy instruction by “fostering memorization and recitation as common practices, encouraging a graduated course of study with repeated exercises, addressing students in terms of universal faculties rather than local abilities, and promoting certain subjects—typically Latin, Greek, mathematics, and moral philosophy, and later the study of grammar” (7). When things got more “practical,” educational materials turned away from abstract concepts and rote memorization and started promoting “knowledge and skills that would assist students in their lives and work” (9). Such teaching involved introducing students to the more abstract subject matter in specific contexts: “teaching grammar through a series of

questions keyed to specific reading lessons,” for example, or including “such topics as natural history and scientific experiment as composition assignments or reading selections” (10).¹⁵⁸

Where the history of English was integrated into this educational context, it routinely reflected and bolstered these pedagogical currents. For example, many early-century HELs were clearly intended to be memorized. The questions in the Mills edition of Blair requires students to restate the HEL almost sentence by sentence. Quackenbos’s *Advanced Course* does the same, including running questions along the bottom of each page of the HEL. And Boyd, in presenting his HEL in the question-and-answer format of the catechism, frames the history of English as something to be retained and recited. Moreover, these HELs and others like them represent the kind of abstract, treatise material that Connors associates with the early nineteenth-century emphasis on mental discipline.¹⁵⁹ That is, in the textbooks that integrate them, little practice in

¹⁵⁸ Ian Michael and Robert Connors identify similar trends in the nineteenth century, though they examine these developments in particular educational contexts and thus cast them in different terms. Michael describes how the goal of mental discipline was inflected in English language education as the achievement of “linguistic control” (*Teaching* 317). This aim developed as early as the seventeenth century and was largely pursued through the rote memorization of English grammar. This practice was challenged in the nineteenth century when British educators cited how taxing it was for students and appealed instead to the importance of students’ independent reasoning about the structure of language. This is not quite the language of practicality that Carr, Carr, and Schultz employ in the American context; however, what these figures advocated was the replacement of rote learning with a sort of independent, interested inquiry into language.

Connors describes the shift from mental discipline to practical application as it pertains to rhetorical education. He finds that in the earliest years of the nineteenth century, this was largely an abstract enterprise, pursued via memorization and recitation of rhetorical theory rather than actual practice. However, as the century progressed and rhetorics and rhetoric classes were increasingly focused on written composition, a new practice-oriented pedagogy developed and began to merge with the older, abstract instruction. “Thus,” Connors says, “writing, which is obviously a practice-based skill, became tangled with the insistence on abstract ‘mental discipline’ of the early nineteenth century, and the conception grew that one learns to write by consciously learning ideas about writing and then practicing the application of those ideas” (72).

¹⁵⁹ Connors finds that

Until 1810 or so, it had been taken for granted that the teacher’s job was to produce and disseminate raw information in certain standard forms—the treatise, the lecture series, the rhetorical lesson—and that the students’ job was to capture this information in notes, learn it, and be able to feed it back in recitation and tutorial. This absorption-regurgitation epistemology, enforced by lecture-room examination, had lain behind the entire pedagogy of abstract rhetorical theory (as opposed to the older practice-oriented pedagogy of rhetorical action) that had been growing up since the sixteenth century. (72)

reading and writing is ever explicitly associated with the dense, expository prose of the HELs themselves. Rather, they most often serve an introductory function, laying theoretical groundwork for the more specific lessons about grammar, rhetoric, and writing that follow. Their presence illustrates something like Connors's observation that nineteenth-century textbooks expected students to learn ideas about writing before they wrote—or, in this case, that students learn the history of English before using the language effectively (72).

A number of textbook writers are explicit about yoking the history of English to mental discipline in these ways. For example, in his section on “The Origin and History of the English Language,” Fowler (1850) observes that “To an Englishman or an American the study of the English language offers a two-fold advantage, in the mental discipline which it furnishes and in the knowledge which it imparts” (38). Likewise, writers like Quackenbos, Lockwood, Mead, and Lewis present the history of English as an important preliminary subject, a body of theoretical material to be mastered before students can use the language with success. Mead's HEL even appears in the section of his textbook titled “Theory” rather than in the later chapters on “Practice,” while Lewis says of his own HEL that it “may seem like a digression from our immediate practical purposes; but the student who knows nothing of the history of his language is unable to use words with a full sense of their meaning, and finds it difficult to use them with precision” (*First Book* 252).

The association of the history of English with theory and mental discipline never completely disappears in the nineteenth century. However, as the period progresses, certain textbooks increasingly link the history of English with more practical applications of literacy learning. Exercises that ask students to draw on their knowledge of the history of English appear as early as Quackenbos (1855). In later textbooks, they increase in number and they increasingly

ask students to apply their reading in the history of English to specific situations: to analyzing reading assignments or to writing letters, stories, and essays of their own. For example, Francis March's *Method of Philological Study of the English Language* (1865) guides high school students through the careful interpretation of literary texts by directing them to parse short excerpts and investigate the etymology of words.¹⁶⁰ Mooney's *Composition-Rhetoric from Literature* reflects this shift, as well. Its section on the history of English doesn't actually contain an HEL at all. Instead, it transforms the study of English's history from rote memorization into an inquiry-based project, one in which students investigate the topic on their own using outside resources and then think through a series of exemplary literary texts.

Outside of full HELs, more oblique references to the history of English are also regularly deployed for practical ends. Anglo-Saxon serves as an explanatory device in grammars and, as I demonstrate above, many other textbook writers forward the history of English as a real resource for students hoping to achieve rhetorical success. Not long after the turn of the century, the history of English even appears in that most practical of literacy textbook genres, the guide to business writing. In *Business English* (1914), Edwin Lewis directs student writers to "Get a grip on the simple human words. A great many of them are of Anglo-Saxon origin" (10). Later, he includes a chapter on "The History of Business Words." There, he not only highlights business words of Anglo-Saxon origin, he also describes the overall loss of inflection in English

¹⁶⁰ For example, regarding the passage from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, "But of his cheer did seem to solemn sad," March asks students to

Analyze *did seem*; parse *did* alone; *seem* alone! Connection of thought between *too* and *to*? Between *solemnity* and *anniversary*? What are the root letters common to both? (*Emn=ann*<Latin *ann-us*, year.) Force of *sol*-? (All, every.) Its connection of thought with *sole*, *solitary*? Relation to *solemn* (<Latin *sol-ennis*) and *biennial* (<Latin *bi-ennis*)? Connection of thought between Anglo-Saxon *saed* (=satiated) and semi-Saxon, English *sad* (*tired out*, *sorrowful*)? In Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, *sad* sometimes means merely *serious*, *grave*; is that its sense here? (83)

throughout its historical development and proclaims “Business English should be glad of this gradual simplification of words” (81).¹⁶¹

In many respects, the use made of the history of English in these textbooks corresponds to the different uses of literacy and the different approaches to teaching that were characteristic of the American educational scene at this time. But the correspondence is never perfect. HELs function as treatise material throughout the century, and Anglo-Saxon is cited for practical grammatical and rhetorical ends in some of the earliest as well as the latest textbooks in my corpus. Thus, examining the history of English in literacy textbooks troubles the line between this period’s instructional eras. It demonstrates the uneven emergence of new practices across the whole archive of nineteenth-century instructional texts, as well as how residual or traditional material persists in the face of such change.

3.6.2 The Ideological Context: Standardization and Anglo-Saxonism

In addition to this educational scene, nineteenth-century histories of English were deployed within a wider context of ideas about language, race, and nation. Scholars such as Deborah Brandt and Harvey Graff foreground this context, emphasizing the role of literacy instruction in disseminating the dominant culture’s belief system. Brandt, for example, notes that “In the United States, the aim of universal literacy began as an imperative of the Christian mission and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, had shifted to secular interests of nation building, social

¹⁶¹ Edward Webster also incorporates the history of English into his *English for Business* (1916). He describes the sources of English’s vocabulary, which have provided the “wealth of words” that “lies at our disposal, to convey almost every shade of meaning” (124). He then includes exercises that, among other things, direct students to “Consult an unabridged dictionary and get the full history of the following words” and “Consult an unabridged dictionary and find from what language these words originally came . . .” (135).

conformity, and civic responsibility” (27). Graff concurs, finding that literacy was used to cultivate “order, cultural hegemony, work preparation, assimilation and adaptation” (211), among other goals, and that these were pursued “under conditions of rapid and confusing social and economic changes, differing institutional arrangements, mass immigration, and needs to integrate and assimilate ever-growing numbers of nonnatives into the population” (217). This interpolative function served as a counterpart to the educational expansion that Carr, Carr, and Schultz describe. That is, even as the audiences, sites, and methods of literacy instruction diversified across the century, literacy instruction itself often served a consolidating, standardizing role, broadcasting and celebrating narrow understandings of nation, race, family, morality, and work to an increasingly variegated literate public.¹⁶²

This context, too, shaped the uses to which the history of English was put. First and most broadly, the history of English contributed to the period’s efforts toward cultural hegemony by privileging a single, standard genealogy of English as well as an inherited tradition of exemplary English writers. Just as in their eighteenth-century counterparts, in the nineteenth century HELs English is never figured as internally diverse, comprising multiple—equally valid—regional, classed, or raced dialects. Rather, English is singular, the culmination of an Anglo-Saxon lineage that the HELs praise and defend in order to further consolidate the modern tongue. This lineage is simultaneously composed of and exemplified by a generally stable set of English texts and authors that, in HELs from Camden to Greenwood to Johnson to Boyd, simply *are* the English language. Indeed, in some introduction of literature textbooks the history of the English language

¹⁶² In addition to Brandt and Graff, see Ruth Elston and Miriam Brody. Elston describes the particular role of textbooks in the enculturation process, calling them “guardians of tradition” and insisting that textbook writers “were much more concerned with the child’s moral development than with the development of his mind” (1). And Brody looks at the operations of literacy on the individual more minutely. For example, she claims that “the nineteenth-century school’s emphasis on memory and recitation encouraged the ‘submission to routine,’ the ‘rule-following diligence,’ and the ‘toleration of monotony’ that would prepare students for the transformation of agrarian workers into factory laborers” (28).

and the history of English literature become entirely indistinguishable as historical accounts of the language both justify and enable students' reception of sanctioned literary traditions.

The rhetorics, composition textbooks, and grammars that I examine in this chapter often cite the history of English to explain and celebrate this pure, predominantly Anglo-Saxon language. They also teach students to maintain it in the face of ongoing linguistic change. William Mead, for example, echoing recommendations by Hugh Blair and George Campbell for a pure English, cautions students to guard their language against foreign borrowings, newly-coined words, slang, and localisms, which they can do by reading the best English writers of their day. He writes, "If a person reads nothing but the best literature, and hears nothing but pure English, he will easily acquire a vocabulary of pure English words" (10-12). Edwin Lewis, too, warns his students away from recent and unsanctioned innovations in the language, insisting that

Slang should never appear in a theme, except between quotation marks. There can be no question on this point. We may safely go farther and say, slang should almost never occur in a theme, even between quotation marks. One chief object of themes is to teach us literary usage, and we shall never attain to the legitimate words if we constantly admit cant substitutes for them. (276)

More recent language scholars have argued that, ideally, the historical study of English should have challenged rather than cemented the conservative attitudes in textbooks like these.¹⁶³ However, as I argue in Chapter One, the history of English has always been an interested account

¹⁶³ Dennis E. Baron observes that

In 1927 the American linguist Charles C. Fries noted, "Even a hundred years of the historical method in linguistic scholarship has failed to affect in any marked degree the common grammatical ideas and ideals of the general public," and Robert C. Pooley agreed in 1934 that "Eighteenth-century theories of language resulted in attitudes and specific rules concerning usage which became fixed and arbitrary in nineteenth-century schoolbooks, and which still persist in the textbooks of today in total disregard for the objective facts of English usage." (*Grammar* 165)

that can be (and usually is) used to legitimize the language of dominant groups and to marginalize the language of others. Milroy observes that even twentieth-century HELs, written in the context of modern linguistic science, often codify rather than describe the language, tending toward “an almost exclusive focus on standard English” (7). “Thus,” he argues, “the functions of this history are primarily to provide a lineage for English and a history for the standard language (in effect, the recent history of English is defined as the history of this one variety)” (7).

In addition to forwarding the coherence of English as a language, nineteenth-century HELs also forwarded the coherence of English speakers as a privileged group. Specifically, they reinforced discourses of Anglo-Saxonism that permeated multiple spheres of U.S. culture in this period and defined an emerging sense of American racial and national identity.¹⁶⁴ I have already demonstrated that the history of English first emerged out of the patriotic sentiments and cultural Anglo-Saxonism of the seventeenth century antiquarian movement. I have also demonstrated that those antiquarian ideals became anchored to specific features of eighteenth-century HELs—their praise of English’s Anglo-Saxon element, for instance, or their denial of the Norman Conquest’s linguistic impact—and were thus reasserted throughout that period. In the nineteenth-century United States, that ideological investment persists, though it is reconfigured and amplified within the American political context.

Several scholars have noted the interest in Anglo-Saxon history, culture, and language in colonial America and the new republic, especially among the country’s founders, who associated

¹⁶⁴ Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles trace the origin of “Anglo-Saxonism” as a term. They find that “The word generally implies a belief in the superiority of ‘the Anglo-Saxon race,’ often (though not always) with the understanding that ‘race’ in such a formulation denotes not so much a biological state as a social identity that is compounded of ethnicity, culture, tradition, and language” (2).

the Anglo-Saxons with democracy and respect for individual rights.¹⁶⁵ Reginald Horsman, though, describes the increasing proliferation of Anglo-Saxonism in the nineteenth century as well as its eventual, problematic integration into the country's discourses on nation and race. Horsman finds that

By 1850 American expansion was viewed in the United States less as a victory for the principles of free democratic republicanism than as evidence of the innate superiority of the American Anglo-Saxon branch of the Caucasian race. In the middle of the nineteenth century a sense of racial destiny permeated discussions of American progress and of the future American world destiny. (1)

Focusing primarily on periodical literature from 1800 to 1850, Horsman traces the emergence of Anglo-Saxonism in popular magazines, political writing, and medical scholarship as it transforms from the relatively benign "debates and speech of the early nineteenth century [that] reveal a pervasive sense of the future destiny of the United States" to the "rampant racialism that permeates the debates of mid-century" regarding, among other things, African slavery, Indian removal, and conquest in Mexico (1).

The influence of this discourse had clear implications for American culture and literary study, where scholars such as J. R. Hall have observed a heightened attention to all things Anglo-Saxon after midcentury.¹⁶⁶ Some scholars have even noted its impact on popular literacy

¹⁶⁵ For example, see Trevor Colbourn on the influence of Anglo-Saxon history on colonial legal and political thought. See Stanley R. Hauer and Julie Tetel Andresen on Thomas Jefferson as an Anglo-Saxonist, and James L. Golden and Alan L. Golden on the benefits that Jefferson ascribes to Anglo-Saxon study. See Dennis Baron on the "Saxonist" movement in early language reform efforts in the United States. Specifically, Baron finds that Noah Webster advocates making the "purely Saxon" language of America's farmers the national standard (*Going Native* 24).

¹⁶⁶ Hall notes the expansion in the collegiate study of Anglo-Saxon at this time:
In 1825, study of the Anglo-Saxon language was available only at the newly founded University of Virginia—and available there only because Thomas Jefferson, whose interest in the language

instruction. Heidi Kathleen Kim, for example, points to the common presence of Anglo-Saxonist attitudes in educational contexts and even notes the valorization of Anglo-Saxon in certain schoolbooks, which “began teaching Anglo-Saxon derivatives as the foundation of English” (2). Dennis Baron, too, notes the impact of Anglo-Saxonism on the period’s instructional materials, pointing to a series of three etymology textbooks that made Anglo-Saxon central to their plan of study (*Going Native* 37-38). And among compositionists, Amy Zenger argues that the late-nineteenth-century movement to establish English as the sole language of instruction in schools and colleges was informed by “a perceived power of language to tap into character values and mental abilities believed to inhere in ancient Anglo-Saxon people and culture” (338). Zenger finds in nineteenth-century writing on language “a fear that as language expands and as it is transmitted to an ever-wider number of speakers in an ever-wider geographical expanse, it will assimilate changes and influences to such an extent that it will lose its value as ‘a key to history and the reconstruction of earlier human unities’” (336-37). Thus, while compositionists normally interpret the nineteenth century’s concern for correctness as “a subjugation of language to the strictures of middle-class propriety, or as a response to an increased need for managers who could write correctly enough to function in a newly industrialized nation,” it might also have been “a function of race as well” (337).

The popular instructional texts that I survey in this chapter indicate that the investment in Anglo-Saxon language, history, and identity was fostered well beyond the select materials that Kim, Baron, and Zenger identify. I have already described several textbooks that encourage a

dated back to 1762, insisted that it be taught at the school he founded. By 1899, however, one could study the language at some three dozen schools throughout the country, and the subject was more readily available in the United States than anywhere else in the world. (133)

See also Allen J. Frantzen and the edited collection by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles on the spread of Anglo-Saxon study and literary Anglo-Saxonisms in America.

clear deference for the Anglo-Saxon element of English, commending its inherent vigor and expressiveness. Other textbooks attest to the exceptionalism of the Anglo-Saxon race, as well, and explicitly prompt students to identify with this group. For example, Quackenbos (1855) praises the Anglo-Saxons as a “powerful people” (44); Hart (1871) finds them “bold” and “buccaneering” (350); and Lewis (1897) believes the “Saxon race” was simply “too strong to remain an underling” after the Normans invaded (184). Welsh (1885) identifies them to students as “Our Saxon forefathers” (51), while in a writing exercise Kellogg (1880) asks students to work closely with sentences such as “British and American commerce has scattered the productions of Anglo-Saxon genius over the habitable globe” and “The study of the Greek and Latin languages might advantageously be partly replaced by that of Anglo-Saxon” (44).

By taking up and reiterating such ideas, the HELs in these textbooks served not only rhetorically practical or linguistically theoretical purposes. They also sought to shape a nation, incorporating one of the period’s dominant ideologies of racial and cultural superiority into the daily schooling of young readers and writers. That said, I have also shown that some textbook writers refused to valorize Anglo-Saxon (and the Anglo-Saxons) over other sources of modern English, and this is an important indication of the uneven, contested distribution of Anglo-Saxonist discourse. But whether or not these writers necessarily corroborate the excellence of the Anglo-Saxon language and race, their use of “Anglo-Saxon” and related concepts nevertheless demonstrates that the period’s discussions of writing and rhetoric were routinely cast in those racial, nationalist terms. These terms have received little scholarly attention, but acknowledging their prevalence necessarily reconfigures our understanding of the sources and cultural investments of nineteenth-century literacy instruction. Moreover, acknowledging the ideological freight that the history of English once brought to literacy obliges us to reconsider its staying

power today. As I demonstrate in later chapters, the internal coherence of English and the exceptionalism of its speakers are assumptions that continue to shape our students' conceptions of language and the tolerance for linguistic diversity that they carry with them into the academy, into public life, and into the classrooms where many of them will one day teach.

3.7 FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE TWENTIETH

In the nineteenth century United States, the history of English emerged as a scientific discourse and a specialized subject of English study in higher education. It also proliferated as a subject at lower levels of instruction in schools and in the first-year writing courses of colleges and universities. Its incorporation into these sites of popular literacy instruction has been largely overlooked in the existing histories of literacy, rhetoric, and composition, much to the detriment of our understanding of the sources and resources of reading and writing instruction in this period. As I have demonstrated here, the history of English circulated widely in the nineteenth-century United States. It did so in multiple instructional genres and in diverse forms, and it served a number of practical and theoretical purposes. The histories of English in these texts were also deeply informed by the period's broader educational and cultural milieu. By incorporating HELs into their textbooks, dozens of writers implicated literacy education in powerful discourses about learning, language, race, and American exceptionalism.

The strong role that the history of English played in reading and writing instruction had consequences well beyond this period. The momentum of the subject's circulation did not abate at century's end; rather, HELs continued to appear in dozens of literacy textbooks in the early twentieth century. Moreover, its functions continued to diversify as the subject gradually

transformed into required coursework for new teachers. This began in nineteenth-century normal schools; however, the history of English, as both a course and a discourse, became increasingly common in teacher education programs and policy documents in the early-to-mid twentieth century. In these new educational arenas, HELs continued to disseminate conservative understandings of English's own diversity and intolerance for alternative forms, and these attitudes became characteristic of much foundational composition studies scholarship on teacher preparation. Born of the eighteenth century and consolidated in the nineteenth, these language ideologies would remain common in pedagogical practice at least until the Students' Right era of the 1970s. At that time, I argue, composition studies reconfigured its own disciplinary identity around a more inclusive conception of English's history and began to rethink the role of the history of English in teacher education and literacy instruction more broadly. I examine these developments in detail in Chapter Three.

4.0 “LET THE TEACHERS LEARN ENGLISH HISTORICALLY”: TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY COMPOSITION STUDIES

The strong role that the history of English played in nineteenth-century cultures of literacy had substantial consequences for reading and writing instruction in the twentieth century, as well. The subject continued to appear in dozens of grammars, rhetorics, and composition textbooks in the early decades of the century. Moreover, its functions continued to diversify as the ongoing professionalization of historical linguistics transformed the history of English from a common school subject into an advanced preparatory course for new teachers. This occurred first in state normal schools, where the History of the English Language emerged as required coursework as early as 1861 and then more regularly from 1900 through the 1920s. Later, the subject remained a component of teachers' standard preparation in the professional literature and policy documents of English studies through the twentieth century.

In composition studies, in particular, the history of English has a long but uneven association with teacher education. Before 1980, many in the field considered it a prerequisite for new literacy instructors. NCTE named it first among its criteria for “A Standard Preparation to Teach English” in 1961 (*National Interest* 40-1). Likewise, to the question “What Sort of Knowledge about Language Do English Teachers Need?” the Conference on College Composition and Communication’s (CCCC) “Students’ Right to Their Own Language”

(SRTOL) document (1974) answered: “The History of English and How it Continually Changes in Vocabulary, in Syntax, and in Pronunciation” (“Committee” 15). SRTOL acknowledged that language change enriches English’s communicative potential rather than diminishes it and that students and their writing play active roles in such enrichment (16). More recently, however, compositionists have questioned the suitability of the subject for preparing writing instructors for increasingly diverse classrooms. They have found that teachers who take comprehensive courses like the History of the English Language or Introduction to Linguistics often retain negative attitudes about language difference, as opposed to those who take Present-Day English dialects courses. Consequently, while other stakeholders in the History of the English Language continue to reflect on the course’s relevance to teaching the language arts, compositionists seldom do, despite the fact that many future literacy educators are still encouraged or required to enroll.

In this chapter, I survey composition’s shifting investment in the history of English in order to reimagine its role—and composition’s role—in today’s teacher education curricula. By charting the subject’s development as a training requirement beginning in the nineteenth century, I demonstrate how its early association with conservative language ideologies persists in composition’s professional literature at least until the Students’ Right era of the 1970s. At that time, I argue, composition officially reconfigured its disciplinary identity around a more inclusive conception of English’s history and rearticulated the role of the history of English in preparing writing instructors. Unfortunately, these broad transformations did not sustain widespread revision of the History of the English Language course, which has subsequently become a residual, often moribund component of the composition curriculum. I propose renewing composition’s investment in the History of the English Language today. Specifically, I demonstrate how redesigning the course around student-directed research projects on “local

histories of English” can realign its pedagogy with SRTOL’s ethos of diversity and rearticulate its importance for compositionists and the teachers they help to prepare. In the sections that follow, I lay out the history of this curricular issue from the end of the nineteenth century through the Students’ Right era, where I show both the promise and the failure of the History of the English Language to forward composition’s multilingual turn. In my subsequent and final chapter, then, I draw on scholarship on critical language awareness in composition studies and education to demonstrate how the course can be redesigned to better prepare new teachers to work productively with linguistic diversity.

4.1 THE HISTORY OF A TEACHER EDUCATION REQUIREMENT

At the turn of the twentieth century, the history of English remained a regular school subject in the United States. It was incorporated into a variety of literacy textbooks, where it appeared in similar forms and served similar purposes to those that I describe in Chapter Two. In composition and rhetoric textbooks, full histories of English (HELs) and citations of Anglo-Saxon are presented as stylistic resources. They aid students in developing a nuanced understanding of English words and a balanced vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon and Latinate derivatives. In *Freshman Rhetoric* (1913), for example, John Rothwell Slater tells college writers that they must study “the life-history of words,” examining “not only what they mean, but what they suggest; something of their heredity and environment, as determining their manners and morals” (205). He argues that studying etymology “helps us to choose the particular words fittest to convey the precise thought and feeling which we desire to express” (206). To illustrate his point, Slater asks students to imagine the following scenario:

Suppose in writing a political editorial one desires to refer to the illegitimate appropriation of public money by a corrupt governor or legislature. He may refer to a *raid* on the treasury. This is a fairly mild word—for a politician. A little later, when he gets excited, he may speak of *booty* or *spoils*. But he will need to be very reckless indeed, very careless of libel suits and other unpleasant consequences, before he will charge his opponents with *looting* or *robbing* the treasury. Is there any real difference among these words? (210)

Slater examines the history and meaning of several words for theft in order to decide which would be most appropriate and provocative in such a piece of writing. He concludes,

the most interesting word of all is *sack*. In its meaning of plunder it is from the French, but the French verb is from the noun *sac*, a bag, which goes back to the dim ages of the past. We trace it back through the Latin to the Greek, through the Greek to the Hebrew, through the Hebrew perhaps to the Egyptian. Sackcloth is a coarse cloth of the sort from which bags were made, worn as a symbol of mourning. Thus, while *ransack* carries us back to the Danes, *rob* to the wild Germanic tribes who swept over France in the dark ages, *spoils* to the Roman legions, *loot* to the hordes of ancient India, this word *sack* brings us into the lands of mystery and silence, the lands of Jacob and Joseph, the ages of the pyramids. And yet some people find the dictionary dull reading. (212-13)

Abram Brubacher and Dorothy Snyder give similar advice in *English Oral and Written for High Schools* (1914). They caution students that English words often carry surprising meanings, especially those of foreign derivations. Therefore, “You should look into the derivation of unfamiliar words and learn the history which probably attaches to them (231). They

also encourage their students to cultivate diverse vocabularies since “It is a mark of cultivation to use words from many origins. You should avoid the use of words of one kind only” (234). Brubacher and Snyder provide several exercises for their students to help facilitate this. For example, they include passages from Bunyan, *Psalms*, and William James’s *Pragmatism* and then ask students to “Make a list of words of Latin origin in the passage that has the largest proportion of such words”; “Make a list of Anglo-Saxon words in each of the other two passages”; “Bring to class a book or an article by a writer who uses a large proportion of Anglo-Saxon words”; and “Read again your last composition to see whether you used a large proportion of words of Latin, French, and Greek origin” (231).

Brubacher and Snyder are not alone in promoting diverse vocabularies. While the period’s literacy textbooks continue to praise Anglo-Saxon derivatives as the most simple and expressive words in English, most advocate a style that balances the multiple sources of the English lexicon. Sara Lockwood and Mary Alice Emerson (1901), for instance, find that

The best English vocabulary is the one that will enable its possessor to understand and to express perfectly the greatest variety of thought. It is evident that a large number of Anglo-Saxon words are essential to simple and natural expression. Since a certain proportion of classical words aid in giving dignity and polish, the good vocabulary will include a judicious mingling of Anglo-Saxon and classical derivatives. (325)

To practice cultivating such a vocabulary, Lockwood and Emerson ask students to rewrite literary selections “using as far as possible only Anglo-Saxon words, and observe the effect” and to copy out other selections and “underling *once* the Anglo-Saxon words, and *twice* those of classical origin” (331-32).

Similarly, in *The Essentials of Composition and Rhetoric* (1904), A. Howry Espenshade argues that “In speaking or writing of ordinary matters, one will find the short, familiar words of Anglo-Saxon origin best adapted to his purpose; but when dealing with scientific, complex, and abstract ideas, one must frequently resort to the longer and less familiar words, which are generally of classical derivation” (306-7). Alternatively, Charles Swain Thomas and Will David Howe (1908) seem to dismiss the importance of derivation altogether: “We have come to treat our words on the democratic basis; we test their efficiency, not their nativity. Therefore, if a word exactly expresses our thought, we use it without questioning its origin or measuring its length” (184). However, in their exercises for students they still admit the correlation between word histories, subject matter, and style. They ask students to “Select a topic for a theme in which you expect to use a large proportion of Anglo-Saxon words” and to “Select a topic in which you think that you will use a smaller proportion of Anglo-Saxon words than you used in writing the foregoing composition” (185).

Grammar textbooks, on the other hand, continue to tap the history of English in order to clarify the language’s present structure and correct usage. William Maxwell’s *A School Grammar* (1907), for example, includes a familiar citation of Anglo-Saxon to explain English’s genitive case: “The Anglo-Saxon inflection to make the possessive (or genitive) case was *es*. The apostrophe marks the fact that the vowel has been dropped. The unchanged Anglo-Saxon inflection may still be seen in *Wednesday*, which is a contraction from *Wodnes-dæg*” (85). He also uses it to explain the inflection of pronouns (93) and the derivation of parts of speech (114). James Fernald (1917) distinguishes the meanings of “will” and “shall” by appealing to their Anglo-Saxon roots. He observes that “*Shall* primarily denotes obligation, being derived from the Anglo-Saxon *sceal*, I am obliged or compelled. *Will* primarily denotes purpose or intention,

being from the Anglo-Saxon verb *willan*, to will, akin to the noun *willa*, the will” (141). Other grammars do not integrate citations of Anglo-Saxon (or do not *only* integrate them) but rather section off the history of English as a subject deserving study in its own right. These textbooks include full HELs as distinct chapters or appendices. For example, Henry Emerson includes an appendix on “The English Language” in this *English Spoken and Written* (1913), arguing that “Every American boy or girl should know the leading historical events connected with the origin and growth of the language” (365).¹⁶⁷

Throughout these early twentieth-century literacy texts, the history of English remains allied to conservative language ideologies that celebrate Anglo-Saxon culture and identity and underwrite the authority of Standard English. Often, this association is oblique, as textbooks implicitly identify the history of the language with the history of a single, privileged dialect. Sometimes, the association is more overt, as many textbook writers explicitly dismiss the relevance of nonstandard Englishes. Robert Herrick, for example, maintains the early and ongoing coherence of English in his *New Composition and Rhetoric for Schools* (1911). He observes that “The structure of the language . . . has remained essentially Germanic, and our speech may properly be regarded as a lineal descendent of the dialect spoken by those Angles who in the fifth century settled in the midland region of England” (233). He does not openly criticize the many nonstandard dialects that could unsettle or nuance this narrative; rather, he simply refuses to acknowledge them: “There are still many local differences in speech in England and in America. But for over four centuries we have had, not a number of competing dialects, but an English language understood and used by all educated men wherever the English

¹⁶⁷ For additional examples, see Mary Frances Hyde’s *Practical English Grammar with Exercises in Composition* (1901) and George R. Carpenter’s *English Grammar* (1910).

race is dominant” (225).¹⁶⁸ George Kittredge and Frank Farley make similar comments in their *Advanced English Grammar* (1913). They find that “Dialects still exist, but they are not regarded as authoritative. Educated speakers and writers of English, the world over, use the language with substantial uniformity” (318).

James Fernald, on the other hand, is not so dismissive of English’s heterogeneity. He writes at length about the present dangers that nonstandard dialects pose and of how easily “pure English” could deteriorate into inferior forms. In *Expressive English* (1918), he argues that “One needs only to let go and do nothing in order to have his power of language decline, like that which makes the engineer run past his signals, a little laziness, taking the first—the poorest—word that comes to mind, and the decline of diction will take care of itself, like the decay of a neglected body. Disease will come of doing nothing” (241-42). Fernald points to African American Vernacular English as a clear example of how quickly unattended language can deteriorate:

We see what wholly illiterate people can make of a language by the dialect of our Southern negroes, who were so long wholly without education. With them “brother” became “br’er,” as we find it in the “Uncle Remus” stories; “tolerable” became “tolluble” and “certainly” “suttingly”; while the elegant, classic “how comes it?” is hopelessly disguised in the recreant “huccum,” used without suspicion of its meaning as the equivalent of the interrogative adverb “why?” (242).

¹⁶⁸ Herrick’s review questions emphasize the coherent, lineal descent of English for his students. Among other questions, he asks “From which of the three Anglo-Saxon dialects is our modern language descended? When did this dialect become the standard literary language? What causes combined to make that dialect the standard language? What great invention helped to give us a stable language?” (228).

Fernald also considers the increased European immigration of the early twentieth century a pressing threat to pure English: “One special danger for us now is the great influx of ignorant foreigners, whose very ideal of English is corruption and barbarism;—a danger which our public schools are too imperfectly repressing, while our ‘yellow journals’ are accentuating it in their eagerness for cheap popularity” (242).

4.1.1 From the Common School to the Normal School

As Fernald’s comment suggests, young writers were not the only audience for these textbooks or for the language ideologies that they helped to perpetuate. By the end of the nineteenth century, new discourses on teacher preparation made the history of English an essential subject for literacy educators, as well. In that period, teacher education programs proliferated.¹⁶⁹ English studies consolidated as a discipline, and the history of English itself was institutionalized as a college course, a textbook tradition, and a secondary literature. Eventually, new specialists in the subject sought to reorient the teaching of English at all levels along historical linguistic lines by calling for the History of the English Language to appear as required coursework in state normal schools. Such a course was offered as early as 1861 at Rhode Island State Normal School

¹⁶⁹ On the emergence of normal schools and teacher education programs in the nineteenth century, see Christine A. Ogren’s *The American State Normal School*. She writes,

State normal schools grew out of the common school revival of the early to middle nineteenth century. Responding to an increased need for trained teachers, education reformers adapted the German teacher seminary and the French *école normale* to serve the growing system of American common schools. Massachusetts established the first state normal schools, in 1839. Within a decade, Connecticut and New York followed suit. By 1870, 18 (of 37) states had at least 1, and a total of 39 state normal schools were located in New England, the mid-Atlantic states, the Midwest, and California. Twenty years later, state normal schools numbered 103, and were located in 35 (of 44) states, as well as Arizona Territory. By 1910, there were 180 normal schools in states north, south, east, and west; 42 (of 46) states, as well as 3 territories, had state normal. A few additional normal opened during the 1910s and 1920s; only four states would never establish normal schools. (1-2)

(Colburn 28). By 1899, the History of the English Language was a regular offering at normal schools in at least five other states: California, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Tennessee. Between 1900 and 1930, the popularity of the subject swelled. During that time, it entered the curricula of normals in at least fourteen other states: Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin.¹⁷⁰

Where course descriptions are given, the History of the English Language requirement is justified in various ways at these different institutions. For example, at Montana State Normal College in 1904, the History of the English Language is offered as a discrete course. The *Annual Catalogue* explains that “As English grammar presents difficulties capable of, not a logical, but a historical solution, teachers of the subject should have some knowledge of the development of the language. To give such knowledge is the aim of this course” (39). Alternatively, at the Arizona Territorial Normal School at Tempe in 1905, the subject is integrated into other required courses on “Spelling” and “Word Analysis.” There, “The work in both courses comprises a study of the history of the English language, beginning with the early invasions and their contributions to the language” (27).

To support their study of the topic, many printed resources for new teachers treated the history of English. For instance, *On the Use of Words* (1879), an installment in the *Manuals for Teachers* series, incorporates an HEL in its chapter on “Some Hints on English Words” (63). It celebrates the excellence of English’s Anglo-Saxon origins and introduces teachers to its composite vocabulary. It advises teachers on classroom lessons that “[dig] up the roots of words

¹⁷⁰ For accounts of normal school curricula, I turn to a variety of sources including the schools’ annual reports, bulletins, course catalogues, institutional histories, and teachers’ memoirs. I include these sources as “Other Primary Materials” in my bibliography.

on purpose to give your scholars a new and fresher view of the forms of speech and terms which their mother-tongue has provided” (74). It also instructs teachers to guard English against the ever present threat of language change: “The increasing danger to the purity of our language by the introduction of such unmeaning and unnecessary words may be illustrated by the fact that many words, such as *snob*, *sham*, *humbug*, which were undoubted *slang* ten years ago, are now more or less allowed” (82).

Henry Kiddle and A. J. Schem also present the history of English, and especially Anglo-Saxon, as a preparatory subject in their *Dictionary of Education and Instruction* (1881). They find that

Teachers who know nothing of the history of the language puzzle themselves infinitely with subtle reasonings to prove that expressions must be parsed in one way or another, when a glance at an Anglo-Saxon grammar would settle the matter in a moment. No teacher can safely pronounce on any such mooted questions of our language without knowing the Anglo-Saxon forms. No normal school ought to send out graduates from its grammar department wholly ignorant of this study. A lesson a day during the last school term skillfully directed to the most frequent examples in which this knowledge comes into use, would perhaps answer the most pressing necessities of the common school teacher. (23)

Among these “pressing necessities, they include many of the same grammatical topics that the period’s grammar textbooks do. For example, they observe that

The origin and meaning of the possessive ending *’s*, of the plural endings, of the endings for gender, of the tense forms and other forms of the verb, the adverbial endings, the prepositions, may at any time be demanded of the teacher. Pupils will

ask him whether *John's book* is a contraction of *John his book*; how comes *geese* to be the plural of *goose*, and *men* the plural of *man*; how comes *lady* to be the *feminine* of *lord*; how comes *I have loved* to express the perfect tense; what does the *to* mean when you say *to be, or not to be, that is the question*, and so on without end. But such questions cannot be answered without Anglo-Saxon. It is the same with questions of syntax. Almost all difficulties grow out of Anglo-Saxon idioms, or find their solution in the forms of that speech. (23)

In their earlier *Cyclopedia of Education* (1877), Kiddle and Schem actually include an HEL and Anglo-Saxon texts for teachers to study (29). In the *Dictionary*, they simply refer readers to a bibliography of historical grammars and collegiate HEL textbooks that can prepare instructors to teach the intricacies of Standard English.

By the turn of the century, the necessity of teachers' preparation in the history of English had become a familiar issue in the early professional literature of English studies. In the 1885 *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*, Francis Gummere argues that it is impossible to teach even elementary English without preparation in the history of the language (174). Unfortunately, he finds that such preparation is hard to come by, primarily because few assume that English teachers need an extensive, scientific knowledge of the language in order to teach it. He observes that

it is taken for granted that every person who teaches arithmetic in our schools has some knowledge of geometry and algebra. In the same way, one would think, we ought to demand of every teacher of English that he be in some measure acquainted with the sources and development of our language,—no matter how

elementary the teaching actually required. We all know that such is not the case.
(173)

But even if it were, Gummere admits, teachers seldom have access to History of the English Language courses (177). He therefore advocates for better “Local Higher Instruction” as a means “not only of spreading culture in a community, but also of elevating and sustaining the standard of teaching in its public schools” (177).

In the 1886 *Transactions*, James Garnett is just as insistent on the issue. He laments the fact that students arrive at college with their minds “a perfect blank” about the history of English: “They would as soon call English a Keltic as a Teutonic tongue; they have not the slightest idea of its elements, nor of the historical development of the language on English soil; their notions are extremely foggy as to who the so-called Anglo-Saxons were, or where they came from,—which argues a slight deficiency in historical instruction also” (62). Like Gummere, Garnett sees better teacher preparation as the surest method for improving philological study in early instruction. He urges his readers, “Only let the *teachers* learn English historically, and they will never rest until they teach the history of the language in their schools” (64).

Appeals for teacher training in the history of English continue in the early twentieth century in scholarly monographs and professional journals such as *The Peabody Journal of Education*, *The English Journal*, and *American Speech*. For example, George R. Carpenter, Franklin T. Baker, and Fred Newton Scott (1903) suggest that elementary and secondary school teachers use Anglo-Saxon as “an instrument for linguistic training” for their students (20). They thus recommend the history of English as an advanced training subject for those instructors (305). Similarly, Allison Gaw (1916) includes courses in “Old English (Anglo-Saxon) and the history of the English language” among her “general requisites for the high-school English

teacher's preparation" (324-25). And Ella Heaton Pope (1919) offers an extensive explanation of the value of the history of English for high school and college students as well as for their English instructors. She argues that "a study of the history of the English language as a whole is essential. Students should know the chief stages through which the language has passed, the main sources from which it is derived, and the facts which have influenced its growth" (30). Of course, "As a first step toward success in presenting it effectively, it is essential . . . that the teacher should be equipped with a broad and thorough knowledge of the subject" (32).

Some of these appeals exhibit the influence of new trends in linguistic science, which in the early twentieth century began to disassociate itself from the "rigid purism" of the nineteenth century and to acknowledge diversity and change as natural features of any language (Connors 150).¹⁷¹ For example, Charles S. Pendleton's "How to Read Pupils' Written Themes" (1924) insists that "All prospective teachers of composition should be well taught in the history of the English language" because "good theme reading should recognize that a live language *changes*" (277). Pendleton notes that "Most teachers of English resist change in English usage very strenuously. They offer themselves as a vicarious sacrifice to the juggernaut of inevitable linguistic change; but they do it without deserving credit, for most of them are ignorant of the fact that there is legitimately such a thing as linguistic change" (277). Better preparation in the

¹⁷¹ Connors observes that

Largely as a result of philological studies, support for a universal grammar and a rigid purism in usage declined rapidly among genuine philosophers of language after 1900. Such important early linguistic scholars as Thomas Lounsbury, Brander Matthews, and George P. Krapp began to suggest that a new way of viewing grammar—one based on a descriptive and flexible objectivity rather than on the prescriptive purism of the older grammar—might be the linguistics of the future . . . Arguing against a fixed standard of grammatical propriety, Lounsbury in *The Standard Usage in English* grittily proclaimed that "in order to have a language become fixed, it is first necessary that those who speak it should become dead." George Krapp, in his *Modern English* of 1909, made an important differentiation between standard English, as thought by the rigid prescriptive grammarians of the schools, and good English, which treads the boundary between convention and invention. (150)

history of English is the answer. Pendleton writes, “If the teacher knows enough, he will be less conservative than teachers usually are. He will read themes to find vital language, not bookishness. He will guide development, but will waste little or no energy trying to prevent it” (278).

Pendleton’s appreciation of “vital language” anticipates the more inclusive language attitudes of the Students’ Right era. Unfortunately, his openness is fairly rare within teacher education scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century, as most literacy educators and theorists at that time were only minimally or superficially affected by the descriptive turn in American linguistics. Thus, even as Pendleton’s contemporaries began to admit the inevitability of language change, they also continued to present the history of English as a resource for effectively managing change with a view toward maintaining the literary standard. For example, in “The Value of English Linguistics to the Teacher” (1925), Louise Pound argues that “Those who teach present-day English can do so more broadly and more accurately if they have a knowledge of beginnings as an approach to the contemporary, much as those who teach current history do so to better advantage when they know something of the past” (101). Specifically, Pound finds that preparation in the history of English gives teachers an “*idea of development* in language” (101) or an “*evolutionary point of view*” (102) that can make them less conservative on matters of usage. But that does not mean that any deviation from standard usage is legitimate. Rather, familiarity with the history of English equips teachers to cultivate students’ English more judiciously—to “steer a safe course between the Scylla of belated clinging to the outworn, and the Charybdis of undue faith in being up to the minute” (106).

This rationale for teachers studying the history of English continued to circulate even at midcentury despite ongoing advances in linguistics. This was perhaps due in part to the

conservatism of the history of English as a professional discourse. As Thomas Cable observes, new linguistic theory was only unevenly integrated into accounts of English's history at this time, and so traditional HELs continued to dominate the field. For example, Cable finds that while the phonemics of structural linguistics was easily incorporated, new paradigms such as generative-transformational grammar proved impossible to adapt. Cable writes, "The complexity of the constantly changing theory required, in effect, a separate course to cover even the basics, but neither the curriculum nor the economics of book publishing allowed adequate treatment of a 'generative' approach to the history" ("History of the History" 14). Eventually, HELs did begin to incorporate sociolinguistic examinations of the many varieties of English, especially after William Labov produced his pioneering studies of non-standard dialects in the late 1960s. However, even this change occurred slowly. Cable finds that as late as 1970, only a few collegiate HEL textbooks included material on multiple Englishes.

Composition studies, too, remained slow to draw on new linguistic models that valued rather than denigrated language difference. Indeed, Connors finds that among compositionists "The combination of ignorance and willful refusal to abandon traditional grammar and the 'standards' that many people thought it represented continued throughout most of the early 1950s" (164). It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that after CCCC was founded in 1949, journals central to the new field continued to recommend the history of English as a conservational resource for new teachers. For example, in *College Composition and Communication* in 1952, Robert Pooley argues that college writing teachers need the history of English in order to make informed judgments about their students' usage. The subject forms a part of what he calls a writing teacher's "climate of opinion," or the set of linguistic resources that a teacher uses "to

arrive at sound standards of usage” against which he or she will assess the acceptability of students’ questionable writing choices (14).

In *College English*, Albert Baugh (1962) makes a similar argument, writing that the history of English should reorient teachers’ attitudes about error. He observes that “Linguistically some of our most cherished rules of grammar have very little justification. *It is me* has almost as long a history as *it is I*, while the condemnation of the double negative has an even more dubious foundation” (109-10). Consequently, what teachers need to emphasize for students is not the natural but the social nature of error. The language itself may not require standardized forms, he says, but “for those who are ambitious to advance themselves economically, socially, or professionally, it is to their self-interest to eliminate from their speech or writing those features that impede their progress” (110).

Baugh says that what he proposes for teachers is an “enlightened” or “liberal” attitude toward language, and in some ways it is (110). He, Pooley, and others in this period emphasize the inevitability of language change. They call teachers’ attention to the disjunct between English’s long history and its recent conventions, noting that these *are* conventions rather than structural features of the language. But even these scholars ultimately endorse the authority of only one English. Baugh makes concessions for nonstandard forms like “It is me” and the double negative, but he does not actually legitimize them. Thus, in the early years of composition studies, the history of English was presented as largely a conservative resource for teachers, essentially a rhetorical strategy for managing the relationship between the standardized language and alternative forms in such a way that privileged linguistic homogeneity.

4.1.2 Students' Right to Their Own Language

This situation changed substantially by the end of the 1960s. By that time, the gap between composition studies and linguistics had begun to close. Connors notes that “The English journals were filling with linguistic articles, and most of the publishing members of the professional [sic] were increasingly coming to see a pro-traditional grammar attitude as a hallmark of ignorance and solipsism” (164). The field’s stated motivation for training literacy educators in the history of English experienced a corresponding transformation at this time, particularly as it is articulated in the SRTOL resolution of 1974. There, the history of English was reconceptualized by composition scholars who sought to use it alongside the emergent sociolinguistics to create legitimacy and acceptance for traditionally marginalized languages and dialects. As Jay Jordan characterizes it, SRTOL represented “a clear break from conceptions of students’ language as deficient and from conceptions of colleges and universities as proving grounds established in part to eradicate differences in language and culture” (9). Specifically, SRTOL

reflects an infusion of nonprescriptivist sociolinguistic thinking about the relationships English language dialects have with one another and the relationships their different speakers *should* have with the dialects they use. By taking the position that students’ dialects acquired before their schooling are systematic, and that they provide students and their teachers with firm bases for language teaching, SRTOL marks the emergence in composition of what Keith Gilyard has termed *bidialectalist* thinking about language variety in colleges and universities. (9)

In order to cultivate this more inclusive line of thinking, as well as teaching practices that could enact it, the resolution’s “Background Statement” suggests subject areas in which all

literacy educators should receive training. These include “Language Acquisition” and “The Nature of Dialects” (16). Also, to the question “What Sort of Knowledge about Language Do English Teachers Need?” SRTOL answers “The History of English and How it Continually Changes in Vocabulary, in Syntax, and in Pronunciation” (15). The resolution states,

Teachers should understand that although changes in syntax and pronunciation occur more slowly than lexical changes, they do take place. The language of the King James Bible shows considerable syntactic variation from modern English, and linguists have demonstrated that speakers even as recent as the eighteenth century might be nearly unintelligible to modern ears. Vocabulary changes are easier for both teachers and students to observe. As we develop new things, we add words to talk about them—jet, sputnik, television, smog. From its earliest history, English has borrowed words from the other languages with which it has come into contact—French, Latin, Spanish, Scandinavian, Yiddish, American Indian—from sources too numerous to list. Because many of these borrowings are historical, teachers recognize and respect them as essential parts of the language. Teachers should be equally as willing to recognize that English can also increase the richness of its word stock by a free exchange among its dialects. If teachers had succeeded in preventing students from using such terms as “jazz,” “lariat,” and “kosher,” modern English would be the poorer. Such borrowings enlarge and enrich the language rather than diminish it. (15-16)

With the exception of Pendleton’s essay on reading themes, this is the first instance in which the history of English is presented as a resource for teachers to foster language difference rather than eliminate it. Understandably, then, the history of English implied by this statement

stands in stark contrast to many of the HELs that I have examined thus far. For instance, as SRTOL represents it, English's history is characterized not by measured progress to the modern standard but by flux and the diffusion of multiple, equally valid dialects. Such language change is not only inevitable but also desirable as the language necessarily diversifies along with the populations and arenas of activity where it is used. More importantly yet, SRTOL recognizes that valid linguistic change can be initiated by everyday speakers—by students—not just by established authors “who best represent the English of [the] day,” as earlier literacy educators argue (Mead 9-10). Indeed, because students have historically played such a large role in enriching the language, this articulation of English's history insists that teachers be prepared to respect and bolster their students' facility not just with Standard English but with the many dialects at their disposal. That is, instead of enforcing linguistic homogeneity, teachers should work to encourage the critical deployment of linguistic heterogeneity.

Folded into the STROL resolution, this new articulation of the history of English contributed to a fundamental shift in the ethos, identity, and purpose of the field of composition studies. Geneva Smitherman notes that at a time when most linguists and compositionists still “called for teachers to toe the line in terms of teaching the social inadequacy of nonstandard English” (12), SRTOL intervened “to heighten consciousness of language attitudes; to promote the value of linguistic diversity; and to convey facts and information about language and language variation that would enable instructors to teach their nontraditional students—and ultimately all students—more effectively” (20). She finds that “Such ideas elicited strong reactions among CCCC professionals (irrespective of whether they support the resolution or not) and moved the intellectual production of knowledge in the field to a whole nother level” (24). Scott Wible concurs. He argues that the SRTOL resolution and its accompanying “Background

Statement” crafted an entirely new identity for composition studies. He says, “The subject of the classroom shifted from grammar and ‘the belletristic achievements of the centuries’ to ‘the totality of language’ and ‘the multiple aspects of the communication process’” (43). Within that context, writing instructors were given a new purpose: “Compositionists were to aim at expanding students’ ‘range of versatility’ such that they could use language to meet different purposes in their homes, in their communities, in their courses, and in their future civic and professional lives” (43).

4.2 THE FAILURE OF A TEACHER EDUCATION REQUIREMENT

Because of the field’s new, professed commitment to “the totality of the language,” the years after 1974 would have been a perfect time for composition studies to strengthen its investment in the History of the English Language course: to affirm its importance for new teachers and to update its curriculum to promote the ethos of diversity of SRTOL. The resolution itself represents a significant divergence from the conservative language ideologies that until that time defined the course; however, this theoretical gesture required substantive, practical change in order to advance more inclusive attitudes and teaching practices that support linguistic diversity.

Unfortunately, a broad revision of the History of the English Language within the composition curriculum did not occur. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, linguists and medievalists continued to develop its pedagogy, but there is a dearth of such scholarship in composition studies. Only a few scholars continued to assert its necessity for literacy educators, and it is unclear whether they intended the course to have a transformative effect on teachers’ attitudes toward language. For example, in “The Course in Advanced Composition for Teachers”

(1973), Francis Christensen follows NCTE's *Guidelines for the Preparation of Teachers of English* (1967) in asserting that the History of the English Language (along with grammar and composition) should be required coursework for writing teachers. Christensen argues that "A sound historical course rests upon and brings into play and thus reinforces the grammar course" (167). Especially, "for the teacher-to-be the prime purpose of the historical study of the language is to impart a genuine understanding of the principle of usage. Any teacher who lacks such an understanding is certain to do much harm and is not certain to do much good" (167). Richard Gebhardt (1977) seconds Christensen's argument. He finds that "writing teachers need to have an understanding of the *structure and history of the English language*, sound enough to let them apply their knowledge to the teaching of revision, style, dialect differences, and the like" (134). This subject should be taken after a grammar course because the history of English "reinforces grammatical principles learned in the earlier course" and provides "a sense of usage that rests on a clear understanding of how the language has developed" (134).¹⁷²

There is no simple explanation for why the history of English did not become a more regular concern for composition studies, though recent scholarship suggests that SRTOL may have been an obstacle to implementing its own curricular recommendations. That is, while the resolution initiated a theoretical advance in the field, as Smitherman argues, much of its rhetoric remained controversial and many of its recommendations lacked the detail necessary for wide implementation. Smitherman chronicles the initial reaction to the resolution, noting substantial ideological backlash. She writes, "There were calls for the resolution to be rescinded and the background document recalled. Some blasted CCCC for abdicating its responsibility and pandering to 'wide-eyed' liberals in the field. Others accused CCCC of a 'sinister plot' to doom

¹⁷² See also Gene Krupa (1982), who incorporates Gebhardt's requirements for teacher preparation, including the history of English, into his own framework for educating new literacy instructors.

speakers of ‘divergent’ dialects to failure in higher education by telling them that their stigmatized language was acceptable” (24). Even where SRTOL found support, many critiqued the detail and practicality of its recommendations. Wible observes that “many scholars have been confused by the 1974 Students’ Right resolution . . . because they expected it to offer more strategies for bringing its ideal to life inside the writing classroom” (1). Susan Peck MacDonald makes a similar argument. She finds that “The SRTOL asserted the importance of twelve kinds of language knowledge that English teachers need, including phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicography, and more. However, it left mysterious how and when that knowledge was to be obtained” (604).

SRTOL remains controversial even today. For example, Jay Jordan argues that the bidialectalism advocated by the resolution threatens to maintain unequal relations between Standard English and other Englishes. He points to specific sections of SRTOL in which the authors make evaluative statements about “the relative value and the scope of students’ varieties and the Variety (with a capital *V*) that is welcome at work and in other public settings” (10). He argues that as it is represented in SRTOL, “English-language instruction, while shedding many overt judgments about ‘deficiency’ and the superior quality of [Standard English], retains the teleological assumption that [Standard English] is—at the very least, pragmatically speaking—the form to be acquired by ‘different’ students” (10).

The fact that SRTOL has remained open to question may dissuade compositionists from following through on its adjutant curricular recommendations, including the recommendation that teachers take the History of the English Language. At the same time, composition’s waning engagement with the history of English after SRTOL may also reflect the field’s broader reorientation to language issues as they have traditionally been articulated. The SRTOL

“Background Document” groups the history of English alongside several linguistic topics that writing instructors should be familiar with, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and lexicography. However, since the resolution’s publication, composition studies has increasingly pursued rhetorical, social, and theoretical examinations of writing that are not readily categorized into these traditional areas of linguistic research. MacDonald traces the decline of dedicated scholarship on these topics as it is illustrated in CCCC programs from 1955 to 2007. The number of presentations labeled as “Language” in the programs begins to decrease immediately after SRTOL, and, as MacDonald argues, specifically because of SRTOL. She argues that while the resolution “embodies important understandings about language and sociolinguistics that are beneficial for teachers of English to acquire,” many understood SRTOL’s acceptance of non-prestige dialects as an invalidation of rigorous language study for students and teachers alike (599-600).

Amy Devitt has also noted the field’s changing relationship to language study. She observes that “many who study writing and the teaching of writing contrast language-based study and rhetorical study, and some consider language-based study of writing to be old-fashioned, apolitical, and ideologically suspect” (298-99). Devitt associates the decline in language study not with SRTOL but with the process movement, which also emerged in the 1970s. She argues, “With this turn from product to process came a perhaps necessary but unfortunate turn away from language-based study and the teaching of writing. Language came to be associated with product, and *product* was a bad word” (301).

Perhaps guided by these disciplinary currents, compositionists have not actively realigned the once conservative History of the English Language course with the emerging multilingual values of the field. Consequently, the course has proven to be an obstacle to rather than a

resource for preparing teachers for linguistically diverse classrooms, as scholars have begun to discover. Elaine Richardson, for example, finds that while African American English and American Dialects courses have a meaningful impact on pre-service teachers' attitudes about language, a similar impact does not appear among teachers who take general language courses like History of the English Language. In the CCCC's Language Knowledge and Awareness Survey (2000), these teachers were more likely to agree (or to not strongly disagree) with statements such as "A student whose primary language is not English should be taught solely in English" and "In the home, students should be exposed to standard English only" (Richardson 55-6). They were also more likely to disagree (or to not strongly agree) with statements such as "There are valid reasons for using nonstandard dialects" and "There are valid reasons for using languages other than English" (Richardson 56).¹⁷³

Barbara Schneider reaches the same conclusion. Her examination of the Language Knowledge and Awareness Survey finds that "although many call for teacher education on language diversity, few deliver" (195). Only two thirds of respondents had taken a course on language of any kind, and "Of the group taking such courses, most took the courses least likely to alter their approaches to dealing with varieties of dialect. They took courses on the history of

¹⁷³ The Language Knowledge and Awareness Survey was conducted by CCCC and the NCTE Research Foundation to answer six broad research questions:

1. What academic training in language diversity have NCTE and CCCC members had? And what percentage of the membership has had such training?
2. What percentage of NCTE and CCCC members believes that academic training in language diversity is needed? What kind and to what degree?
3. What are the attitudes of NCTE and CCCC members toward language variation and bi/multilingualism?
4. What are the attitudes of CCCC and NCTE members toward their own language? What are the sources of these attitudes?
5. To what extent do members' teaching practices reflect language diversity? What kinds of practices reflect awareness of language diversity?
6. To what extent do NCTE and CCCC members support organizational positions on language diversity (for example, the "Students' Right" resolution and the "National Language Policy")? (Richardson 44)

The survey was completed by 983 secondary and post-secondary educators (Richardson 45).

English language, and the survey shows that those courses did little to alter entrenched resistance to diverse dialects” (196). As she describes it,

[The History of the English Language course] charts the major transformations of the English language as it is taken to new territories and transfigured by new users, with careful attention paid to the way some changes are woven thoroughly into the language practices of dominant groups and given currency that sustains them until they achieve stable conventionality. Although useful for providing new composition instructors with a context for understanding how language evolves through dynamic interchanges of persons, places, and power, the effect of these courses on teacher attitudes and understandings of marginalized dialects was found to be inconsequential in the Language Policy Committee’s research. (200)

Arnetha F. Ball and Rashidah Jaami’ Muhammad confirm the Survey’s results in their own study of twenty-five teacher education programs. Their results reveal that “few colleges or universities offer a required course in language diversity for students preparing to become teachers in our nation’s schools,” and at those that do, “the course generally conceptualized language variation as ‘dialect differences,’ incorporating the topic in a broader, comprehensive course such as Introduction to English, History of the English Language, or Introduction to Linguistics” (79). Unfortunately, “Teachers who reported taking general language survey courses like Introduction to the English Language continued to express attitudes of zero tolerance toward language diversity in their classrooms” (81).

Demonstrated by studies like these, the unsuitability of the History of the English Language course for preparing teachers has largely become a scholarly commonplace in composition studies. Most notably, in their retrospective on SRTOL, Geneva Smitherman and

Victor Villanueva simply dismiss the resolution's recommendation that teachers study the subject. They conclude that "the training of English teachers—at all levels—ought to include a course on language awareness and on American dialects" (4). However, "The commonly taken course on the history of the English language doesn't go far enough. A simple knowledge of the diverse linguistic history does not appear to translate sufficiently into classroom practice with the kind of resonance suggested by those who have had training in American dialects or African American language" (4).

4.3 CONCLUSION

Though some compositionists now dismiss the History of the English Language as a resource for preparing teachers to work productively with language diversity, I suggest that the problems with content and scope that they identify with the course are not unavoidable. Rather, compositionists must more fully consider how to redesign this course so that it familiarizes new literacy educators with the field's most inclusive language practices and makes transforming their attitudes about language its central goal. I demonstrate how this can be done in my final chapter, where I use my own "History and Politics of the English Language" course at the University of Pittsburgh as a case study. There, I theorize my approach within scholarship on critical language awareness, which suggests that adapting course material to students' particular linguistic contexts is essential to transforming their attitudes about language. In this way, I recover the History of the English Language course as a resource for compositionists and literacy educators at every level who teach in increasingly diverse classrooms. I also contribute a new approach to

teaching the history of English to an already rich body of pedagogical scholarship on the subject within English studies as a whole.

5.0 TEACHING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH FOR CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS

In the twenty-first century, the History of the English Language remains a common prerequisite for teachers in the United States. In 2008, Robert Stanton found that four states required the course for all English education majors, while eight additional states strongly recommended it (“Reaching” 32). My own examination of program requirements indicates that the History of the English Language is now required in at least eighteen states for students preparing to teach English and language arts in classrooms ranging from pre-school to high school. It is also explicitly encouraged, though not required, in at least three others.¹⁷⁴

Many of the course’s traditional stakeholders, usually linguists and medievalists, have commented on the increasing number of education students who now enroll, and they have reflected on how the course must transform in order to meet these students’ needs. For example, scholars have advocated focusing the course on postcolonial Englishes or organizing it thematically rather than chronologically in order to highlight its relevance to the specific instructional challenges that new teachers will face. As I demonstrate in Chapter Three, compositionists, too, have longstanding investments in teacher education and the history of

¹⁷⁴ In 2008, Stanton found the History of the English Language required at Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, and Massachusetts. It was recommended at California, Hawaii, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Ohio, Tennessee, and Washington. Now, I find course is required in Colorado, Delaware, Hawaii, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and Washington. It is recommended in Connecticut, Illinois, and North Carolina.

English. However, in the post Students' Right era, few in composition studies have asked how current History of the English Language courses can best prepare literacy educators, especially at a time when the Englishes that they will encounter in their classrooms continue to multiply. Shondel Nero has recently argued that preparing teachers who are responsive to language difference should include "training in language diversity, including the history, spread, and use of Englishes and related creoles around the world" (154). She explains that "Such training would begin to debunk the myth of linguistic homogeneity in the classroom and beyond" (154). More generally, though, compositionists have dismissed the course's relevance to teacher education, observing that the course may actually have a deleterious effect on teachers' ability to work with language difference. They find, as Arnetha Ball and Rashidah Jaami Muhammad do, that teachers who take the History of the English Language "continue to express attitudes of zero tolerance toward language diversity" in their classrooms (81).

In this chapter, I argue that compositionists can reconfigure the History of the English Language course in order to advance more inclusive language attitudes today. Specifically, I demonstrate how designing the course around what I call "local histories of English" can align its pedagogy with an ethos of diversity and rearticulate its importance for compositionists and the teachers they help to prepare. I theorize my approach within scholarship on critical language awareness in composition studies and education, which suggests that adapting course material to students' particular linguistic contexts is essential to transforming their attitudes about language. I use my own "History and Politics of the English Language" course at the University of Pittsburgh as a case study. My syllabus modifies the traditional survey of English to emphasize historical topics that will impinge on my students' future classroom interactions: standardization and prescriptivism, dialect discrimination, and language imperialism, among others. It also

incorporates student-directed research projects on recent, local histories of English in regions where they expect to live and work as educators. These projects invite students to enliven local contexts that may initially seem linguistically homogenous. Moreover, by situating their projects within scholarship on English's most recent history, my students reflect on the current politics of language instruction that will inform their work with specific populations of English users.

By making critical language awareness a central goal of the History of the English Language, I recover the course as a productive component of the composition curriculum. I also contribute a progressive approach to teaching the subject at a time when scholars across English studies are actively reconsidering its role in the discipline. R. A. Buck has called on teachers to better define “specifically what we believe are the goals of such a course, what skills or knowledge we want to be able to develop in our students, and how we wish our students to use this knowledge after they leave our classrooms” (46). He argues that doing so may counteract the ongoing marginalization of the History of the English Language within English studies (48). Especially, it may help teachers to articulate its relevance for the mixed population of English majors and primary and secondary education majors who now enroll. As it stands, Buck admits, “I am not sure how I justify the importance of the History of the English Language course to elementary education majors” (49).

Collette Moore identifies a similar disconnect between the traditional course and its current audience. She observes that “It is too easy at present for a U.S. undergraduate English major to regard History of the English Language as an unconnected class, with only a tangential relation to the broader curriculum of literary and cultural studies” (158). Consequently, she challenges those who teach the course to think creatively about how the history of English “can

and should continue to contribute helpfully to the larger humanistic project of the discipline of English studies” (166). She insists,

Effective linking of English language history to departmental work in literary and cultural studies, writing instruction (including creative writing), and English education exemplifies the flexibility that HEL has shown over its history—and the kind of flexibility that it must continue to show. Historical study of the English language has shaped the contours of the discipline of English studies, and it should continue to do so. (166)

Many scholars have answered these appeals, proposing various reformulations of the History of the English Language course. Jo Tyler, for example, responds to Buck’s uncertainty about the subject’s use for educators by describing a syllabus in which historical linguistic content is directly connected to practice in language arts pedagogy. Tyler divides her course into topical rather than chronological units, each focused on pertinent educational developments or language controversies: “standardization and grammatical prescriptivism,” “literacy and pedagogical movements,” “world Englishes and American dialects,” and others (468). Throughout, she asks students to write reflective essays on concepts that interest them; to teach short lessons to their peers; and to compile personal teaching portfolios that demonstrate “not only *that* the history of English can inform language teaching, but also *how* it can do so” (470). Tyler concludes, “By reorganizing the HEL course content to integrate linguistic analysis with topics of practical pedagogical concern to language teachers . . . I had engaged students as participants in—as well as apprentices of—a transformational, relevant pedagogy” (470-1).

Alternatively, Tara Williams assesses the role that the History of the English Language can continue to play for majors in English literature programs. Though its status in literary

studies has diminished, Williams observes, the course has actually become more rather than less relevant to the field as its broad scope offers benefits that no other course regularly does. She finds that “it provides a sense of the historical span of literature in English and a forum for exploring the intricate relation between history and literature. Second, it makes students aware not only that the language has changed over time but also that it continues to do so. Finally, HEL enables students to build historically informed interpretations of texts from any period” (167). Williams urges teachers to develop assignments that emphasize these benefits. Especially, they should ask their students to use their new knowledge of the history of English to re-approach texts that are already familiar to them, “texts that might include anything from *Beowulf* to rap lyrics” (172).

While Tyler and Williams address the field at large in journals such as *Pedagogy* and *Profession*, most recent scholarship on the History of the English Language circulates in medieval and Renaissance studies. There, scholars have proposed fresh content and new organizational principles for the course that they traditionally staff. Among other possibilities, they have advocated for non-chronological or interdisciplinary course designs (Dressman; Matto “The English Language”; Matto “Standard English”), or they have proposed giving specific attention to the history of literary forms (Russom), to the development of particular dialects (Fitzgibbons), or to postcolonial Englishes (Morse-Gagné; Smith “Standardization”; Stanton “Teaching”; Troup). Other scholars share new classroom teaching practices, lessons, or assignments (Galloway, Gould and Kaufman, Smith “Development”, Stevick), including methods of introducing important linguistics concepts (Davis), organizing students into study groups (Steele), and utilizing team teaching (Smith and Kim). Still others have reflected on the value of new and established teaching resources like textbooks (Cable “History”), workbooks

(Giancarlo), dialect recordings (Donoghue), websites (Duncan), and educational software (Cabanillas).

Though several of these scholars continue to imagine classrooms filled with English undergraduates or graduate students for whom the value of the subject is self-evident, others actively reconsider the relevance of the history of English for teachers at all levels of education. Most notable are those who recognize its potential to destabilize monolingualist discourses and to promote the value of language difference. For example, K. Aaron Smith argues that a central responsibility of the History of the English Language instructor must be introducing new teachers to the artificiality and arbitrariness of the standardized language. Smith observes,

If a student wrongly comes to believe that Standard Written English is somehow primary and ‘the correct language,’ then that future teacher may well not appreciate the linguistic diversity that students bring into the classroom and, worse, may even unwittingly send the message that varieties of spoken English that diverge too much from the standard are unwelcome, thus beginning or continuing the linguistic and intellectual disenfranchisement of students from certain ethnic or socioeconomic groups. (“Standardization” 53)

Haruko Momma, too, understands the History of the English Language course as an opportunity to demonstrate that “language is not so much a scientific unit as a social reality constructed or endorsed by states, nations, and other institutions that hope to use it to rope in their ‘imagined communities’” (12). She argues that those who teach the course must “raise awareness among their students and some of their colleagues about the multiplicity of English by coaxing them out of their ‘English’ box and allowing them to see it from outside in the light of

‘non-English’: foreign languages, historical varieties, ‘substandard’ variation, dialects, ideolects, creoles, pidgins, and more” (113).

My own formulation of the History of the English Language is indebted to these writers, particularly to their understanding of the course’s adaptability to the needs of changing student populations. As Tyler and others show, by reorganizing English’s traditional historical narrative, the course can be made a substantial resource for training future literacy educators. I incorporate several of their proposals regarding course design and classroom practice here. At the same time, however, I demonstrate that scholarship on language difference and critical language awareness in composition studies can elaborate on many observations that other scholars have only begun to articulate, particularly Smith and Momma’s suggestions that the History of the English Language may be well suited to unsettling discriminatory attitudes about language. I argue that cultivating students’ critical language awareness must be a central goal of the course—especially given its current student population—and I detail specific strategies for accomplishing this below.

5.1 CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS

As I demonstrate in Chapter Three, the idea that the History of the English Language can prepare new teachers to work productively with linguistic diversity has recently met with resistance in composition studies. Scholars such as Richardson, Schneider, and Ball and Muhammad suggest that the knowledge about language change and variation that the course commonly provides does not simply translate into positive attitudes about linguistic diversity or into positive engagement

with it. Rather, negative attitudes about language difference are often deeply rooted, and they must be targeted more actively in required language courses for new teachers.

Laurie Katz, Jerrie Cobb Scott, and Xenia Hadjioannou confirm this in their survey of recent scholarship on language attitudes. They find that “These studies reaffirm what we already know: Attitudes are difficult to change, partially because they represent deep seated feelings that have a diehard quality” (105). Nevertheless, teachers and teacher educators must strive to change them because “Simply put, in language diverse classrooms, attitudes toward language affect what is taught, how it is taught, and how well it is taught” (Katz, Scott, and Hadjioannou 99). Arnetha Ball and Ted Lardner make a similar observation in their examination of teachers’ perceptions of African American writers in composition classrooms. They find that teachers’ attitudes about student language contribute to their affect, and “Affect in the classroom can influence students’ motivations for learning. Affect carries the evaluative overtones that contour the social relationships in the classroom in a way that is comparable to (and, often, observable in) intonation in speech” (65-66). Ball and Lardner explain that when teachers lack experience and knowledge about students’ diversity, “they may unconsciously withhold, draw back from, or simply fail to recognize opportunities to fully engage and motivate, to communicate the high expectations of these students that is the hallmark of teacher efficacy and reflective optimism” (66).

To mitigate such failures, Ball and Lardner suggest that teachers must be prepared to think carefully about the attitudes they bring to the classroom, to theorize the “unspoken dimensions of teaching practice, for example, its felt reality, and to trace them to their sources” (65). Scott Wible concurs, proposing that “compositionists need to create opportunities in teacher-training programs for participants to reflect on the sources and the manifestations of their

attitudes toward nonstandardized language varieties and to construct positive frameworks for identifying and encouraging students to build on the language resources they bring to the composition classroom” (178). There is reason to believe that such focused attention to teachers’ attitudes can be successful. Katz, Scott, and Hadjioannou find in their literature review that

teacher education programs can reasonably expect some benefits from efforts to change negative attitudes toward language differences, including (a) enhanced understandings of language and cultural differences, (b) improved abilities to plan differentiated instruction that considers learning styles, background knowledge, prior life experiences, and (c) increased skills in designing appropriate strategies to facilitate learning in language diverse settings. (107-8)

These results are especially evident when programs place an emphasis on “(a) offering teacher candidates more choices with regard to the selection of materials to study; (b) providing problem-posing and problem-solving experience; and (c) allowing for self-discoveries and self evaluations” (108).

None of these desired outcomes preclude the History of the English Language from playing a valuable role in preparing literacy educators. Rather, they indicate how those who teach the course must reconsider its traditional organization and scope, as well as the level of explicit attention it gives to new teachers’ deep-seated assumptions about language. Recent work in composition studies points to how this can be done as scholars have sought to revise old teacher education requirements or to design new courses that encourage inclusive attitudes. These writers regularly draw on critical language awareness scholarship in linguistics and education to articulate their values and objectives. As Norman Fairclough describes it, this scholarship gives attention to the “social aspects of language, especially aspects of the

relationship between language and power, which ought to be highlighted in language education” (1). He finds that “given that power relations work increasingly at an implicit level through language, and given that language practices are increasingly targets for intervention and control, a critical awareness of language is a prerequisite for effective citizenship, and a democratic entitlement” (12).

Fairclough speaks primarily to the necessity of teachers cultivating their students’ critical language awareness; however, scholars of education observe that teachers must first develop a critical awareness themselves. Godley et al., for example, argue that “Insisting that teachers understand and respond appropriately to AAVE and other stigmatized dialects is an essential component of any effort to eradicate the continuing academic ‘achievement gap’ between students of color and White students” (31). Thus, these writers call for a teacher education curriculum “that addresses the ways that language choices shape societal structures and conditions, particularly oppressive ones” (Godley et al. 33). Especially, education scholars emphasize the need for literacy instructors to examine how their own best intentions can often silence diverse languages (Alim 28).

Gail Okawa models how compositionists can create such opportunities by revising a general Introduction to Language course required for education students at her institution. Okawa’s course is guided by what she calls a “Pedagogy of Language Awareness,” the central goals of which are to recognize and uproot discriminatory language myths and to develop new teachers’ theoretical and practical understanding of language as a social behavior (112). Okawa finds that what underwrites most detrimental attitudes is students’ simple “unawareness” of the social dimensions of language. She explains that “This unawareness leaves them susceptible to believing and upholding myths that may be destructive to others, and ultimately themselves, for

some students internalize linguistic colonialism as both victims and the perpetrators of discrimination” (111). By the end of her course, many of Okawa’s students are able to describe the “lack of metalinguistic awareness” that they experienced when they first enrolled (111). Okawa explains that “Some see their un-consciousness in terms of not thinking about language before, of taking it for granted; others . . . are refreshingly candid in describing their ‘close mindedness,’ how judgmental—‘too quick to judge’—they have been toward others who don’t speak as they do. Some attribute this to being ‘ethnocentric,’ or ‘stupid’ or ‘immature’” (111). Regardless of what caused their unawareness, though, Okawa argues that rigorous self-examination is what is necessary to dispel it. She finds that personal reflection promotes “a kind of de-construction of unconscious language behavior and language attitudes leading to the re-construction of knowledge and language awareness” (112).

Okawa builds multiple opportunities for reflection about language directly into her curriculum. Most importantly, she takes her students’ own linguistic context as a starting point. Okawa argues that “becoming familiar with the region and adapting course material to this *particular* linguistic and social context and these *particular* students are essential to transformations in students’ perceptions of language and of themselves and others as language users” (113). At her institution in Youngstown, Ohio, this means helping students explore language’s historic and ongoing role in racial division and economic disparity in the region where they live, work, and study. Okawa admits that tapping local concerns can create

a potentially volatile environment for discussing cultural and linguistic diversity.

Yet understanding these relationships and discussing or framing language experience in the context of such historical and social circumstances can make the students’ memories, lives, attitudes, and reflections a central text of the course,

providing continually fresh grist for the mill of the innovative and reflective teacher. (114)

Okawa then situates students' local experiences within a broader history of language in America. There, the development of multiple Englishes is clearly linked to socioeconomic and political realities (including colonialism, slavery, and immigration) even as the story of English is itself decentered within what has always been a multilingual United States.

Throughout, students prepare a number of assignments, such as individual language histories, that encourage them to uncover the relationships between culture and language and between environment and linguistic behavior in their own lives. Okawa finds that "as [students] see how they themselves become language users within a sociocultural context, they can appreciate more readily how this happens with others" (118). Ultimately, students may begin to see how everyone speaks an equally valid dialect. They also can become aware of how easily teachers might discriminate through language and about language in their classrooms (118-19).

Ball and Muhammad describe similar success in their required language course for preservice teachers, "The Centralities of Literacies in Teaching and Learning". Like Okawa, they describe the purpose of their course as examining the social dimensions of language, or "the close relationship between issues of language and literacy and the social, cultural, and political implications of teachers' understandings of the language and literacy variations that students bring to the classroom" (82). More specifically, the course is designed "to give preservice teachers opportunities to consider the role and function of language and literacies in their own lives and in the lives of others and to consider how language and literacies could be used to teach diverse students more effectively" (82). To do this, the course introduces new teachers to a range of theoretical frameworks that support effective teaching in linguistically diverse environments.

More importantly, though, the coursework requires that students engage directly with diverse linguistic populations in their local contexts. They tutor Latino, African American, Asian, and European American students, implementing the teaching strategies that they have learned about in their reading. They also complete an “adolescent case study” that asks them to investigate “the language and literacy patterns that their students used as well as the literacy approaches that foster student success in the classroom” (83). Self-examination is also a central component of the course. Students reflect on their reading and tutoring experiences in their written work. They also participate in classroom discussion, which “provides a safe environment wherein they can question preconceived notions about language variation and literacy” (82).

Ball and Muhammad explain that “Before coming into this course, many of the preservice teachers had very limited views about language varieties and literacy practices that were appropriate for use in the classroom. Many of them had also given very little thought to teaching students who were culturally different from them or who had language and literacy histories different from their own” (82). However, by the end of the course, many of these students’ attitudes and awareness about language had changed. Ball and Muhammad find that “Indicators of these teachers’ broadened perspectives were the serious discussions that took place during class sessions, the broader definitions of literacy they wrote about in their journals, and their plans for using a range of language and literacy activities in their future classrooms” (84).

Taken together, these accounts of other teacher education requirements suggest how compositionists can reconceptualize the History of the English Language course in order to advance more inclusive language attitudes among new teachers. In particular, this scholarship speaks to the importance of 1) linking language change and linguistic practice of identity, culture, and power; 2) explicitly affirming the value of diverse Englishes, spoken and written,

and the multilingual reality of communication; 3) drawing attention to students' immediate linguistic contexts as they begin to explore these concepts; 4) encouraging students to reflect on their own attitudes about language difference, particularly as those attitudes might inflect their teaching; and 5) providing opportunities for students to investigate literate practices, language debates, and teaching scenarios that interest or concern them.

A History of the English Language course that pursues these goals may begin to “resurface the roots” of many attitudes and assumptions about language that would otherwise inhibit teachers' productive engagement with diversity (Okawa 110). Indeed, the History of the English Language course is especially suited to doing so. As Smith, Momma, and others suggest above, the course's long historical view can readily unsettle the apparent naturalness and stability of English as it exists today. Moreover, I argue that it can explicate the current status and distribution of the language—its present politics, its global spread—which new literacy educators and all writers navigate adroitly.

5.2 THE HISTORY AND POLITICS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

In 2014-2015, I incorporated these principles into two sections of my own “History and Politics of the English Language” course at the University of Pittsburgh, where it is offered as an advanced composition course in the English department. The course is open to advanced English majors, but it is also a requirement or common elective for many students in the School of Education, who account for the majority of its enrollment. Together with an Introduction to Linguistics, the History of the English Language represents the preliminary language coursework

at Pitt for teachers who will enter classrooms ranging from preschool through high school. Graduate sections are not offered, though I contend that the course could provide beneficial preparation for teaching in college classrooms, as well.

Following Okawa, I made my students' immediate linguistic context central to the course. While we spent the first weeks of the semester on a general introduction to language change, the course then focused in on linguistic history and language debates in the United States. Most importantly, we spent significant time on the English of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. We studied the history of African American Vernacular English and the politics of its use in our city. We also studied "Pittsburghese," the dialect of English spoken by many in Pittsburgh's white working class and recently voted America's ugliest dialect on *Gawker*. Most of my students were from Pittsburgh, and many said they wanted to live and work there as teachers. Examining the language history of their hometown allowed them to reflect on their own experience with raced and classed dialects and to anticipate the linguistic composition of their classrooms. In a short Inquiry Assignment, I asked my students to

Write about the social groups and social practices that "Pittsburghese" is associated with online, in local news sources, and in the daily business and life of this city. More than many dialects, this one is explicitly claimed by a local population and given an explicit role in local culture. But at the same time, it's not all pervasive. Even living in Pittsburgh, we don't hear this dialect everywhere. So, who *are* the speakers of Pittsburghese? In what situations and for what reasons does this dialect get talked, talked about, displayed, and commodified? And what are common attitudes toward the dialect and its speakers?

For many students, this assignment and the readings that accompanied it prompted their first realization of how complexly language variation can correlate with economic disparity, race, and diverse identifications with the local community. For example, as Meave Eberhardt demonstrates, many African Americans in Pittsburgh explicitly reject Pittsburghese and its cultural associations in order to linguistically distance themselves from a city still plagued by racial inequities. One of my students, Brie, sought to confirm this in her Inquiry. She found that not only do different dialects map onto the racial divisions within Pittsburgh but also that language variation can mark boundaries between even smaller communities and ways of life within the city. Brie writes,

To see for myself the truth behind this, I interviewed an African American friend of mine who grew up in Pittsburgh. Through a thoughtful discussion, I was able to learn that yes, Pittsburghese is predominantly white, and it is usually associated with the low to middle class, middle aged, strictly born and raised in Pittsburgh social group. He explained to me that when he was in high school, most of his peers didn't actually speak the yinzer language that often, and if they did, they were children of parents that belonged to that stereotype. He said that even if they weren't in that social group, you automatically associated them with the image of Pittsburghese. He confirmed that words like *Ike* and *Nefs*, and *Homiez Cuh*, were used as identifiers for certain African American Pittsburgh communities. He quoted "When you heard those terms, you automatically know their story. You can pretty much tell where a person lives and their general status after listening to a sentence or two."

Like Brie's friend, many who are familiar with Pittsburghese most readily identify it by its characteristic lexical items, especially the second-person plural pronoun "yinz." However, the dialect also exhibits distinct (if less marked) phonological and grammatical variations. As we examined these, the Pittsburgh natives in my class often realized that they, too, speak the dialect for which their city is known. And, thanks to *Gawker's* 2014 "America's Ugliest Accent Tournament" (Evans), for the first time they felt stereotyped and discriminated against because of their language. My student Melissa writes, "I am not a blue-collar, middle-aged male, who roots for the Steelers, and says *yinz* and *n'at* a little bit too often. Nope, I am a nineteen year old female who thinks the Steelers are vastly overrated—but hey, I am *still* a speaker of Pittsburghese, and that is something I was too ignorant to realize until recently."

By examining local dialects, my students encountered variation as a reality in their own lives and began to reflect on the social conditions to which it is connected. Most importantly, they learned to discuss language difference not in terms of error or evaluation (one dialect is pleasing, another is ugly) but rather in terms of identity, community, and power. As the course progressed, I couched these local encounters within wider historical arcs that continued to validate multiple Englishes and to position them within a multilingual world. In doing so, I used the course's traditional long view to elucidate the contexts and concerns that mattered most to my students in the present moment.

One historical arc that we followed traced the development of the standardized language from the emergence of Chancery English, through the grammatical codification of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to popular commentaries and educational practices today. During this unit, my students saw how linguistic privilege is constructed out of politics, preferences, expediency, and happenstance. They also saw how that privilege continues to be withheld from

other dialects, often by the very institutions they hope to join as teachers. For example, the Inquiry that I assigned for this unit asked students to consider how the Common Core State Standards' argument for teaching Standard English evinces a bidialectist (or, as one student termed it, a "separate but equal") attitude toward language difference. It also challenged my students to imagine alternative practices: classroom activities or assignments in which non-standard Englishes could do valuable intellectual work.

In a second historical arc, we examined the spread of English around the globe from the colonial era to the present moment. In this unit, my students observed English's ongoing interaction with other languages and encountered many of the world Englishes that an increasing number of students are bringing to U.S. schools. We listened to recordings of "Chinglish," "Singlish," and "Spanglish," and we read texts written in these and other English varieties. I also invited the English department's ESL specialist to visit my class during this unit, along with two Chinese international students with whom she has worked closely. My colleague offered a brief tutorial about working with speakers of other Englishes and other languages, while her students described their experiences learning English in their home country and continuing to study it in the United States.

Finally, though I did not dedicate as much time to the topic as many traditional History of the English Language courses do, my students and I did examine English's earliest history. This is important material to include, I find, because studying Old and Middle English can unsettle many deep-seated assumptions about the purity and continuity of the language, assumptions that tend to underwrite the apparent superiority of privileged dialects and the unacceptability of language change, linguistic diversity, and "error." To that end, I asked my students to read John McWhorter's *Our Magnificent Bastard Tongue*, an alternative history of English that presents

the language as the hybrid result of extended language contact between the Anglo-Saxons, Celts, and Danes. There, McWhorter demonstrates that English's hybridity penetrates beyond its lauded cosmopolitan lexicon and into its most basic grammatical structures, as well. For example, McWhorter demonstrates that intercourse between the Celts and Anglo-Saxons led English to incorporate Celtic structures for negating statements, asking questions, and expressing the present progressive. Thus,

English is not, then, solely an offshoot of Proto-Germanic that inhaled a whole bunch of foreign words. It is an offshoot of Proto-Germanic that traded *grammar* with offshoots of Proto-Celtic. The result was a structurally hybrid tongue, whose speakers today use Celtic-derived constructions almost every time they open their mouths for longer than a couple sentences. *Do you want to leave now? What's he doing? Did he even know? What are you thinking? I don't care. She's talking to the manager.* Celtic grammar is underneath all of those utterly ordinary utterances in Modern English. (61)

Similarly, McWhorter argues that modern English's "simplicity" in terms of inflection and grammatical gender is the result of Vikings settling in Britain, learning a highly simplified version of the English spoken around them, and passing that English on to their children. He observes,

Grown men raised on Old Norse were suddenly faced with having to do their raggedy best speaking *Englisc* on a regular basis whenever they spoke with anyone besides the guys they came over with . . . They came in one wave after another over a century—for generations there were ever new hordes of men from across the sea not speaking the language right. Crucially, whereas French came to

England as an elite language spoken by rulers living remotely from the common folk, the Vikings took root on the ground, often marrying English-speaking women, such that their children actually heard quite a bit of their “off” English. All of this had an effect on the English Language. (109-110).

What makes McWhorter’s account of the “miscegenated,” “bastardized” English language so valuable for new teachers is his insistence that understanding these aspects of English’s early history should promote more inclusive attitudes about language today (xxiii). Especially, McWhorter believes that witnessing the hybridity and flux of early English can make readers more tolerant of ongoing change, particularly as it is prompted by non-English speakers taking up the language. The lesson of English’s history is, he says, that “the conception of new ways of putting things as ‘mistakes’ is an illusion. It reflects nothing but a natural human discomfort with the unfamiliar, as well as a certain degree of the herding instinct, such that ‘we’ speak properly while ‘they’ do not” (76-7). For example, “The Celtic impact on English . . . shows us that truly novel things can happen to the way a language puts words together and yet its speakers will continue to understand one another, and the language can go on to be the vehicle of a great literature” (84).

By connecting the global to the local and bridging English’s past and present, the structure of my course offered students many vantage points from which to consider how they should engage with language difference in their own classrooms. I also provided them with ample opportunities to research, write, and reflect on this. I have already described some of the Inquiry Assignments that my students completed each week. I include others, along with my syllabus, in Appendix B. In these assignments, I asked students to trace ongoing language change using resources such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Google N-grams; to identify

language myths that continue to circulate in popular culture; or to weigh in on pressing language debates about bilingual education, English Only legislation, and linguistic imperialism. For example, when we studied English Only politics in the United States, I asked my students to read recent news articles and policy documents about the movement in Pennsylvania, where the push for an official language continues. They analyzed these documents for evidence of the “thinly disguised attacks on race, religion, and ethnicity” that such discourse often admits (Baron 8). They also questioned how English Only in Pennsylvania would affect their students here. Several individuals in my course already volunteered in schools where they worked with second language learners, and they were able to consider these students’ situations as they explored how official language policies may be unnecessary, unfair, and ineffective.

Alternatively, during our unit on language and gender, my students read scholarship on gendered discourse patterns, feminist language planning, and current proposals to replace English’s pronouns with gender-neutral alternatives. For an Inquiry, I asked my students to listen to conversations going on around them and to consider how gender inflects these interactions. Most of my students were disturbed by what they noticed while using our readings as a lens. For example, in her Inquiry, Nina observes that she and other women around her seem to apologize all the time. She describes a particular incident when a fellow student apologizes for borrowing a chair from Nina’s table in the library:

To be polite, she could have said any number of pleasantries before asking for my chair. “Excuse me...”, “Hello...”, “Do you mind if...”, “Is it okay if...”, etc. But instead she apologized. What did she have to apologize for? Interrupting my obviously less than strenuous work? Asking for my attention? Demanding a chair? Why is it polite to accept blame for casual situations? This instance

bothered me, because it reminded me of all the times I've absent-mindedly, automatically apologized by default. For the next few days, I counted all the times I apologized in this way.

The list Nina makes includes, "When someone bumped into me in the hallway, when I stepped in front of a girl looking in the mirror, when I opened the door to the bathroom and a girl was trying to leave the bathroom, when I asked my waiter for lemon with my water, when I asked a cashier at a clothing store if they had my size." Nina concludes,

It's definitely an apology for existing in the space, for asking for attention, for appearing in someone's way. I don't see men apologizing for these things—more often than not they speak in a more straightforward way and move on. The apology is also a sign of hesitance, in extreme cases, lack of confidence in a space. I think one big difference in female and male speech is this hesitance.

Writing on the same topic, Connie articulates the pertinence of studying gender and language to teaching. She argues, "The language that we use to talk to our children is representative of the roles that we want them to fit into and we have to work to create a more equal form of speech if we want to create an equal playing field for both males and females." She believes that teachers, especially, must understand the current intersections between English and gender because they are in a unique position to combat discriminatory language practices by interacting with children everyday.

In their Inquiries, my students developed their familiarity with a range of linguistic issues, and while doing so, they reflected repeatedly on their own attitudes about language. The most substantial occasion for inquiry and personal reflection that I gave my students, though, was their final writing project on a "local history of English." These local histories were

researched accounts of language diversity (the many Englishes, the many other languages) in a region or among a population where my students hoped to work as teachers. The premise of this assignment was that, ultimately, the history of English is not something that new teachers must *know* so much as it is something that they must learn how to *do*. They must cultivate strategies for researching and then serving the diverse linguistic populations in whatever communities they come to as educators. I asked my students to propose their topics early in the semester, and we used the remainder of the term to discuss research methods, evaluate resources, and share drafts.

These projects took many forms, but in each, my students began to explore how historical legacies and recent political pressures affect language practices and literacy instruction today. For example, one student explored how the global spread of English has impacted young immigrants she tutors at a Pittsburgh community center. Another drew on the history of African American Vernacular English in western Pennsylvania to critique entrenched attitudes toward that dialect in Pittsburgh schools. Samantha studied Somali-Bantu refugees and their efforts to learn English, both to navigate the international scene and to settle into new lives in Pittsburgh, while also preserving their own culture. She writes,

Few people understand the importance of English as well as those who have been thrown into American culture with little to no training in the language. Somali-Bantus are a population of resettled refugees here in Pittsburgh that not only wants further education for their children, but also want to preserve their culture and native language. Pittsburgh is one of only a handful of cities in the United States that agreed to accept Somali-Bantu refugees and help resettle them, a task made extremely difficult by low levels of health, education, wealth, and perhaps

most importantly, English. In the Somali Bantu community in Pittsburgh, language plays a key role in both the preservation and the loss of cultural identity. Samantha watched these issues play out in one particular Somali-Bantu family, whose children she tutored. In her project, she notes the pressure that the children experienced to learn and use only English both at school and in their home in order to succeed in their schoolwork.

In other local histories, my students examined language diversity in neighborhoods of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Boston; they surveyed practicing teachers' opinions about English Only legislation, bilingual education, and non-standard English in the classroom; and they interviewed women, people of Middle Eastern descent, African Americans, and international students about language discrimination, among other projects. Regardless of their topic, my students demonstrated how the course material nuanced, if not entirely transformed, their attitudes about language difference. Just as importantly, they demonstrated how they made the history of English work for them, how it became a resource for researching and then reaching the populations they care about.

When I asked my students to assess their experiences in the course, they often described how their awareness of language heightened or how their previous attitudes about language changed. For example, Amy writes,

From the very first week of this course, my thoughts and opinions on the English language and its users have changed drastically. If you had asked me in September how I felt about dialects, it is likely that I would have expressed irritation; if you had told me that I speak the dialect of Pittsburgh, you would have received an incredulous look, and a protestation that "I'm no Yinzer." In essence,

completing the readings for this course has made me an infinitely more conscientious and accepting speaker of the English language.

Samantha also found the course “eye opening” and even “alarming,” especially regarding her “illiteracy, not in Standard English, but in almost every other form of the language.” She reflects,

I had no knowledge of what the origins of English were, I had no understanding of the grammatical complexities of African American Vernacular English, and I certainly had no idea what “gumband” or “nebbby” meant. Now, as the semester comes to a close, I find myself in a completely different arena. Not only do I have a fuller appreciation for the Standard English that I’ve grown up speaking in school, but for my own dialect that I speak with my friends and family. I have found massive respect for the part that language plays in identity, and indignation at the ignorance that leaves speech as the last socially acceptable human variance to mock and discriminate against.

Jules, too, found that the course helped her be more aware of stereotypes and more open to language difference. She thinks that

the course in general helped highlight the stereotypes that lurk underneath; stereotypes that don’t really seem offensive at first because they are so widely spread and accepted. Looking at the history of English definitely helped solidify the fact that these stereotypes are groundless and pointless. Seeing that every language, dialect, or accent comes from basically inconsequential historical events, geographical changes, and migrations or invasions makes it glaringly obvious that language is not a show of intelligence or otherwise.

Because most of my students were preparing to be literacy educators, their reflections often turned to how a new awareness or a change in attitude about language would make them more effective teachers. For example, Amanda writes, “Being asked to recognize times when I personally felt discriminated against linguistically has helped me to more consciously avoid making others feel this way. Being open to the language of others allows us to create cross-lingual connections, and can allow for more tolerant and open lines of communication in our society as a whole.” She now feels that “with a greater understanding of dialect, I can better teach a diverse group of students without judging them for the way that they speak or write. I can understand the instruction of Standard English and its utility as a tool to be used in some circumstances, rather than as a mechanism for correction.”

Similarly, Brian explains that at the beginning of the semester “my viewpoint was framed by the idea that, while dialect and language differences should not be viewed as ‘deficient’ in any empirical way, the ultimate goal of an educator should be to ensure Standard American English proficiency for use in academic and professional settings, with dialect use maintained as an appropriate language for settings outside of school.” Now, however, Brian believes that the perspective he gained in the course “will allow me to look at language diversity as a resource to be used to enhance students’ understanding of language’s importance, instead of a habit to be broken or poor grammar to be corrected.”

Finally, Rochelle explains the responsibility that teachers have to work productively with language difference and the great opportunity they have to combat discrimination. She writes,

Because of their position of authority regarding language, teachers who are educated in dialect diversity acceptance can use that authority to shift ideas of what is correct, and perhaps diminish society’s view of Standard English being

superior to the others. If anything, Standard English should be viewed as “an addition to students’ linguistic repertoires, rather than as a more prestigious, more ‘correct’ substitution for the varieties that students already speak” (Godley et al. 33).

I appreciate my students’ responses to this version of the course, and given a similar opportunity to teach it again, I would replicate much of the course structure and many of the assignments that I describe here. At the same time, though, I would want to do more to ensure that my students are able to move from theory to practice, from articulating an appreciation for language difference to thinking concretely about how to work with language difference in the classroom. While teaching the course, I noticed that my students readily acknowledged the legitimacy of diverse dialects in the abstract; however, they often struggled to imagine how they would create opportunities for non-prestige varieties of English to enter seriously into academic work. Some of our course materials modeled how this could be done—for example, Jamila Lyiscott’s spoken word poem on “Three Ways to Speak English” and Amanda Godley and Angela Minnici’s article on “Critical Language Pedagogy in an Urban High School English Class”—but such accounts cannot replace hands-on experiences, such as sustained attention to student texts written in non-standard Englishes, practice creating lesson plans that center on linguistic diversity, or, ideally, opportunities to work directly with speakers of non-standard Englishes, such as the tutoring experiences that Ball and Muhammad organize.

While I would want to incorporate more pedagogical experiences like these into my History of the English Language course, I would not want to overburden the course or make it

unwelcoming to any students who are not preparing to be teachers.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, I recognize that the gap between theory and practice can (and perhaps should) be bridged outside of my classroom and in my students' other required coursework. To orchestrate this, I would have to foster increased communication with the School of Education. Currently, there is no coordination between the English faculty who teach the "History and Politics of the English Language" course—a prerequisite for even applying to many education programs—and the education faculty who design and teach my students' later courses. If Pitt's History of the English Language course is to serve primarily education students, then its role in a sequence of courses should be clearly articulated. In that way, my students' orientations toward language difference could be reinforced and their facility with working with non-standard English users could be cultivated and assessed over the long term.

5.3 CONCLUSION

My students' responses demonstrate the valuable role that the History of the English Language can play in English studies, in composition studies, and in teacher education as those fields continue to orient themselves to the multilingual realities of literacy instruction in the United States. As Okawa observes, "If we claim language as our business, whatever our linguistic and cultural complexions may be, our pedagogy must reflect an awareness of the conditions around us—the multiplicity of language varieties in our communities, the rights of their speakers to maintain them in a democratic society, the forces endangering those rights" (128). Despite the

¹⁷⁵ At the University of Pittsburgh, these students are few. During the two terms when I taught the course, I had forty-seven students. Forty-two of them were preparing to enter education programs, four others were taking the course out of personal interest, and only one was an English major enrolled for elective credit toward her degree.

monolingual perspective implied by its title, the History of the English Language is a course where new teachers can foster their awareness of linguistic heterogeneity and their critical understanding of the social conditions that sustain it. More than that, the course can equip new teachers with the practical resources and reflective habits of mind they need to become critical language historians and educators in whichever community they come to serve.

6.0 CODA: THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH FROM COURSE TO DISCOURSE

Given the current position of the History of the English Language in the curriculum—housed in English departments but regularly called on to provide training for students in education programs—it is important that English faculty who teach the subject consider how it can best serve new teachers. I have argued that fostering teachers’ critical language awareness as well as their facility with working with linguistically diverse populations must be central goals of the course. I have demonstrated how these goals can be achieved with course content that links linguistic practice to identity, culture, and power; that explicitly affirms the value of language difference; that draws critical attention to students’ immediate linguistic contexts; that encourages reflection on personal, often deep-seated attitudes about language; and that provides opportunities for research and pedagogical practice. My own version of the course centers on linguistic history and language debates in the United States and emphasizes historical topics that will impinge on my students’ future classroom interactions. It also incorporates student-directed research projects on recent, local histories of English in regions where they expect to live and work as educators. My approach is informed by a critical history of “the history of the English language” itself, which reveals the school subject’s persistent role in standardizing language and policing linguistic practice. In order to promote more inclusive linguistic attitudes and practices today, my course disseminates alternative histories—in the materials I assign and in the projects my students complete—that demonstrate the value of multiple Englishes in a multilingual world.

Many in English studies recognize that education students now constitute a primary audience for the History of the English Language, and in this dissertation I join these scholars in urging English instructors to reconceptualize the course, ideally in collaboration with education faculty, with that student population in mind. At the same time, though, I understand that current curricular arrangements may not be sustainable. For example, my experience teaching the “History and Politics of the English Language” at the University of Pittsburgh clarified for me the need for greater integration of the English course with the School of Education curriculum. Especially, my students would have benefited from bridging theory and practice through coordinated opportunities to design and teach lessons on language difference or to tutor English language learners. Without such experiences, there is little guarantee that my students’ advances will be elaborated on and reinforced at later stages of their training. Thus, at this institution at least, the course might be best reconceived of as an education course, perhaps taught by English faculty, rather than as an English course offered to education students. I suspect that this situation is fairly common across the contemporary academy, as scholars such as K. Aaron Smith, Robert Stanton, and Jo Tyler indicate.

And yet, education students are rarely the only students who enroll in the History of the English Language, even at institutions like Pitt, where it primarily serves new teachers. The diverse student population that the course continues to draw points to the fundamental challenge of teaching the subject at this time: there are simply too many stakeholders in this one course for it to serve any of them perfectly. Interested parties include linguists, medievalists and other literary scholars, compositionists, and teacher educators, but also book historians and ESL specialists among others who direct their students to the course. For example, the MLA’s forthcoming Options for Teaching volume on *Teaching the History of the English Language*

includes chapters on “Teaching HEL through the History of the Book,” “HEL for MLL Students: Integrating Approaches from TESOL,” and “HEL and Gen Ed Requirements: Finding a Place in the University Curriculum,” in addition to chapters on teaching the course in literature, composition, and education programs (Moore and Palmer). The range of fields that currently consider the History of the English Language valuable curricular territory complicates any call for the course, understood in the singular, to steer or unite English studies or any pedagogical proposal that claims to update the course for its current audience, also understood in the singular.

Underlying this situation is the contradiction between the history of English as a highly distributed pedagogical discourse, and the History of the English Language as a single, dedicated course, one representing a field deserving study in its own right. As I demonstrate in earlier chapters, the history of English has served multiple fields of language and literacy education as a subsidiary topic almost since its emergence. However, the subject was institutionalized as a single course only when historical linguistics became the organizing principle of English studies in the nineteenth century. In the twenty-first century, philology no longer directs the discipline, and its gateway course is no longer necessary for initiating students into advanced historical linguistic study. It is unclear, now, what interests the course should serve.

Most scholarship advocates for a careful attention to individual institutional contexts so that instructors can design History of the English Language courses that best serve local requirements, whether those are the requirements of English majors of various stripes, students in education programs, or others. This practice seeks to respond to the most pressing needs and to make judicious use of limited resources; however, in any given institutional context, officially sequestering the history of English within any single course constrains the diverse interventions that the subject could make. In order to exploit its broad applicability, I suggest scholars might

focus not only on making the single course optimally productive but also on replicating the course or transporting and adapting its components to multiple sites across the curriculum. For example, though my own course supports fundamental shifts toward multiliteracies and translingualism that concern English and education alike, even this course requires sequels within particular disciplinary contexts that can elaborate on the subject's many possibilities. In education, for example, this may mean developing an advanced course on the intersections between language change, language politics, and instructional practice or offering a follow-up that provides experience working with ESL or non-standard English users. Alternatively, in literary studies, it may mean designing a series of specialized courses that introduce majors not just to the English literatures but to the English languages that are produced in specific postcolonial sites, along contested cultural, political, and linguistic borders, and out of traditionally marginalized communities within the United States.

In composition, as in education, the history of English is a valuable topic for new teachers who are preparing to work with increasingly linguistically diverse populations or to honor and utilize the diversity that has always been a part of composition classrooms. As an early component of a GTA training program, a course like the one I have designed could introduce new composition teachers to the range of Englishes that they may encounter in their classrooms and which they will have to help their students to utilize with rhetorical savvy. Later, the history of English could be emphasized in already established requirements such as an Introduction to Composition or a Seminar in Pedagogy. There, the history of composition studies could be narrated through the history of standardization and prescriptivism, language politics in the United States, and the global spread of English, as well as through the paradigms of reading and writing instruction that have attended them. Another possibility is that composition programs

could follow calls by Paul Kei Matsuda, Susan Miller-Cochran, Jody Millward, Barbara Schneider, and others by offering dedicated courses on language diversity. In these advanced courses, accounts of English's most recent history and its present global distribution would be necessary adjuncts to discussions of diverse literate and rhetorical traditions, translingual theories, and the teaching of multilingual writers.

It is important that compositionists imagine such possibilities because the history of English only grows in relevance as the field reorients its politics and practices to the multilingual realities of literacy instruction. The Englishes that our students bring to our classrooms continue to multiply. So do the Englishes that our students will encounter in the increasingly multicultural, transnational, digital environments where they will do their work with language. Literacy educators must therefore prepare themselves to teach students to read and write across Englishes and, potentially, even across other languages. A renewed formulation of the history of English, with a more plural and democratic historical understanding of language diversity and linguistic change, can prompt both instructors and students to approach contemporary Englishes with the necessary personal awareness, critical understanding, and rhetorical flexibility.

APPENDIX A

A CORPUS OF HEL TEXTS

Entries are arranged by publication date of the first edition or earliest recorded edition. I provide the name of the author, title, place of publication, and the publisher or bookseller. I include only texts that include an HEL (*), references to Anglo-Saxon (†), or both. The corpus represented in these entries consolidates bibliographies by Robin Alston; Bernard Barr; Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen L. Carr, and Lucille M. Shultz; Stephen L. Carr; Robert Connors; Manfred Görlach; Arthur Kennedy; Ian Michael; E. Jennifer Monaghan; John A. Nietz; María Esther Rodríguez-Gil and Nuria Yáñez-Bouza; Lucille M. Schultz; and Emma Vorlat. I did not have access to every text that these bibliographies record. I accessed only those texts available through the University of Pittsburgh's John A. Nietz Old Textbook Collection or several digital archives: Early English Books Online, Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, HathiTrust, Google Books, and Internet Archive.

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dictionaries

1658	Phillips, Edward London	<i>The New World of English Words</i> * Printed by E. Tyler
1660	Howell, James London	<i>Lexicon Tetraglotton</i> * Printed by Thomas Leach
1676	Coles, Elisha London	<i>An English Dictionary</i> * Printed for F. Collins
1689	Anonymous London	<i>Gazophylacium Anglicanum</i> *† Printed by E. H. and W. H.
1704	Cocker, Edward London	<i>Cocker's English Dictionary</i> *† Printed for A. Back
1721	Bailey, Nathan London	<i>An Universal Etymological English Dictionary</i> * Printed for E. Bell
1727	Bailey, Nathan London	<i>The Universal Etymological English Dictionary</i> * Printed for T. Cox

1730	Bailey, Nathan London	<i>Dictionarium Britannicum</i> *† Printed for T. Cox
1735	Dyche, Thomas London	<i>A New General English Dictionary</i> † Printed for Richard Ware
1749	Martin, Benjamin London	<i>Lingua Britannica Reformata</i> *† Printed for J. Hodges
1753	Newbery, John London	<i>A Pocket Dictionary or Complete English Expositor</i> * Printed for J. Newberry
1755	Bailey, Nathan London	<i>The New Universal English Dictionary</i> *† Printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher
1760	Marchant, John London	<i>A New Complete English Dictionary</i> *† Printed for J. Fuller
1761	Fenning, Daniel London	<i>The Royal English Dictionary</i> † Printed for S. Crowder and Co.
1763	Anonymous Edinburgh	<i>An Universal Dictionary of the English Language</i> † Printed by Alexander Donaldson
	Johnson, J. London	<i>The New Royal and Universal English Dictionary</i> Printed for A. Millard
1772	Barlow, Frederick London	<i>The Complete English Dictionary</i> † Printed for the Author
1773	Kenrick, William London	<i>A New Dictionary of the English Language</i> † Printed for John and Francis Rivington
1774	Barclay, James London	<i>A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan</i> *† Printed for Richardson and Urquhart et al.
1775	Ash, John London	<i>The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language</i> † Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly
	Johnson, Samuel London	<i>A Dictionary of the English Language</i> *† W. Strahan
1780	Marriott, Charles London	<i>The New Royal English Dictionary</i> † Printed for J. Wenman

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Grammars

1619	Gill, Alexander London	<i>Logonomia Anglica</i> * Johannes Beale
1653	Wallis, John London	<i>Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae</i> *† N.p.
1685	Cooper, C London	<i>Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae</i> * Tooke
1688	Miège, Guy London	<i>The English Grammar</i> * Printed by J. Redmayne
1701	White, John Exeter	<i>The Country-Man's Conductor in Reading and Writing True English</i> *† Printed by Sam. Farley
1706	Anonymous London	<i>The English Scholar Compleat</i> † Printed by W. O.
1711	Brightland, John and Charles Gildon London	<i>A Grammar of the English Tongue</i> *† Printed for John Brightland
	Greenwood, James London	<i>An Essay Towards a Practical English Grammar</i> *† Printed by R. Tookey
1712	Maittaire, Michael London	<i>The English Grammar</i> † Printed by W. B.
1724	Jones, Hugh London	<i>An Accidence to the English Tongue</i> † Printed for John Clarke
	Wilson, Thomas London	<i>The Many Advantages of a Good Language to Any Nation</i> † Printed for J. Knapton et al.
1737	Greenwood, James London	<i>The Royal English Grammar</i> † Printed for J. Nourse
	Lowe, Solomon London	<i>English Grammar Reformd into a Small Compass and Easy Method</i> † N.p.

	Saxon, Samuel Reading	<i>The English Schollar's Assistant</i> † Printed by D. Henry
1745	Newbery, John London	<i>An Easy Introduction to the English Language</i> * Printed for J. Newbery
1748	Newbery, John London	<i>Grammar Made Familiar and Easy</i> * Printed for J. Newbery
1751	Anonymous London	<i>An Easy and Comprehensive English Grammar</i> * Printed by the King's Royal Licence and Dublin
1753	Buchanan, James London	<i>The Complete English Scholar</i> † Printed for A. Miller
1754	Gough, John and James Gough Dublin	<i>A Practical Grammar of the English Tongue</i> † Printed by Isaac Jackson
	Wise, Thomas Berwick, England	<i>The Newest Young Man's Companion</i> * Printed and sold by R. Taylor
1760	Ash, John London	<i>Grammatical Institutes</i> † Printed for E. and C. Dilly
1761	Priestley, Joseph London	<i>The Rudiments of English Grammar</i> † Printed for R. Griffiths
	Woolgar, William London	<i>Youth's Faithful Monitor</i> * Printed for D. Steel
1762	Lowth, Robert London	<i>A Short Introduction to English Grammar with Critical Notes</i> † Printed by J. Hughes
1765	Elphinston, James London	<i>The Principles of the English Language Digested</i> * Printed by James Bettenham
	Ward, William London	<i>An Essay on Grammar</i> † Printed for Robert Horsfield
1770	Hodgson, Isaac London	<i>A Practical English Grammar</i> † Printed for the Author
1771	Fenning, Daniel London	<i>A New Grammar of the English Language</i> † Printed for S. Crowder

	Jones, Rowland London	<i>The Circles of Gomer</i> † N.p.
	Metcalf, Lister Newcastle	<i>The Rudiments of the English Tongue</i> † Printed by T. Saint
1772	Bayly, Anselm London	<i>A Plain and Complete Grammar of the English Language</i> † Printed by G. Bigg
	Johnstone, William London	<i>A Short Grammar of the English Language</i> † Printed for W. Johnston
1773	Carter, John Leeds	<i>A Practical English Grammar</i> † Printed for John Binns
1774	Smetham, Thomas London	<i>The Practical Grammar</i> * Printed for J. Cooke
1775	Wynne, Richard London	<i>An Universal Grammar</i> * Printed for the Author
1777	Harrison, Ralph Manchester	<i>Institutes of English Grammar</i> † Printed by Charles Wheeler
	Ward, H. Whitehaven	<i>A Short but Clear System of English Grammar</i> † N.p.
1778	Cattanach, John Edinburgh	<i>Elements of Pronunciation and Grammar</i> † Printed for the Author
	Story, Joshua Newcastle	<i>An Introduction to English Grammar</i> † Printed by T. Angus
1779	Green, Robert Newcastle	<i>A Short Abstract of English Grammar</i> † Printed by T. Angus
1780	Egelsham, Wells London	<i>A Short Sketch of English Grammar</i> † Printed for the Editor
	Williams, John Salisbury	<i>The First Principles of English Grammar</i> † N.p.
1781	Anonymous Douai, France	<i>English Grammar</i> † Printed by L. Derbaix

- Meikleham, William *A Comprehensive Grammar**
Glasgow Printed and Sold by J. and J. Robertson
- 1784 Corbet, John *A Concise System of English Grammar**
Shrewsbury Printed and Sold by T. Wood
- Fell, John *An Essay Towards an English Grammar*†*
London Printed for C. Dilly
- Harrison, Ralph *Rudiments of English Grammar†*
Philadelphia Printed and Sold by Prichard and Hall
- Webster, Noah *A Grammatical Institute, of the English Language. Part II†*
Hartford Printed by Hudson and Goodwin
- 1788 Brittain, Lewis *Rudiments of English Grammar†*
Louvian, Belgium Printed by L. J. Urban
- Hutchins, Joseph *An Abstract of the First Principles of English Grammar†*
Philadelphia Printed for the Editor, T. Dobson and T. Lang
- 1790 Bicknell, Alexander *The Grammatical Wreath*†*
London Printed for the Author
- 1792 Alexander, Caleb *A Grammatical System of the English Language†*
Boston Printed and Sold by Samuel Hall
- Alexander, Caleb *An Introduction to the Speaking and Writing of the English
Language†*
Boston Printed by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews
- Fogg, Peter Walkden *Elementa Anglicana*†*
Stockport, England Printed by J. Clarke
- Humphreys, Daniel *The Compendious American Grammar†*
Portsmouth Printed by John Osborne
- Wilson, J. *Fisher's Grammar Improved†*
Congleton, England Printed by J. Dean
- 1793 Hornsey, John *A Short English Grammar in Two Parts†*
York Printed by Wilson Spence
- 1794 Wright, G. *The Principles of Grammar†*
Sunderland, England Printed by T. Reed

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| 1795 | Murray, Lindley
York | <i>English Grammar</i> *†
Wilson, Spence, and Mawman |
| | Postlethwaite,
Richard
London | <i>The Grammatical Art Improved</i> †
Printed for J. Parsons |
| | Wright, Thomas
Yarmouth, England | <i>A Miscellany for Young Persons</i> †
N.p. |
| 1796 | Coar, Thomas
London | <i>A Grammar of the English Tongue</i> †
Printed and Sold by James Phillips |
| | Lynch, Patrick
Carrick-on-Suir,
Ireland | <i>The Pentaglot Preceptor</i> †
Printed by John Stacy |
| 1797 | Bullen, Henry St.
John
Bury St. Edmunds,
England | <i>Rudiments of English Grammar</i> *†
Printed and Sold by P. Gedge |
| | Groombridge, H
Bath | <i>The Rudiments of the English Tongue</i> *
Printed by R. Crutwell |
| 1798 | Salmon, Nicholas
London | <i>The First Principles of English Grammar</i> †
Printed for the Author |
| 1800 | Hodson, Thomas
London | <i>The Accomplished Tutor</i> *†
Printed by J. Bonsor |

Nineteenth-Century American Rhetorics and Composition Textbooks

1802	Blair, Hugh Cambridge	<i>An Abridgement of Lectures on Rhetoric*</i> Cambridge UP
1803	Irving, David Philadelphia	<i>Elements of English Composition†</i> Jacob Johnson and Thomas L. Plowman
1816	Ripplingham, John Poughkeepsie	<i>Rules for English Composition*</i> Paraclete Potter
1827	Newman, Samuel P. New York	<i>A Practical System of Rhetoric†</i> Gould and Newman
1828	Whately, Richard Boston	<i>Elements of Rhetoric†</i> Hilliard, Gray and Co.
1829	Mills, Abraham New York	<i>Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres to which are added, Copious Questions, and an Analysis of Each Lecture, by Abraham Mills*</i> G. and C. and H. Carvill
1830	Blair, Hugh New York	<i>Dr. Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, Abridged. With Questions*</i> Collins and Co.
1831	Booth, David London	<i>The Principles of English Composition†</i> Cochrane and Pickersgill
1832	Mills, Abraham New York	<i>Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres: chiefly from the lectures of Dr. Blair*</i> Connor
1838	Morley, Charles Hartford	<i>A Practical Guide to Composition†</i> R. White
1842	Graham, G. F. London	<i>English; or, the Art of Composition*†</i> Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans
1844	Boyde, James R. New York	<i>Elements of Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*</i> Harper and Brothers
	Parker, Richard G. New York	<i>Aids to English Composition†</i> Harper and Brothers

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| 1850 | Day, Henry Noble
Hudson | <i>Elements of the Art of Rhetoric</i> †
W. Skinner and Co. |
| 1855 | Quackenbos, G. P.
New York | <i>Advanced Course in Composition and Rhetoric</i> *†
D. Appleton and Company |
| 1859 | Hope, M. B.
Princeton | <i>The Princeton Text Book in Rhetoric</i> †
John T. Robinson |
| 1861 | Day, Henry Noble
Cincinnati | <i>Rhetorical Praxis</i> †
Moore, Wiltach, and Baldwin |
| 1866 | Bain, Alexander
New York | <i>English Composition and Rhetoric</i> †
D. Appleton and Company |
| 1867 | Bonnell, M. A.
Louisville | <i>A Manual of the Art of Prose Composition</i> †
John P. Morton |
| | Day, Henry Noble
New York | <i>The Art of Discourse</i> †
Charles Scribner and Company |
| 1868 | Day, Henry Noble
New York | <i>Grammatical Synthesis: The Art of English Composition</i> †
Charles Scribner and Company |
| 1869 | Haven, E. O.
New York | <i>Rhetoric: A Text Book</i> †
Harper and Brothers |
| | Kerl, Simon
New York | <i>Elements of Composition and Rhetoric</i> †
Iverson, Phinney, Blakeman, and Company |
| 1870 | Cruikshank, James
New York | <i>Analysis, Parsing and Composition</i> †
Sheldon and Company |
| | Day, Henry Noble
New York | <i>The Young Composer</i> †
Charles Scribner and Company |
| 1871 | Abbott, Edwin A.
and J. R. Seeley
Boston | <i>English Lessons for English People</i> †
Roberts Brothers |
| | Hart, John S.
Philadelphia | <i>A Manual of Composition and Rhetoric</i> *†
Eldredge and Brother |
| 1874 | Swinton, William
New York | <i>School Composition</i> †
Harper and Brothers |

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| 1875 | Hepburn, A. D.
New York | <i>Manual of English Rhetoric</i> †
Wilson, Hinkle and Co. |
| 1876 | Gilmore, J. H.
Boston | <i>Outlines of the Art of Expression</i> †
Ginn Brothers |
| 1877 | Hill, David J.
New York | <i>The Science of Rhetoric</i> †
Sheldon and Company |
| | Swinton, William
New York | <i>A School Manual of English Composition</i> †
Harper and Brothers |
| 1878 | De Mille, James
New York | <i>The Elements of Rhetoric</i> †
Harper and Brothers |
| | Hill, Adams S.
New York | <i>The Principles of Rhetoric and Their Application</i> †
Harper and Brothers |
| | Hill, David J.
New York | <i>The Elements of Rhetoric and Composition</i> †
Sheldon and Company |
| 1879 | Nichol, John
New York | <i>English Composition</i> †
D. Appleton and Company |
| 1880 | Coppens, Charles
New York | <i>A Practical Introduction to English Rhetoric</i> †
Schwartz, Kirwin, and Fauss |
| | Jameson, Henry W.
St. Louis | <i>Rhetorical Method</i> †
G. I. Jones and Company |
| | Kellogg, Brainerd
New York | <i>A Text-Book on Rhetoric</i> †
Clark and Maynard |
| 1884 | Bardeen, C. W.
New York | <i>A System of Rhetoric</i> †
A. S. Barnes |
| 1885 | Coppens, Charles
New York | <i>The Art of Oratorical Composition</i> †
Schwartz, Kirwin, and Fauss |
| | McElroy, John
New York | <i>The Structure of English Prose</i> †
A. C. Armstrong and Son |
| | Welsh, Alfred H.
Chicago | <i>Complete Rhetoric</i> †
S. C. Griggs and Company |

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| 1886 | Clark, J. Scott
New York | <i>A Practical Rhetoric</i> †
Henry Holt and Company |
| | Genung, John F.
Boston | <i>The Practical Elements of Rhetoric</i> †
Ginn and Company |
| 1887 | Lockwood, Sara
Boston | <i>Lessons in English</i> *†
Ginn and Company |
| 1888 | Hill, Adams S.
Cambridge | <i>Abstract of Hill's Rhetoric: English A in Harvard College</i> †
W. H. Wheeler |
| 1889 | Waddy, Virginia
New York | <i>Elements of Composition and Rhetoric</i> †
American Book Company |
| 1890 | Nichol, John and
W. W. M'Cormick
New York | <i>Questions and Exercises on English Composition</i> †
Macmillan and Co. |
| 1891 | Carpenter, George
Boston | <i>Exercises in Rhetoric and English Composition</i> *†
Willard Small, Publisher |
| | Keeler, Harriet L.
and Emma C. Davis
Boston | <i>Studies in English Composition</i> †
Allyn and Bacon |
| | Wendell, Barrett
New York | <i>English Composition</i> †
Charles Scribner's Sons |
| 1892 | Hill, Adams S.
New York | <i>The Foundations of Rhetoric</i> †
Harper and Brothers |
| 1893 | Genung, John F.
Boston | <i>Outlines of Rhetoric</i> †
Ginn and Company |
| 1894 | Mead, William E.
Boston | <i>Elementary Composition and Rhetoric</i> *†
Leach, Shewell, and Sanborn |
| 1895 | Hart, James Morgan
Philadelphia | <i>A Handbook of English Composition</i> *†
Eldredge and Brother |
| | Phelps, Austin
New York | <i>Rhetoric: Its Theory and Practice</i> †
Charles Scribner's Sons |
| 1896 | Cairnes, William B.
Boston | <i>The Forms of Discourse</i> †
Ginn and Company |

- Lewis, Edwin H. *A First Book in Writing English**†
New York Macmillan Company
- Quackenbos, John D. *Practical Rhetoric*†
New York American Book Company
- 1899 Cairnes, William B. *Introduction to Rhetoric*†
Boston Ginn and Company
- Carpenter, George *Elements of Rhetoric and English Composition**†
New York Macmillan Company
- Newcomer, Alphonso *Elements of Rhetoric*†
New York Henry Holt and Company
- 1900 Genung, John F. *The Working Principles of Rhetoric*†
Boston Ginn and Company
- Lewis, Edwin H. *A Second Manual of Composition**†
New York Macmillan Company

Nineteenth-Century American Grammars

1814	Morgan, Jonathan Hallowell, ME	<i>Elements of English Grammar</i> *† Goodale and Burton
1820	Kirkham, Samuel New York	<i>English Grammar in Familiar Lectures</i> † Robert B. Collins
1821	Fisk, Allen Troy, NY	<i>Murray's English Grammar Simplified</i> † Z. Clark
1822	Walker, John Boston	<i>A Rhetorical Grammar</i> † Cummings and Hilliard
1823	Brown, Goold New York	<i>The Institutes of English Grammar</i> † Samuel S. and William Wood
	Nutting, Rufus Montpelier	<i>A Practical Grammar of the English Language</i> † E. P. Walton
1825	Cardell, William S. New York	<i>Essay on Language</i> † Charles Wiley
1826	Cardell, William S. New York	<i>Elements of English Grammar</i> † E. Bliss and E. White, R. Lockwood and G. C. Morgan
	Pond, Enoch New York	<i>Murray's System of English Grammar</i> † Ezra Collier
1827	Cardell, William S. Philadelphia	<i>Philosophic Grammar of the English Language</i> † Uriah Hunt
1828	Cooper, J. G. Philadelphia	<i>An Abridgment of Murray's English Grammar</i> † Judah Dobson
1831	Webster, Noah New Haven	<i>An Improved Grammar of the English Tongue</i> † Hezekiah Howe
1834	Bullions, Peter New York	<i>The Principles of English Grammar</i> † Robinson, Pratt, and Co.
	Parker, Richard G. and Charles Fox Boston	<i>Progressive Exercises in English Grammar, Part I.</i> † Crocker and Brewster

- 1837 Barrett, Solomon Albany *The Principles of Language*†
O. Steele
- Picket, A. and John W. Picket Cincinnati *The Principles of English Grammar*†
C. P. Barnes and C. Cropper
- 1838 Balch, Wm. S. Providence *Lectures on Language*†
B. Cranston and Co.
- 1839 Balch, Wm. S. Boston *A Grammar of the English Language**†
B. B. Mussey
- Goodenow, Smith B. Portland, ME *Systematic Text-Book of English Grammar**†
William Hyde
- 1842 Frost, John Philadelphia *A Practical English Grammar**†
Thomas, Cowperthwait and Co.
- 1845 Barrett, Solomon Boston *The Principles of Grammar*†
Ira Bradley and Co.
- Brown, James Philadelphia *An Appeal from the Old Theory of English Grammar*†
Grubb and Reazon
- Butler, Noble Louisville *A Practical Grammar of the English Language*†
John P. Morton and Company
- Weld, Allen H. Portland *Weld's English Grammar*†
Sanborn and Carter
- 1846 Wells, W. H. New York *A Grammar of the English Language**†
Mark H. Newman and Co.
- 1849 Hall, William Wheeling, VA *Encyclopedia of English Grammar*†
John B. Wolff
- Kenyon, Wm. C. Rochester *Elements of English Grammar*†
Erastus Darrow
- 1850 Fowler, William C. New York *English Grammar: The English Language in Its Elements and Forms: With a History of Its Origin and Development: Designed for Use in Colleges and Schools**†
Harper and Brothers

	Lyons, T. L. Cincinnati	<i>A New Grammar of the English Language</i> † H. S. and J. Applegate
1851	Brown, Gould New York	<i>The Grammar of English Grammars</i> *† Samuel S. and William Wood
	Spencer, George New York	<i>An English Grammar</i> *† Mark H. Newman and Co.
1852	Colegrove, W. Cleveland	<i>An Improved Grammar of the English Language</i> * Smith, Knight and Co.
	Covell, L. T. New York	<i>A Digest of English Grammar</i> † D. Appleton and Company
1853	Bailey, R. W. Philadelphia	<i>English Grammar</i> *† Lippincott, Grambo and Co.
1857	Morris, I. J. New York	<i>Morris's Grammar: A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language</i> † Thomas Holman
1859	Fowler, William C. New York	<i>Elementary Grammar</i> † Harper and Brothers
	Tower, David B. Boston	<i>Tower's Common School Grammar</i> † Crosby, Nichols and Company
	Weld, Allen H. Portland	<i>Weld's Progressive English Grammar</i> † Bailey and Noyes
1860	Greene, Samuel Philadelphia	<i>A Grammar of the English Language</i> † Cowperthwait and Co.
1861	Kerl, Simon New York	<i>A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language</i> † Phinney, Blakeman, and Mason
1862	Hart, John S. Philadelphia	<i>Hart's English Grammar</i> † E. H. Butler and Co.
1864	Bullions, Peter New York	<i>A Practical Grammar of the English Language</i> † American Book Company
1865	Kerl, Simon New York	<i>A Common-School Grammar of the English Language</i> † Iverson, Phinney, Blakeman and Co.

- 1870 Fowler, William C. *Common School Grammar*[†]
New York Harper and Brothers
- 1871 Boltwood, Henry L. *English Grammar and How to Teach It*[†]
Chicago Geo. and C. W. Sherwood
- 1872 Bain, Alexander *A Higher English Grammar*[†]
New York Henry Hot and Co.
- Swinton, William *A Progressive Grammar of the English Language*^{*†}
New York Harper and Brothers
- 1873 Greene, Samuel *An Analysis of the English Language*[†]
Philadelphia Cowperthwait and Company
- 1877 Reed, Alonzo and Brainder Kellogg *Higher Lessons in English*[†]
New York Clark and Maynard
- Swinton, William *A Grammar Containing the Etymology and Syntax of the English Language*[†]
New York American Book Company
- Whitney, William D. *Essentials of English Grammar*^{*}
Boston Ginn and Heath
- 1879 Colegrove, W. *A Complete Scientific Grammar of the English Language*^{*†}
New York The Authors' Publishing Company
- 1881 Buckham, Henry B. *The Analysis of Sentences*[†]
New York American Book Company
- Wells, W. H. *A Shorter Course in English Grammar and Composition*^{*†}
New York Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Company
- 1886 Murray, J. E. *Advanced Lessons in English*^{*†}
Philadelphia John E. Potter and Co.
- 1887 Meiklejohn, J. M. D. *English Grammar*[†]
Boston D. C. Heath and Co.
- Meiklejohn, J. M. D. *The English Language: Its Grammar, History, and Literature*^{*†}
Boston D. C. Heath and Co.
- Welsh, Alfred H. *Lessons in English Grammar*[†]
New York Silver, Burdett and Co.

- Williams, William G. *Outlines of English Grammar**†
Delaware, OH Aldine Printing Works
- 1888 Welsh, Alfred H. *Essentials of English**†
Chicago John C. Buckbee and Company
- 1890 Salmon, David *A School Grammar**†
New York Longmans, Green, and Co.
- 1891 Maxwell, William H. *Advanced Lessons in English Grammar for Use in Higher Grammar Classes**†
New York American Book Company
- Reed, Alonzo and Brainerd Kellogg
New York *The English Language**†
Effingham Maynard and Co.
- 1892 Bryant, James H. *Plain English*†
Cleveland Practical Text-Book Company
- Whitney, William D. and Sara Lockwood
Boston *An English Grammar for the Higher Grades in Grammar Schools**
Ginn and Company
- 1894 Metcalf, Robert C. and Thomas Metcalf
New York *English Grammar for Common Schools*†
American Book Company
- 1896 Diebel, J. H. *A New Method with English Grammar**†
West Unity, OH Published by the Author
- 1899 Lyte, E. Oram *Advanced Grammar and Composition**†
New York American Book Company
- Powell, W. B. and Louise Connolly
New York *A Rational Grammar of the English Language**†
American Book Company
- 1900 Arnold, Sarah L. and George L. Kittredge
Boston *The Mother Tongue, Book II**†
Ginn and Company
- Buehler, Hubert G. *A Modern English Grammar**†
New York Newson and Company

Reed, Alonzo and
Brainerd Kellogg
New York

*A High School Grammar**†
Maynard, Merrill, and Co.

APPENDIX B

“HISTORY AND POLITICS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE” SYLLABUS

ENGCOMP 1551: History and Politics of the English Language
University of Pittsburgh
Spring 2015

“No understanding of the English language can be very satisfactory without a notion of the history of the language.”

Paul Roberts, “A Brief History of English”

“It is not to be expected that everyone should be a philologist or should master the technicalities of linguistic science. But it is reasonable to assume that a liberally educated person should know something of the structure of his or her language, its position in the world and its relation to other tongues, the wealth of its vocabulary together with the sources from which that vocabulary has been and is being enriched, and the complex relationships among the many different varieties of speech that are gathered under the single name of the English language.”

Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*

“We cannot understand what a language is until we know its history. More than for most subjects, history is the key to language, because the very fabric of a language—its vocabulary, its grammar, its spelling, and so on—is a living record of its past.”

Jan Svartvik and Geoffrey Leech, *English—One Tongue, Many Voices*

I include these quotations because they suggest the guiding question of this course: What does a person need to know about the history of English in order to be a more skillful, critical user of the language today? What must we know about dialects and their distribution; about efforts to standardize and legislate language; about English’s connection to racial and gender identity, to socioeconomic standing, and to our sense of community and self? We use English all the time, everyday, but do we “understand” it in the way these writers suggest we should? Why should we? What’s to be gained? What are our obligations, to ourselves and others?

I have ideas, but I don’t have answers. Our enterprise this semester will be to formulate possible answers together. To do so, we will examine some of the most formative events in English’s history as well as the most pressing concerns connected to its current use. We’ll pay special attention to local histories of English: to its development in the United States, in our hometowns,

or in contexts where we expect to live and work. We'll also take special note of how the history of English intersects with conversations about literacy and education, including debates over how language should be taught in schools.

I have selected some readings to get us started in this vein, but I very seriously consider this inquiry to be a joint endeavor. The scope of our course reaches around the globe and back at least 1,500 years. To pursue it, I ask that you discover topics you find exciting and that you consistently contribute materials and insights to our conversations.

POLICIES

Attendance

Since your writing and responses to the reading are central to class discussion, attendance is mandatory. Come to class on time with the necessary readings, prepared to take part in conversation about the topics under study. You are allowed one absence during the term for whatever reason, though it is strongly recommended that you strive for perfect attendance. If you do miss a class, you must arrange for your assignment that day to be submitted on time via email. Two absences without a documented excuse (such as a doctor's note) will result in a full one-grade penalty to your final grade; more than two absences can be grounds for failure. Students in this situation should consider withdrawing from the course and taking it again under better circumstances. Also, please don't use your cell phones or other electronic devices during class unless our activities require you to do so.

Submitting Assignments

There will be some form of writing due every week, and all writing assignments must be completed in order for you to pass the course. Writing assignments must also be submitted on time. If you submit an assignment late (without a documented excuse), your final grade for the semester will drop by one third (C+ turns to C, for example). Any late assignment that isn't submitted by the following class will not receive my written commentary.

Grading

You will submit three types of assignments this semester: 1) you will compose weekly Inquiry Assignments in which you will engage with our required readings; 2) you will work in a small group to prepare and teach part of one designated class period; and 3) you will write a final research paper about a local variety of English or a recent development in the language of your choice. These assignments carry the following weight in your final grade:

Inquiry Assignments	40%
Teaching Group	20%
Final Project	40%

Your participation during class meetings will also factor into your grade. I may choose to raise or lower your final grade (from a B to a B+, or vice versa) to reflect your engagement in the course.

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

You will be conducting a good deal of independent research for this course, and it is important that you consistently acknowledge your sources, even when you're only paraphrasing. If you need assistance with this, talk to me or review the English Department's resources on plagiarism and academic integrity here (<http://www.english.pitt.edu/undergraduate/understand-and-avoid-plagiarism>) and here (<http://www.cfo.pitt.edu/policies/policy/02/02-03-02.html>). Any instance of plagiarism will result in an automatic "F" on the assignment and a report to the appropriate university authority.

Other Services

Pitt offers a number of services to assist students either academically or personally. If you are a student with a disability, you may wish to contact Disability Resources and Services in 140 William Pitt Union or at 412-648-7890 or drsrecep@pitt.edu (412-228-5346 for P3 ASL users). Pitt also offers free counseling at the Counseling Center, located in 334 William Pitt Union, 412-648-7930, for students seeking personal assistance.

ASSIGNMENTS

Reading Assignments

You will have some form of reading assignment due for each class meeting. These assignments will prompt and inform our classroom discussions, and they will serve as resources for your other class projects. You should complete all the reading for each meeting (unless I specify otherwise), and be sure that you bring the readings with you to class, either printed out or on an electronic device.

The majority of our readings are uploaded as pdfs on our CourseWeb site along with links to other required materials (websites, news stories, TED talks, etc.). There, you will also find a list of Study Questions to accompany the readings as well as the week's Inquiry Assignment. There is only one required book for this course: John McWhorter's *Our Magnificent Bastard Tongue* (Gotham 2009). There are copies available in the university bookstore, or you might find discounted copies on Amazon or elsewhere.

Inquiry Assignments

There are no quizzes or exams in this course. Instead, I ask you to demonstrate your engagement with our materials through weekly Inquiry Assignments. Sometimes, these Inquiries will ask you to comment on a key issue presented in our readings. More often, they ask you to extend the ideas in those readings by conducting some original research of your own. There's a lot that we could cover in a class on the history of English; in these Inquiries, you will contribute actively to the topics and materials that we consider. You will write 10 Inquiry Assignments in all. I will read each one and comment on them in some form, either in writing or by bringing sample Inquiries to class. However, I will only formally grade 5 of them.

Teaching Group

At the beginning of the term, I will assign you to a small teaching group. In the second half of the semester, your group will be responsible for teaching part (about 45 minutes) of a designated class period. You should adhere generally to the topic of your assigned day (for example,

“English in America” or “Language, Race, and Class”), but this is also an opportunity for you to focus on an aspect of English’s history that interests you and to expand on the topics that our syllabus already covers. As a group, you will prepare a textured lesson plan for the day (one that includes a range of activities, not just one long Power Point presentation/lecture), and assign a reading that you want us to look at beforehand. You will submit an explanation of your lesson plan the day you teach and a short reflection the week after.

Final Research Project

For your final project, you will research a local variety of English (the English spoken in your hometown, for example, or in the region where you expect to live and work) or a recent development in English in a context or situation that is important to you. Because this is a research project, you will have to do a lot of reading and citing of sources, working to represent the voices and ideas of others. But I also want you to consider this a personal project, one motivated by your life and interests. Your final project should make an argument about the importance of your chosen topic to you and to those around you, and thus your own experiences and reflections should have a prominent place. They should be the frame and the motivation for the research you do.

Because your final project is the result of a semester’s worth of work, I expect it to have a substantial scope and length. If you were to write a straightforward academic essay, I would look for about 8-10 pages. But the form your project takes is largely up to you (so long as you consult with me), and I encourage hybrid forms, especially those that include a digital component: a personal webpage, original video or audio, a Prezi. When all is said and done, your “10 pages” might be made up of some combination of essay and other audio/visual components.

History and Politics of the English Language
Schedule of Assignments

January 6: Course Introduction

January 13: Introduction to Language and Language Myths

Read: Daniels, "Nine Ideas about Language"
Greene, "Babel and the Damage Done"
Meraji, "Why Chaucer Said 'Ax' Instead of 'Ask,' and Why Some Still Do"
Leff, "'Preferred' Pronouns Gain Traction at US Colleges"
Write: Inquiry #1

January 20: Language, History, and Change

Read: *Language Files*, "The Family Tree and Wave Models"
Bryson, "Where Words Come From"
Wolfram, "Language Change: The Truth About Change"
Svartvik and Leech, "Linguistic Change in Progress"
Write: Inquiry #2

January 27: Histories of English

Read: Oxford Dictionaries, "The History of English"
Svartvik and Leech, "The First 500 Years" and "1066 and All That"
Bryson, "The First Thousand Years"
Write: Inquiry #3

February 3: The History of Standard English

Read: Svartvik and Leech, "Modern English in the Making" and "The Standard Language Today"
Greene, "A Brief History of Sticklers"
The Hunt Institute, "Conventions of Standard English Writing and Speaking"
Lyiscott, "3 Ways to Speak English"
Optional Reading: Truss, "Introduction—The Seventh Sense" and "The Tractable Apostrophe"
Write: Inquiry #4

February 10: An Alternative History of English

Read: McWhorter, *Our Magnificent Bastard Tongue*
Write: Inquiry #5

February 17: Global Englishes

Read: Crystal, "Why a Global Language?" and "Why English? The Historical Context"

Walker, "The World's English Mania"

Ryan, "Don't Insist on English"

Write: Inquiry #6

Teaching Group #1

February 24: English in America

Read: Baugh and Cable, "The English Language in America"

Write: Final Project Proposal

Teaching Group #2

March 3: English Only in America

Read: Baron, "An Official Language"

Rodriguez, "Aria: Memoir of a Bilingual Childhood"

Phyllis Schlafly, "English Should Be Our Official Language"

James Crawford, "Ten Common Fallacies about Bilingual Education"

Write: Inquiry #7

Teaching Group #3

March 10: Spring Break

No Class.

March 17: African American Vernacular English

Read: Smitherman, "From Africa to the New World"

McWhorter, "Black English: Is You Is or Is You Ain't a Language?"

Alim and Smitherman, "'Nah, We Straight': Black Language and America's
First Black President"

Prepare: An informal (7-8 minute) presentation of your Final Project research

Teaching Group #4

March 24: Local Histories of English, Part 1—Pittsburghese

Read: Johnstone and Kiesling, "Steel Town Speak"

Eberhardt, "The Sociolinguistics of Ethnicity in Pittsburgh"

Labov, "The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores"

Write: Inquiry #8

Guest lecture by James Fitzpatrick, Department of Linguistics

March 31: Local Histories of English, Part 2—The Ebonics Debate

Read: Applebome, “School District Elevates Status of Black English”
Golden, “Oakland Scratches Plan to Teach Black English”
“Oakland School Board Resolution on Ebonics (Amended)”
Rickford, “LSA Resolution on the Oakland ‘Ebonics’ Issue”
Lippi-Green, “Moral Panic in Oakland”
Messier, “Ebonics, the Oakland Resolution, and Using Non-Standard Dialects
in the Classroom”
Write: Draft of Final Project (about 3-4 pages)
Teaching Group #5

April 7: English in Schools

Read: Godley et al., “Preparing Teachers for Dialectally Diverse Classrooms”
Godley and Escher, “Bidialectal African American Adolescents’ Beliefs About
Spoken Language Expectations in English Classrooms”
Peregoy and Boyle, “English Language Learners in School”
Heath, “What No Bedtime Story Means”
Write: Inquiry #9
Teaching Group #6

April 14: English, Gender, and Sexuality

Read: Johnson, “Discourse Patterns of Males and Females”
Pauwels, “Feminist Linguistic Planning: Has It Been Worthwhile?”
Pullum, “Lying Feminist Ideologues Wreck English, Says Yale Prof”
Cameron and Kulick, “Sexuality as Identity: Gay and Lesbian Language”
Write: Inquiry #10
Teaching Group #7

April 21: Final Project due

Inquiry 1

Daniels and Greene write their essays to respond to myths and misconceptions that have persistently circulated about language in the public sphere. For this Inquiry Assignment, I want you to search around online for evidence of how language (and especially English) is being talked about right now. Do the myths that these writers mention continue to show up in places where language is discussed? Does the linguistic science that they summarize get circulated, too? Are there new ways of talking about English (new worries, new revelations, new attitudes) that Daniels and Greene don't describe? Keep questions like these in your mind.

Do some digging around. I want you to stick to the last two years, but other than that, focus your search in whatever way you find productive: search “English” or “language” on popular news sites or in back issues of a local paper; watch TED talks; find feature stories on PBS, NPR, or elsewhere; hunt through popular blogs; skim through some recent documentaries or YouTube videos. As examples, I've included two of my own findings on our reading list for the week: news stories from *NPR* and *The Huffington Post*.

When you've found one or two texts (or videos, etc.) that you want to write about, cite them and include a link if it's available. (We may look at one of your selections together in class.) Then, summarize and respond to them using this week's readings: What are your chosen texts about? What attitudes toward English or language do you see, and what seems to be at stake in these discussions? Most importantly, how would Daniels or Greene respond to them? Are there connections between your texts and a couple specific ideas in Daniels and Greene?

Inquiry 2

In this Inquiry, I want you to track a lexical change in the English language that's occurred in your lifetime—something recent, something in flux right now. This change might include new terms that are popping up because of technological innovations or cultural shifts; borrowed words brought into English because of evolving international relationships; new meanings, new pronunciations, new abbreviations, or new spellings for old words; or new etiquette about word use (like “like”), among other things. Our readings this week should give you some ideas for what to look for, and dictionaries regularly announce new words that they have added. Also, just pay attention to your own speech and to others speaking and writing around you.

Once you have a few new words you want to work with, play around with some resources for tracking those changes. For instance, if I want to track the emergence of newish terms for friendship like “bff” and “bestie,” I could:

- Just Google it. That gets me Wikipedia and Wiktionary entries, the Urban Dictionary and other dictionaries, and the websites of several magazines and news sites that give me a sense of the words' use and history.
- Look them up on the Oxford English Dictionary to get definitions, etymologies, and a sense of the printed texts where they appear. (Apparently, “bestie” is British rather than American in origin, and it appeared in print for the first time in a 1991 issue of the *Observer*.)

- Type them into Google N-grams, which will search its corpus of publications and graph the appearance of the words across time. I can even browse through the full text publications to get a sense of different ways the words might have been (or are still being) used.
- And there may be other resources. What else can you do to find out about your chosen words? Let's share resources with the whole group.

When you're done exploring, write up your findings for us and tell us what they mean. What's your best, educated guess about the origin of your word or words? Where do they seem to circulate most, and how might they be spreading? And what's the *why* of these words: did they appear by accident, as Bryson says some words do? Or were they borrowings? Do they serve new needs? Do they reflect something new about our culture? *As much as you can, draw on this week's readings to help you explain what you've found.*

Inquiry 3

Histories of the English language are everywhere. They appear in textbooks like Svartvik and Leech's and in popular nonfiction like Bryson's; in dictionaries from the seventeenth century, grammars from the eighteenth century, and rhetorics from the nineteenth century; in magazines and newspapers; in documentaries and on YouTube. It's a story that gets told over and over, often for different reasons, but still in surprisingly similar ways.

For your Inquiry assignment, I want you to describe the characteristics of the genre "history of the English language." You should base your observations on our readings for this week, but also on two or three other brief histories of English that you find on your own. The histories you read should be brief (and it will help if you actually use "brief" or "short" in your searches). There are a lot of long accounts out there—whole textbooks dedicated to this subject. We'll read one of those later in the term, but for now, study the quick accounts. Search Google and YouTube and periodical databases. Try reading around in earlier centuries using Internet Archive or Google Books. Be creative. Part of what I want you to discover and share are your different methods of finding interesting material.

When you've read your histories and you're ready to write, consider what Paul Roberts says at the beginning of his own "Brief History of English": "The history of English is long and complicated, and we can only hit the high spots." What are those high spots? That is, what are the historical events, linguistic shifts, interesting anecdotes, or illustrative examples that show up again and again in the histories of English you read? At the same time, note the interesting differences. What does one writer include in his or her history that another writer leaves out? Why did they do that, do you think? Does it change something about the history itself (its completeness, its authoritativeness, its scope)? Does it change something about what the writer expects to you take away from or do with the history of English?

Inquiry 4

Now that we've done a substantial amount of reading about Standard English, I'd like you to map out some of the different positions that people take about this contentious issue.

Begin with the Hunt Institute video about core standards and Jamila Lyiscott's TED talk. What seem to be their understandings of Standard English—its value, its problems, the scope of its use? How do they match up with or diverge from each other and from our other assigned readings for this week?

The first part of your Inquiry should thus describe the arguments about Standard English in our assigned readings. In the second part, you should do some research of your own. What other videos or news stories, blog posts or advice columns, essays or presentations can you find about the use of Standard English in our time? What do these other voices add to the discussion? And finally, *what do you find to be the most insightful observation, pressing concern, or interesting question that's tangled up in this debate?* I'm not asking you to take a hard-and-fast stance of your own at this point; rather, I'm asking you to describe something about this topic that you (that we) need to think about further.

Inquiry 5

From the very first page of his book, McWhorter contrasts his history of English to the "Grand Old History" that we usually get. In this Inquiry, I'm asking you to describe this contrast. You've read several "Grand Old" histories of English by now, so you should be able to explain some of the key differences. What does McWhorter's history offer that others don't? And why? That is, what's the purpose of his alternative account? What does it add to or challenge about the standard story? Why is it directing it to us, a popular audience?

Sometimes, McWhorter is upfront about his motives, so you should quote or paraphrase and then explain pertinent passages as you write your Inquiry. Other times, we can only guess at or interpret what McWhorter is up to. Still, you should provide appropriate textual support (citing specific page numbers) and explanation as you make a claim about the purposes and use of this book.

Inquiry 6

In the last 50 years, English has spread around the globe, but it has not remained the same in every country and region where it has established roots. Rather, English has proliferated into a number of regional varieties, each of which has its own history, unique characteristics, and use. Crystal describes many of these Englishes in his chapter on "Why English? The Historical Context." For your Inquiry this week, I'd like you to research one of these more closely.

Begin with Crystal's chapter. You don't need to read the whole thing, just the opening three paragraphs and the sections on "Origins" and "America" (to get us ready for next week), as well as the concluding section on "A World View." Then, select whichever middle section interests you most—the section on Australia, perhaps, or South Asia. What do you find interesting about Crystal's account, and what questions do you still have? Do some of your own research on the English of that region, its characteristics and uses, and especially the attitudes that residents of the region have toward the English that may be their first, second, or foreign tongue. Here's a link to help you zero in on one particular global dialect of English: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_dialects_of_the_English_language

Finally, I want you to find some examples of your chosen English that you can share with the class. If you can find some audio-recorded examples, great. Link to them in your Inquiry. But definitely find a representative written example, just something that could fit on a single page and that you can include with your Inquiry.

Inquiry 7

English is not the official language of the United States, but it is the official language of 31 individual States. Pennsylvania, however, is not one of them—but not for lack of trying. Just last year, lawmakers proposed making English PA’s official language, though that legislation hasn’t yet passed.

This week, I’d like you to research how the English Only debate has recently played out in the State where we all live. Begin your search with local and then national news sources (“Pennsylvania English Only” and “Pennsylvania official language” are useful search terms), and confine yourself to the last few years. Branch out to other sources if you find it necessary.

As you read, pay particular attention to people’s reasons for supporting or opposing English Only in PA. Baron says that many who support official language policies are motivated by practical or patriotic concerns (4). However, he also says that these concerns are often “thinly disguised attacks on race, religion, and ethnicity” (8). What evidence do you see of these motivations in news coverage of the issue? Quote and discuss some specific examples, and use Baron’s own examples to help you interpret yours.

Finally, some personal reflection: Which of the reasons, for or against, do you find especially compelling and why? And what difference does it make to you? That is, how would English Only in PA positively or negatively affect you, those you know, or those you may one day work with or teach?

Inquiry 8

For this Inquiry, I’d like you to write about the social group and social practices that “Pittsburghese” is associated with online, in local news sources, and in the daily business and life of this city. More than many dialects, this one is explicitly claimed by a local population and given an explicit role in local culture. But at the same time, it’s not all pervasive. Even living in Pittsburgh, we don’t hear this dialect everywhere. So, who *are* the speakers of Pittsburghese? In what situations and for what reasons does this dialect get talked, talked about, displayed, and commodified? And what are people’s attitudes toward the dialect and its speakers?

I’d like you to begin your research by examining some of the items and resources about Pittsburghese that Eberhardt mentions in her article (1445), but you should then branch out to find some other representations of this dialect and its speakers. Google “Pittsburghese,” “yinz,” “yinzer,” or other terms closely associated with the dialect. Look up YouTube videos and archived news stories. Especially, talk to friends and family who’ve been in the area for a while. One of Daniels’s nine ideas about language is that the way people speak is intimately connected to who they are and the culture of which they’re a part. Do what you can to get a sense of the speakers and culture associated with Pittsburghese.

Inquiry 9

I put the quotations at the top of our syllabus because they suggest the guiding question of this course: What does a person need to know about the history of the English language in order to be a more skillful, critical user (or teacher) of English today? For your second-to-last Inquiry assignment, I'd like to hear your answer to this question. I'd also like to know which of our readings helped you to develop your answer, and why. If you're planning to be a teacher—and most of you are—I'd like to know how this week's readings especially have guided your thinking.

Inquiry 10

At the opening of her essay, Fern Johnson argues that “From birth onward, how men and women speak, how they are spoken about and to, and their more general relation to discourse are profoundly fashioned through social experiences” (517). That is, various social authorities teach men how to speak like men and teach women how to speak like women, and men and women “discursively display their gender identities” when they engage in conversation (517).

For this Inquiry, I'd like you to use Johnson's observations as the starting point for some fieldwork of your own about this topic. Throughout the week, keep careful notes about conversations you have or about conversations that you observe between others. What gendered “discourse patterns” do you observe during these interactions? And how do they confirm, stray from, or supplement the patterns that Johnson describes in her essay?

And finally, so what? Why pay attention to things like this? Johnson reviews the scholarship on this topic but doesn't take an especially clear stance about the benefit or harm of gendered patterns of discourse. What sense do you get about why she's bringing these issues to our attention? And why do you (or don't you) think that they're important, too?

Teaching Group Assignment

At the beginning of the term, I will assign you to a small teaching group. In the second half of the semester, your group will be responsible for teaching part (about 45 minutes) of a designated class period. You should adhere generally to the topic of your assigned day (for example, “English in America” or “African American Vernacular English”), but this is also an opportunity for you to focus on an aspect of English's history that interests you and to expand on the topics that our syllabus already covers.

As a group, you should research your chosen topic and prepare a textured lesson plan for the day you teach. By that, I mean that your plan should include a range of activities that engage the class in such a way that we collaboratively learn and think about your topic. You should pose questions or point out difficult but interesting issues, bringing before the group materials that we need to work through together. You should not simply report on your research by preparing a presentation that leaves us sitting silently in the audience. Think of yourselves more as *discussion leaders* than as presenters.

To help facilitate the kind of lively engagement we're after, you should assign a short reading (or video, etc.) that we can all prepare in advance and discuss as part of your teaching session. (You should also feel free to lead discussion of the regularly assigned readings, if they're pertinent.) And as far as other activities, I encourage you to be creative. What kind of classroom work usually gets you going?

As you prepare for your day of teaching, you must schedule a time to consult with me as a group during my office hours, at least one week before you're scheduled to teach. I'd like to hear a run through of your plan and to know what reading you want to assign. I can also help you get this reading to your classmates. On the day you teach, you should submit your lesson plan to me. This will be a single document, collaboratively authored, that 1) describes your topic and explains why it has an important place in our course, and that 2) details the activities you've planned for the day and each group member's role in orchestrating them. A week later, you should each submit a short (about 500 word) reflection of your group's preparation and teaching. How did it go, and what would you do differently next time?

Final Project: A Local History of English

Content

For your final project, you will research 1) a local variety of English or 2) a recent development in the English language in a context or situation that is important to you. I want this project to be useful and meaningful, so think about what interests you. Think about what would be practical for you. As an interested citizen, what do you want to know about the history of English in the region where you live or where you grew up? As a professional in the making, what should you know about how dialect, language standards, and fair and inclusive language practices intersect with your chosen field of study? Or as a soon-to-be teacher, what do you need to know about the language(s) that your students will speak or about the language politics of the state where you will work? In essence, this final project will present some version of your answer to the question posed on the first page of our syllabus: What does a person need to know about the history of English in order to be a more skillful, critical user of the language today?

Because this is a research project, I expect you to work closely with a range of scholarly materials, print and electronic, alphabetic and audio-visual. Compile a running bibliography of sources that you consult (you will submit this when your project is complete), and when you find a source that's especially useful, please share it with the class. Part of our goal this term will be to learn from each other about interesting resources for studying language. As you work with these sources in your project, be sure to follow appropriate MLA guidelines for acknowledging and citing the work of others. You may always talk with me about how to do this. I have also included information in this regard in our syllabus. (One more thing: if you're more comfortable using a different citation style, just let me know. That's fine.)

As you work to represent the voices and ideas of other scholars in your project, though, don't forget to represent your own. I'd like you to consider this as much a personal project as a research project. It should be motivated by your life and interests. It should make an argument about the importance of your chosen topic to you and to people like you, and thus your own experiences and reflections should have a prominent place. They should be the clear frame and the motivation for the research you do. Above all, don't let your project turn into just a report—a dry summary of facts that you've dug up from previous research.

Form

Because your final project is the result of a semester's worth of work, I expect it to have a substantial scope and length. If you were to write a straight up academic essay, I would look for about 8-10 pages. But the form your project takes is largely up to you (so long as you consult with me), and I encourage hybrid forms, especially those that include a digital component: a personal webpage, original video or audio, a Prezi. When all is said and done, your "10 pages" might be made up of some combination of essay and other audio-visual components.

You will compose your final project in stages. First, you will submit a proposal that describes (in 500-700 words) what you want to work on and why it is important or pertinent to you. You will give an informal presentation of your initial research findings during on March 17, and you will submit a rough draft of your final project on March 31. Your final project will be due during our final exam period. See our schedule of assignments for the appropriate dates.

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