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Early Modern French Studies

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/yemf20

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To cite this article: John Gallagher (2024) Teaching Europe French: the worlds and words of Claude Mauger, Early Modern French Studies, 46:2, 122-149, DOI: 10.1080/20563035.2024.2418036

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/20563035.2024.2418036

Published online: 04 Nov 2024.

EARLY MODERN FRENCH STUDIES, Vol. 46 No. 2, December 2024, 122–149

Teaching Europe French: the worlds and words of Claude Mauger*

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Claude Mauger is a largely forgotten figure today, but he was the most influential French teacher in seventeenth-century England, and his work achieved lasting success in print in England and on the continent. This article offers a new account of his career in person and in print, arguing that this standard-bearer for the prestige of French himself lived a more precarious life, and that his influence stretched throughout Europe and North America and touched languages from English and German to Italian and Arabic. It reconstructs Mauger's networks, including previously undiscussed manuscript material. And it surveys many of the surviving copies of Mauger's works across three continents to

* My first debts are to Katherine Ibbett and the Society for Early Modern French Studies, who invited me to deliver a keynote lecture at the 2023 conference on 'Mot et Monde/Word and World' in Oxford. Sarah Alyn-Stacey invited me to give the 2024 Annual Lecture in French at Trinity College Dublin on Mauger, and I'm grateful to audiences at St Andrews and at the University of Manchester conference on 'The Early Modern Transnational Book' for their comments and suggestions on aspects of this material. I am especially grateful to special collections librarians and archivists on three continents without whose help this work would not have been possible. For information on the copies cited in this article, including the provision of photographs and provenance background, I would especially like to thank Catherine Ahearne at Maynooth University; Mark Bainbridge at Worcester College, Oxford; Louise Bareham at Faversham Town Council; Julie Blyth at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Joanna Bowring at Exeter College, Oxford; Helen Carron at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Steph Carter at Carlisle Cathedral Library; Adam Crothers at St John's College, Cambridge; Emily Dourish at Cambridge University Library; Jennifer Fain at Bowdoin College; Sophie Floate at Balliol College, Oxford; Nathaniel de Gala at the Huntington Library; Julie Greenhill at the University of St Andrews; Graham Greer at the Newberry Library; Genny Grim at Pembroke College, Cambridge; Grace Hale at the University of Virginia; Marianne Hansen at Bryn Mawr; Steven Newman at York Minster Old Library; Aaron Pratt at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; Christine Reynolds at Westminster College Library; Callum Sharpe at the University of Edinburgh; Megan Speechley and Nick Hearn at the Taylorian Institution, Oxford; Catherine Sutherland at Magdalene College, Cambridge; Steven Van Impe and Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly at the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp; Heather Wiegert at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and the staffs of the Early Printed Books room at Trinity College Dublin, Oxford's Weston Library, KU Leuven's Special Collections, and the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds. This is a partial list: my thanks to everyone who answered a query or shared information about a Mauger copy in their collection.

DOI 10.1080/20563035.2024.2418036

ask who read him, where, and how. The study of this one teacher has significant implications for how we think about the teaching and learning of languages, the labour involved, and multilingual reading more broadly.

KEYWORDS Claude Mauger, language learning, multilingualism, early modern, seventeenth century, history of reading

Introduction

If you had bought a ticket to London's Theatre Royal one night in 1698, you might have caught a performance of John Lacy's *Sauny the Scott*. A fairly hokey reworking of *The Taming of the Shrew* first performed in 1667, it included a mainstay of the English theatre of the period: a comical Frenchman. *Sauny*'s Frenchman was actually an Englishman disguised as 'an Acute teacher of the French Tongue', using the name 'Mounsieur Mawgier'.[1] To those who saw *Sauny the Scott* – Samuel Pepys was one – 'Mounsieur Mawgier' was a name that would very likely have recalled another.[2] By the time of the play's first performance, the French teacher Claude Mauger had been resident in London for around fifteen years, where he had become a mainstay of the city's booming market for French teaching and French grammars. He was a well-known name, praised by the author of a 1673 women's conduct manual as 'that unimitable Master of the French Tongue', and taken to task by the Quaker George Fox for using 'you' instead of 'thou' in his dialogues.[3] Loved or loathed, Mauger would remain at the forefront of the market for at least three decades more.

We know relatively little about the details of Claude Mauger's life. Where he was from is unknown, though he mentioned having attended the university of Orléans.[4] What seems clear is that he established his career as a teacher of languages in Blois during the 1640s, where he attended to the needs of northern European travellers who saw the towns of the Loire valley as boasting the purest variety of French.[5] By 1652, Mauger had moved to London, where he was working as a French teacher at a boarding school for young women. The reason for his move is unclear – he claimed that he had been forced to quit Blois by 'our Intestine

[1] John Lacy, *Sauny the Scott: Or, The Taming of the Shrew: A Comedy. As it is now Acted at the Theatre-Royal* (London, 1697), p. 8. We can draw a direct (if tenuous) line from Lacy to Mauger: John Lacy was a shareholder in Thomas Killigrew's theatre company, and a copy of Mauger's 1653 *True Advancement of the French Tongue* survives with an ownership mark made by Elizabeth Killigrew, daughter of the Church of England clergyman Henry Killigrew and niece of Thomas: Westminster Abbey Library GAL. I. 1.44. On Lacy and Thomas Killigrew, see Katherine West Scheil, '*Sauny the Scott: or, the Taming of the Shrew*: John Lacy and the Importance of Theatrical Context in the Restoration,' *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700*, 21.2 (1997), 66–81.

[2] Tuesday 9 April 1667, <https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/04/09/> [accessed 29 October 2024]

[3] Anon. ['Hannah Woolley'], *The gentlewomans companion; or, A guide to the female sex* (London, 1673), p. 32; George Fox, *A Battle-Door for Teachers & Professors to Learn Singular & Plural* (London, 1660), 'The French Battle-Door,' p. 4.

[4] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French and English Letters* (London, 1676), p. 139.

[5] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 161–69.

Distempers' (likely a reference to the Frondes).[6] He made his home mostly in London for the next two and a half decades, moving to France for a few years around 1679, and likely dying around 1688.[7]

The Restoration was a good time to be a French teacher in London. Interest in the language was high and growing, and those who could teach were in demand as private tutors, as teachers at boarding schools and academies, and as tutors and governors to young men going travelling.[8] As the numbers of Protestant migrants from Louis XIV's France grew, teaching French became an option for those who had arrived with little or nothing of their own: it was a skill much in demand among the English. Mauger had arrived earlier, but he fitted into the burgeoning market for informal French teaching and the community which Kathleen Lambley called 'Little Blois', which included other teacher-authors such as Paul Festeau, Guy Miège, Peter Berault, and Abel Boyer.[9]

Today, Mauger is a largely forgotten figure outside of the study of early modern language learning. Charles Bouton dedicated a monograph to him in 1972, and in 2014 Valérie Raby published a critical edition of Mauger's *Grammar*. This article views Mauger and his work from three different perspectives. Firstly, I offer an account of Mauger's life story and self-presentation as it emerges from his printed works – by and large, the only surviving archive we have for him. Secondly, I use his dedications and printed letters to reconstruct the networks of which he was a part. And thirdly, I ask a question which is still too little explored in the history of early modern language learning, and which has implications beyond the study of this one teacher: how was Mauger read? His works were printed in tens of editions across at least five countries (England, France, the southern Netherlands, the United Provinces, and Germany), and a significant number of copies survive, offering a unique opportunity to think about how readers of seventeenth-century England's most prolific French teacher read and used his work.

Mauger's career is one which speaks to our times. A migrant living in England, he turned his foreignness to his advantage, seeking to shape and sell an idea of the French language and of Frenchness to his English readers. Like the Huguenot language teacher and translator Abel Boyer, whose 'amphibious' status is explored by Suzanne Jones in this special issue, Mauger lived a transnational life, always at pains to advertise his deep roots both in England and France.[10] And while he traded

[6] Members of the Verney family studied with Mauger at Blois during Ralph Verney's exile in the 1640s: see Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 38–41; Mark Motley, 'Educating the English Gentleman Abroad: The Verney Family in Seventeenth-Century France and Holland,' *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 23 (1994), 243–56; Miriam Slater, *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 127–31. On possible explanations for Mauger's departure from Blois, see Charles P. Bouton, *Les grammaires françaises de Claude Mauger à l'usage des Anglais (XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1972), pp. 31–3.

[7] Valérie Raby, *Claude Mauger, Grammaire Françoise/French Grammar* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), pp. 29–32.

[8] Gallagher, pp. 14–54.

[9] Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England During Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920), pp. 301–08.

[10] Suzanne Jones, 'Amphibious Author: Abel Boyer, *Iphigénie*, and Huguenot Migration,' *Early Modern French Studies* (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/20563035.2024.2302973>.

on prestige – of his students, his contacts, and of French itself – it was a prestige which was tinged with precarity. The precarity of a migrant in a new city, conscious that his welcome was never guaranteed. The precarity of a teacher with no institutional affiliation, reliant on the educational economy to provide a flow of students and supporters that would keep him in business. Those relationships – between mobility and rootedness, between precarity and prestige – are familiar in the educational landscape in which we work today. The study of this one teacher has significant implications for how we think about the teaching and learning of languages, the labour involved, and multilingual reading more broadly.

Biography of a book, biography of a man

Mauger published around thirteen English editions of his *French Grammar* across his lifetime. As Valérie Raby argues, Mauger's text was no simple grammar, but rather 'un ensemble textuel composite et plurilingue, dont la structuration évolue au gré des éditions'.[11] Characteristically for an early modern language teacher, Mauger left very little in terms of surviving manuscript materials. But his obsessive projection of his own persona in the texts he wrote for English learners of French means that to attempt a biography of the man is also to write a biography of his book.[12] Mauger's print career did not begin after his arrival in England. He had already published a Latin grammar of French called *Tyrocinium Linguae Gallicae* at Blois in 1651, the text of which he included in some editions of his *French Grammar* published in England. Mauger also claimed to have written his *Parterre de la langue françoise* for use by a German prince whom he had taught at Blois: this was a lengthy series of rhyming dialogues on the difficulties faced by foreign students of French grammar. To give an example, here is a question posed by the student (in verse, of course):

> Cette voix *(plus)* aussi me donne de la peine.
> S'il faut *(de)* s'il faut *(du)* la reigle est incertaine.

Mauger replies:

> *Plus)* au comparatif ne reçoit *(du)* jamais,
> Il prend *(de)* c'est ainsi, que toûjours je le mets :
> Mais au superlatif, il y trouvera place
> Dans le discours des Grands, & de la populace.[13]

Mauger told his readers that when put on sale in Blois, this 'little work was so well received by the French Gentlemen themselves, that in few dayes there was not one left for the strangers'.[14] Generously, he included it in multiple editions of his work from 1658 onwards. Mauger's early years in Blois, where he wrote that 'I had the

[11] Raby, p. 7.
[12] For long-term success, Mauger would only be outshone by Abel Boyer and his *Compleat French-Master*, first published in London in 1694: Raby, p. 9.
[13] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1670), pp. 173–74.
[14] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Maugers French Grammar* (London, 1658), [A6r].

honour to instruct the Flowre of all Europe in the French Tongue', were a source of prestige which he drew on for decades to come.[15]

Mauger's first foray into English print was his *True Advancement of the French Tongue* (London, 1653). It promised 'not onely familiar discourses, but most exact Instructions for Travell, in a most elegant stile and phrase, very useful and necessary for all Gentlemen that intend to travell into France', as well as a section on 'Anglicisms' to be avoided in French, which spoke to his experience of teaching English-speakers the language. The dialogues offered to learners began with a lengthy section titled 'Phrases to be used by a Stranger when hee landeth at Diepe'.[16] A feature of Mauger's work which has drawn little comment is his provision of specific and practical advice for travellers, down to recommendations of specific lodgings and teachers in the different places through which the traveller would pass. Language manuals are commonly treated as separate from the *ars apodemica*, texts on the art of travel, but Mauger embeds much information of this kind throughout the *True Advancement* and its successors, advertising the in-depth knowledge of the grand tour and its participants that helped to set him apart. The *True Advancement*, and the grammars by Mauger which followed it, are also notable for the centrality of materials depicting and directed at female learners of French. Of the dozen dialogues (really eleven, as one seems to be missing) in the 1653 text, the majority foregrounded female speakers and students of French, with only four focusing on the conversation of men. This reflected Mauger's situation at the time: he worked at a London school for young women operated by Margaret Kilvert.[17] Throughout the 1650s, Mauger's prefaces and dedications reflect his closeness to the boarding schools and academies which were increasingly central to London's educational economy. His 1658 grammar contained a laudatory poem written by 'Samuel Willan, Master of a private School in Sir Henry Woods House, in Clopton at Hackny', likely Mauger's employer around that time.[18]

Mauger seems to have left teaching in schools behind by the 1660s, and his works reflect a clientele including women and men of high social status. But while the prefaces to new editions of the grammar boasted of the great demand for his work and the number of copies sold, the circumstances of his London life may hint at a more precarious existence.[19] Almost every edition of the grammar found him lodging somewhere new. In 1658, he wrote that 'I live in Hart-street, next doore to the three Horse-shooes, near the two Sugar-loaves in Convent-garden'.[20] In 1662, he could be heard of 'in Long-acre, at the signe of the French-armes'.[21] In 1670, he

[15] Claude Mauger, *The True Advancement of the French Tongue* (London, 1653), [A2v].
[16] Ibid., pp. 130–52.
[17] Gallagher, pp. 31–5.
[18] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Maugers French Grammar* (London, 1658), [A7v–A8r].
[19] I use 'precarious' here in its more recent sense, though Luke O'Sullivan's paper at this conference charted the significance of 'précaire' and related terms in early modern French: Luke O'Sullivan, '*Régner précairement*: Inventing Precarity in Early Modern France,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, (forthcoming 2024). On its contemporary resonances, see James Illingworth and Hannah Scott, 'Foreword: Hope Labour, Precarious Research, and the Future of French Studies,' *Nottingham French Studies*, 62.3 (2023), 233–50.
[20] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Maugers French Grammar* (London, 1658), [A6v].
[21] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1662), [A8v].

wrote that 'I live for the present in Great Queen-street over against Wells-street'; the next year he was in the same place, which he informed readers was the house of a joiner named Mr. Peke.[22] Two years later, in 1673, he had moved to Little Queen Street.[23] In 1675 he was in Exeter Street, living with an upholsterer, and in 1676 he was in Shandois Street in the house of Master Saint-André.[24] What all of these addresses had in common was their proximity to Covent Garden, an increasingly fashionable area and one which was popular among the growing number of French migrants settling in London in the period.[25]

Covent Garden's proximity to Court and to many of the printers, publishers, and booksellers with whom Mauger dealt may have added to its appeal. It was also increasingly known as a place where artists congregated, and Mauger mentioned at least three Dutch artists as contacts through whom he could be contacted: in 1671, it was 'Mr. Verbrugguen a Dutch Picture-drawer'; in 1676, he names 'Master Keyser a Dutch Gentleman, and Picture drawer in Long Aker' (elsewhere, he says that this is a 'Master G. Keyser', and that he is Mauger's brother-in-law); and in 1688, the contact is 'Master Wilt Dutch Picture-Drawer, in Exeter-Street' (Mauger elsewhere gives his first name as Cornelius, and says he is also his brother-in-law).[26] Malcolm Smuts argues that lodgers and transient residents played a significant role in the seventeenth-century expansion of the West End, which became characterised by 'dense pockets of relatively poor dwellings hidden behind the substantial houses along main streets'.[27] Mauger's restless movement from lodgings to lodgings arguably points towards a precarity underlying his bids for prestige.

Mauger's grammar changed over his lifetime, with the number and range of dialogues expanding and new sections being added.[28] But the passage of time also saw shifts in Mauger's self-presentation and in his relationship with the French language. In Restoration England, what constituted the 'best' French was thought to be in flux, and Mauger had to manoeuvre accordingly. In 1658, he insisted on his adherence to an immutable standard of French determined by its finest literature, writing that:

[22] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1670), [A4v]; Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), [A8v].

[23] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1673), np.

[24] Claude Mauger, *Le Tableau du Jugement Universel Avec d'autres discours spirituels* (London, 1675), [A4v]; Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1676), np.

[25] On the city's westward shift and the social makeup of the early West End, including the importance of international migration, see R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Court and its Neighbourhood: Royal Policy and Urban Growth in the Early Stuart West End,' *Journal of British Studies*, 30.2 (1991), 117–49.

[26] De Keyser may have been Willem de Keyser (d. 1692), a jeweller-turned-landscape painter from Antwerp who moved to London: see Sander Karst, 'Schilderen in een land zonder schilders: De Nederlande bijdrage aan de opkomst van de Britse schilderschool, 1520–1720' (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2021), pp. 67, 345; Arianne Burnette, 'Keyser, William de (c. 1647–1692), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7427>. I am grateful to Karen Hearn and Sander Karst for their suggestions. Dr Karst has indicated in a private communication that a Verbruggen and a van der Wilt do appear in the archives of the Painter Stainers Company for this period.

[27] Smuts, pp. 126–27.

[28] Raby is the best guide to the shifting composition of different editions of Mauger's grammar, as well as its shifting metalanguages; see also Bouton, pp. 62–95.

> For my spelling you may follow me, for I follow the most famous pens in France; and be sure that I will not bring a new corrupted way of writing after our French-womens fashion, but follow the most learned men in our language, as Balsac, Corneille, Scudery, Voitures, and other like them.[29]

This sense of Mauger as the male guardian of a male-gendered linguistic and literary tradition feels at odds with his long history of teaching (and proclaiming his closeness to) excellent female students, and perhaps reflects an attempt to push back against the gendering of the French language and French culture as effeminate at the time of writing.[30]

The longer Mauger spent living in England, the more he needed to justify his claim to speak the 'best' variety of French. He appealed to his experience of teaching in Blois, 'whose pronunciation changes not', but he reassured readers of his close contact with the ever-evolving best French, since 'I am daily with Courtiers as well Ambassadours as other great Lords and Gentlemen of the Court of France'. He kept up to date, in other words, insisting that 'I am curious to read all our new Books, and that I keep a correspondence with our best Authors, none need wonder if I make use always of good language'.[31] In 1679, a more defensive tone had crept in, and while he still named Blois as the place 'where our Language finds its most glorious Throne', Mauger felt the need to reassure readers that 'I need not to tell you that I speak still good French, and à la mode, as well as if I were at Paris, though I have been long here'.[32] Mauger's situation was one familiar to those teaching a language outside of the country where it is spoken: he felt his own claim to speaking the best – and, crucially, the most up-to-date – French was under threat. The 1679 edition revealed something else: that Mauger was, in fact, no longer in England, 'some Extraordinary business having called me to Paris, where I now live'. His title page described him as 'Professor of the Languages in the Court of France'. Mauger would spend much of the next decade in Paris, though he continued to publish regular new editions of his grammars in London.[33] Writing from his new lodgings in the Faubourg Saint-Germain in 1682, he boasted of his attendance among 'that Court, and those Courtiers whose Meen and Language is the Standard of all the politer part of Europe'.[34] As English readers became more concerned with the acquisition of French that was not only correct but also modish, Mauger modified his pitch to meet consumer demand.

Mauger had always claimed that he was internationally renowned, writing in 1673 that his works had received 'a general Approbation, not only in England, but everywhere else, where they learn French, especially in France, where the

[29] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Maugers French Grammar* (London, 1658), [A6r–A6v].
[30] Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (Routledge: London & New York, 1996), especially pp. 26–41.
[31] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), [A8r].
[32] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1679), 'To the Reader'.
[33] Raby identifies two periods during which Mauger was based in France, roughly 1680–82 and 1686–88: Raby, 16–17.
[34] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1682), Ar, [A4v].

Travellers make use of no other'.[35] He boasted that his works were held in the Port-Royal library.[36] But while Mauger's books had likely frequently travelled with their readers, from the 1680s his work began to be published in continental Europe. A 'double grammar', featuring Mauger's grammar of French and the English grammar of his fellow London-based teacher Paul Festeau, was first published in Leiden in 1690, with later editions being published in the Hague, Rotterdam, Maastricht, and Brussels, while editions of Mauger's work were also printed in Bordeaux and Rouen. His work seems to have been of significant interest to Dutch- and Flemish-speaking readers, as French–Dutch translations were published in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Nijmegen, and Utrecht, as well as an edition not identified by Raby printed in Tournai in 1748.[37] Elements of Mauger's work were incorporated alongside materials culled from the writings of Abel Boyer and Paul Festeau and advertised on the title page of a series of editions of an *Engelschen Grammatica* or English grammar published in Ghent and in Bruges between 1742 and 1750.[38] Beyond the books noted in Raby's bibliography of works by Mauger, his popularity extended at least into the latter half of the eighteenth century in the Low Countries – in the library of KU Leuven, I have seen Maastricht editions with hypothesised publication dates of 1762 and 1781.[39] At the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience in Antwerp, an Antwerp edition published by H. P. Vander Hey has a hypothesised date of 1827 – we know that this printer was active from 1798 to 1846, suggesting that Mauger was still being read in nineteenth-century Belgium.[40] These later editions had often undergone significant changes from Mauger's originals, reflecting new national and confessional contexts: the Maastricht 1781 edition, for instance, contained dialogues discussing the Dutch East Indies and the foundation of Batavia, as well as a bilingual letter 'pour feliciter une persone nouvellement entrée en Religion'.[41]

[35] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1673), [A4v].

[36] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1688), [A4r].

[37] For a bibliography of published work by Mauger, including the 'double grammars' and some editions produced in continental Europe, see Raby, pp. 623–26; see also Bouton, pp. 62–95. The Tournai edition is Claude Mauger, *Les dialogues françois et flamands de Claude Mauger* (Tournai, 1748).

[38] *Engelschen grammatica, inhoudende waerachtige ende lichte onderwysingen om in korten tijdt de selve taele te leeren* (Brugghe, 1742); *Engelschen grammatica* (Ghent, 1742); *Engelschen grammatica … getrocken uyt den dobbelen grammatica van Mauger, Festeau ende Boyer* (Brugghe, c.1750). On the 'borrowing' of materials and their reproduction in other language manuals, and on the *Engelschen grammatica* specifically, see P. L. M. Loonen, *For to Learne to Buy and Sell: Learning English in the Low Dutch Area Between 1500 and 1700: A Critical Survey* (Groningen: Universiteitsdrukkerij, 1990), pp. 167–71, 269–70.

[39] Claude Mauger, *Nouvelle grammaire et dialogues françois-flamands* (Maastricht, 1762?), KU Leuven Special Collections, 7A3952; Claude Mauger, *Nouvelle grammaire et dialogues françois-flamands* (Maastricht, 1781?), KU Leuven Special Collections, 7A3497.

[40] Claude Mauger, *Nieuwe Fransche en Nederduytsche grammaire en saemen-spraeken, behelzende De noodige Grond-Regels van de Fransche en Nederduytsche Spel-Konst* (Antwerp, 1827?), Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience C 143410 [C2-546 e]. For Vander Hey, see J. Verhelst, 'De Antwerpse drukkerijen 1794–1914,' *De Gulden Passer* (1966) <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gul005196601_01/_gul005196601_01_0002.php> [accessed 29 October 2024].

[41] For an account of French's place in Dutch plurilingualism, albeit one which does not address the situation in the southern Netherlands, see Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau, 'The Use of French Among the Dutch Elites in Eighteenth-Century Holland,' in *European Francophonie: The Social, Political and Cultural History of an International Prestige Language*, ed. by Vladislav Rjéoutski, Gesine Argent and Derek Offord (Oxford & Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 145–73.

In Germany, Mauger's work came to the attention of the famous language master Matthias Kramer, who published multiple editions of his *Nouveau Parlement*, or *Neu Parlement*, which contained translations into German of Mauger's dialogues, chosen for 'their purity and great usefulness'.[42] Kramer went one step further, publishing at least one German–Italian edition of the same text, now titled *Il Nuovo Parlamento Italiano-Tedesco* or *Das Neue Parlament Italiaenisch-Teutsch* (Nuremberg, 1708), still crediting on its title page '[il] Signor Claudio Mauger, Maestro famoso à Londra', though informing readers that Mauger's original dialogues had been significantly adapted and enlarged, and fitted to the customs and the genius of Italy.[43] Germany was also the source of one more Maugerian translation. In the city of Halle, the orientalist Johann Friedrich Callenberg studied with the Syrian Arabic teacher and traveller Solomon Negri and produced a manuscript translation into Arabic of dialogues based on Mauger's originals.[44] Negri had lived in London, where he taught Arabic at St Paul's School in 1700. While Mauger was dead by that point, there is some chance that Negri might have become aware of his importance as a teacher and grammarian, though it is more likely that Negri and Callenberg encountered Mauger in the pages of Kramer's *Nouveau Parlement*, which became the basis for the translation exercise.

After his death, Mauger's works continued to be printed. They were the subject of a copyright case in 1708, which gives some indication of the value the text was still considered to have.[45] The last English edition of Mauger's grammar, which calls itself the twenty-ninth, was published in London in 1751, and had been corrected and augmented by the French minister, author, historian, and Fellow of the Royal Society Daniel Durand.[46] Unfortunately, Durand chose to include a catechism at the end of the text, which resulted in this edition winding up on the Catholic Church's Index of prohibited books in 1759.[47]

[42] Matthias Kramer, *Nouveau Parlement, C'est à dire Dialogues Francois-Alemands* (Frankfurt, 1696), tp. See also Walter Kuhfuß, 'Matthias Kramers Arbeiten zur französischen Sprache,' in *Matthias Kramer: Ein Nürnberger Sprachmeister der Barockzeit mit gesamteuropäischer Wirkung*, ed. by Mark Häberlein and Helmut Glück (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2019), pp. 111–32.

[43] Matthias Kramer, *Il Nuovo Parlamento, Cioè: Dialoghetti Italiano-Tedeschi* (Nuremberg, 1708).

[44] John-Paul Ghobrial, 'The Life and Hard Times of Solomon Negri: An Arabic Teacher in Early Modern Europe,' in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 326–7; Simon Mills, 'Johann Heinrich Callenberg's Orient,' in *The Power of the Dispersed: Early Modern Global Travelers Beyond Integration*, ed. by Cornel Zwierlein (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2022), pp. 214–15. This manuscript project found its way into print in the three volumes of Johann Heinrich Callenberg, *Colloquia arabica idiomatis vulgaris sub ductu B. Sal. Negri Damasceni* (Halle, 1729–40).

[45] Richard Wellington claimed in 1708 that he held the copyright to Mauger's grammar, but that David Mortier had been importing (and possibly causing to be printed) the Mauger–Festeau *Double Grammar* from the Netherlands, and that this text was a verbatim copy of Mauger's grammar. Mortier disputed Wellington's account, denying that the book was a copy, that he was involved in printing it (though he had sold a few parcels of these books, as well as copies of the Mauger grammar bought from Wellington), and disputing Wellington's claim to hold the copyright. Wellington v Morter (1708): The National Archives (London), C 5/276/36; see also Wellington v Levi (1709), TNA C 5/276/37. I am grateful to Neil Johnston at TNA for sharing images of these documents with me.

[46] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar … revised, corrected, and augmented in regard to words, phrases, accents and punctuation by David Durand, F.R.S.* (London, 1751).

[47] *Indice General de los Libros Prohibidos, compuesto del indice último de los libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar hasta fin de Diciembre de 1789 por el Señor Inquisidor General* (Madrid, 1844), 150.

Mauger's networks

One of the frustrating things about researching teachers like Mauger in seventeenth-century England is the sparseness of the manuscript evidence. Teaching's precarity can render it invisible: because modern foreign languages, for instance, had little to no place in the standard teaching of grammar schools and universities, their records were less likely to survive and where they do so, are scattered across personal and family archives, diaries and correspondence, legal records, and print. What survives of Mauger in manuscript is sparse, if suggestive. In print, though, he tells us much more. Mauger was a compulsive dedicator of books, and his grammars bulge with fulsome dedications and prefatory poems lauding the skill and accomplishment of his pupils, male and female. Even taken with a pinch of salt, these links to places, pupils, families, and milieux allow us to situate Mauger much more clearly than many of his contemporaries.

Mauger's commitment to publicising his international networks comes across most forcefully in the two volumes he published of his own letters – the first edition in 1671, and the second, expanded and corrected, in 1676.[48] These bilingual letter collections are an odd mix – the first edition in particular includes a significant number of letters to addressees who are either unnamed or very opaquely identified, often offering advice or intervention in matters of love or familial strife, from a young man mad with love to the question of whether an aunt should forgive her nephew for killing her husband.[49] Alongside these more dramatic – and likely at least semi-fictional – examples, we find letters to identifiable individuals, some identified as former students of Mauger's. While we need to be careful about assuming that the letters as they appear in print reflect the contents of real originals, Mauger's printed correspondence is interesting for how it portrays the epistolary relationship between a teacher and his students. Mauger uses letters to keep in touch with students from whom he is geographically separated, saying that he has written to them in French as a kind of pedagogical exercise.[50] We see letters offering news from Blois to Mauger's students at other stages on their grand tour, indicating his commitment to cultivating relationships after the intensive period of collaborative study was over.[51] He seems to have worked to maintain his continental networks after moving to England, for instance writing to a German noble in 1657 with a description of the pomp surrounding Oliver Cromwell's funeral, writing to other acquaintances with news from London, or sharing his pride in the rebuilding of the city after the Fire.[52]

[48] Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671); Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676).

[49] Matthias Kramer also placed the study of letters at the heart of his language pedagogy: Herbert Christ, 'Matthias Kramer: Portrait d'un maître de langues suivi de quelques remarques concernant de futures recherches,' *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, 8 (1991), 19–25.

[50] See, for instance, Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 150–53.

[51] See, for instance, his gossipy letter to Robert Bertie I, Lord Willoughby: Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 68–71.

[52] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 42–7; Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 6–9, 282–85; Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 36–9.

This fits with one of the only surviving manuscript letters that might be from Mauger which I have been able to locate. This is a letter in French, signed 'Mauger', sent from London on 31 May 1675 to the Catholic churchman and diplomat Ottavio Falconieri.[53] The letter uses a rudimentary number cipher to disguise the people or powers that Mauger is talking about, even though the information does not seem to be especially high-level intelligence. Still, the existence of a shared number code, and Mauger's reference to 'un commun amy', suggest that this is part of an extended correspondence and that Mauger may have provided information from London to a papal representative.[54] The only other manuscript Mauger letter of which I am aware is in the correspondence of the Verney family, and dates to the family's residence in Blois in the 1640s and 1650s, during which time two of the Verney sons were tutored in Latin and French by Mauger. This letter is an apology to Sir Ralph Verney for an unnamed offence; other letters in the Verney collection reflect poorly on Mauger both professionally and personally and express fears that he might influence his pupils towards Catholicism.[55] One remark indicates that Mauger may have suffered from a lack of business as well as a poor reputation in the Loire Valley: Ralph Verney wrote that 'I see Mauger hath beene very prodigall of his Folly at Tours, & begins to bee as well knowne there, as heare, poore man, hee speakes much of new Pentioners, but perhapps they are not yet borne.'[56]

Between Mauger's letters and his many dedications, we can identify a couple of aspects of his networks, at least as he sought to portray them. One was that Mauger was frequently employed as a family tutor, teaching across individual households and sometimes across generations within the same family. We know he was employed by the Verneys in Blois, and one published letter sees him finding employment with the brother of a previous student.[57] In London, he taught the Kinaston sisters in 1653, Marie and Elisabeth Crane in 1656, and a pair of sisters whom we can place more exactly: Clemence and Dorothea Hovell, the daughters of Sir William Hovell MP, to whom Mauger wrote a pair of letters after Dorothea fell ill with smallpox, interrupting their studies together.[58] Successive editions of the *French Grammar* were dedicated to John Berkeley, the diplomat and first Baron

[53] Letter from 'Mauger' to Ottavio Falconieri, 31 May 1675: British Library Add. MS 8775, fos. 49–50. I am grateful to Róisín Watson for photographing this document on my behalf.

[54] The selection of Falconieri's correspondence digitised by the Medici Archive Project does not feature any further correspondence from 'Mauger', despite the suggestion of an ongoing epistolary relationship, <https://www.medici.org/the-falconieri-project/> [accessed 29 October 2024].

[55] In the microfilm of the Verney correspondence, letters referring to Mauger are 07-556, 08-179, 08-276, 08-328, 09-384; the letter by Mauger is 09-290: <https://www.bucksrecsoc.org.uk/verney/> [accessed 29 October 2024]. I am grateful to Richard Ansell for sharing photographs from the microfilms in the Bodleian Library with me.

[56] Ralph Verney to Thomas Cordell, 26 October/5 November 1647: Verney correspondence, 08-276.

[57] Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 218–21.

[58] Claude Mauger, *The True Advancement of the French Tongue* (London, 1653), [A3v]; Claude Mauger, *Mr. Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1656), [A7v]; *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 244–51. On Hovell, see <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/hovell-sir-william-1637-70> [accessed 29 October 2024].

Berkeley of Stratton, and his son Charles.[59] Other named students of Mauger had diplomatic connections: one was the surgeon to Charles Colbert, French ambassador at the court of St James, while he also claimed to have taught English to Willem Boreel, a Dutch diplomat, during his time in London, and to have served a number of representatives of Portugal in London, including the secretary of the embassy, Francis de Sà – a connection which allowed Mauger to make a tenuous appeal for the protection of Catherine of Braganza in the preface to his 1662 grammar.[60]

Mauger's contacts suggest a closeness, if not an intimate one, with individuals and families close to the centres of English power. He boasted members of parliament among his students, such as the MP Sir John Lowther, to whom Mauger wrote to pass on some news from London while he was in the country, saying that Lowther's improvement in French 'doth much contribute to my credit'.[61] Other correspondents come from the world of education, politics, and the army, though some seem more tenuous and may not reflect pedagogical relationships. He claimed the Cartesian philosopher, Franciscan friar, and sometime London resident Antoine le Grand as a friend and correspondent, featuring fan letters Mauger had written to him in both editions, as well as Mauger's praise of his work to others.[62]

Mauger's many connections did not only feature in his prefaces and in his correspondence – they had a tendency to find their way into the dialogues he included as part of his grammar. The 1662 edition included discussions of the earl of Sandwich, Catherine of Braganza, and the Portuguese ambassador Francis de Sà, all figures who had received extended praise from Mauger as dedicatees of prefatory materials before, as well as César le Fevre of Orléans, 'Advocat en Parlement et professeur du Roy és langues', whom readers would meet again in Mauger's 1671 *Letters*, and Mauger's former pupil at Blois (and the addressee of the 1671 volume's first letter), Gustav Adolf, duke of Mecklenburg-Güstrow.[63] In the 1670 edition, the dialogues considered the excellence of the dukes of Monmouth and Albemarle (George Monck), the latter a recurring character in Mauger's *Letters* and someone whose

[59] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1673); Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1676); Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1679); Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1682). Berkeley had been a royalist exile and later served as lord lieutenant of Ireland: see D. W. Hayton, 'Berkeley, John, first Baron Berkeley of Stratton (bap. 1607, d. 1678),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2217>.

[60] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 146–49; Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 72–5; Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1662), [A6r–A7]; Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 52–5, 116–19, 276–79. Francisco de Sá de Menezes was the secretary to a two embassies alongside the Marques de Sande, also addressed by Mauger in his letters: Edgar Prestage, *The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland from 1640 to 1668* (Watford: Voss & Michael, 1925), pp. 135–49.

[61] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), p. 57; on Sir John Lowther MP (1606–75), <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/lowther-sir-john-i-1606-75> [accessed 29 October 2024].

[62] Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 30–3, 292–95; Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 98–103.

[63] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1662), pp. 232–33, 303, 274–75.

circle Mauger sought to position himself close to – essentially creating a kind of Maugerian extended universe within the pedagogical works themselves.[64]

Reading Annalisa Nicholson's article in this special issue, I was struck by the diagram of the networks and connections spinning out from the Mazarin salon – an important hub of elite Francophone sociability in Restoration London.[65] It struck me that we could probably do a similar diagram for Mauger, because of the sheer number of named and identifiable students and correspondents referenced in his works. And it sent me back to Mauger's letters and prefaces to see if those two diagrams might overlap – the answer, it seems, is yes, but only barely. The overlaps between Mauger's circles and the Mazarin network are three. Mauger's *Letters* include one letter to Honoré Courtin, the French ambassador from 1676, though Mauger's letter to him (which mentions 'those favours you did me at Salisbury') dates from eight years previously.[66] Mauger included a letter to Charles, duke of Richmond and Lennox, to whom he also dedicated the 1670 edition of his grammar.[67] The last of the Mazarin salon habitués to overlap with Mauger's circle was Elizabeth Montagu, countess of Sandwich – Mauger had taught the daughters of the first earl, Jemimah and Pauline, who would have been aunts by marriage to Elizabeth.[68] These are more or less tenuous links, and beyond them there seems to be little or no overlap at all between the Mazarin network and Mauger's. Like Mancini, Mauger was another conduit for Anglo-French cultural relations, and one who expended plenty of ink and effort in portraying himself as waiting on the highest in the land, but it seems clear that they moved in very different circles, albeit each animated by enthusiasm for linguistic exchange and cultural encounter between England and France.

Who read Claude Mauger?

The genre in which Mauger wrote – that of language manuals – was one which was all about utility. But we know remarkably little about the readers who owned and used them in the period, with ideas about audience often relying on inferences from the printed text itself (and taking authors' claims about their readerships at their word). In the English context, language manuals survive in significant numbers and often contain marks of ownership and usage, but this evidence of readers' engagement with the text has yet to receive a systematic survey.[69] In examining

[64] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1670), pp. 232–33.

[65] Annalisa Nicholson, 'The Wordy Milieu of the Mazarin Salon: Queer Anti-Absolutism with Hortense Mancini, Charles de Saint-Évremond, and Jean de la Fontaine,' *Early Modern French Studies* (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/20563035.2024.2308811>.

[66] Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 36–41; Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger French and English Letters* (London, 1676), pp. 188–91.

[67] Claude Mauger, *Mauger's Letters Written Upon Several Subjects* (London, 1671), pp. 88–91; Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1670), [A2r–A2v]. The 1658 edition of Mauger's grammar carries a dedication to 'Monseigneur Esme, Duc de Richemond, & de Lenox', suggesting a longer-term family connection.

[68] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1662), [A8r].

[69] I have written elsewhere about annotations in language manuals as clues to oral usage: John Gallagher, '"To Heare It by Mouth": Speech and Accent in Early Modern Language Learning,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 82.1 (2017), 63–86.

readers' marks in surviving copies of Mauger's grammars, I draw inspiration from work by Amy Froide and Benjamin Wardhaugh, who have surveyed copies of manuals for the teaching of accounting and mathematics respectively in order to explore how women and men read didactic books in early modern England.[70] My exploratory work here is heavily and gratefully reliant on the work of rare books librarians and tools such as the English Short Title Catalogue. We find copies of Mauger's books in the hands of early modern readers in England, Scotland, and Ireland; travelling in France; in the Low Countries and, in 1729, in Boston, Massachusetts.[71] While no copy survey can pretend to be comprehensive, at this scale there are some things we can start to say about who was reading Mauger, where, and how.

I begin with the book that inspired this survey. This is a copy of the seventeenth edition of Mauger's grammar, published in London in 1696, and now held at the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds (see Figures 1, 2, 3). Calling it up some years ago to view with my students, I was struck by the number of people who had left their mark on the book's opening leaves. Isabella Headlam's mark seems to be the earliest, and she adds (in French) that she began studying the book on 6 February 1700. An undated ownership mark above hers is made by one Richard Norrison, while Edward Peirson marks the book in 1733, and Edward Bower does similarly in 1749. Between these two Edwards, the verso of the same page documents a textual tussle between one John Lawson – who wrote 'his Book 1742' and 'his French Grammar 1742' – and Robert Greame, who responded with 'Not his Book But Robert Greames 1743'. As though to confirm his title to the book, Greame scribbled his own name multiple times above the advertisement on the next page, adding the words 'His French grammar 1744'.[72]

This was a copy which passed through many hands, possibly thanks to family connections, or because it was reused by a tutor or schoolmaster with their pupils. And in that, it was far from the only one – it is relatively common for copies of Mauger's grammars to bear ownership marks from multiple readers. Two copies held by the University of Illinois show multiple owners' markings. In one copy of Mauger's 1662 grammar, the elaborate signature of 'Mrs: Frances Fitzwilliams', dated 1663, appears at the front of the book. Overleaf we find Frances's name again, twice, but also the inscription 'Ann Taylor whin thes you ce pray think of me'. Both writers' inscriptions seem to compete for space and attention on the

[70] Amy Froide, 'Learning to Invest: Women's Education in Arithmetic and Accounting in Early Modern England,' *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 10.1 (2015), 3–26; Benjamin Wardhaugh, 'Consuming Mathematics: John Ward's *Young Mathematician's Guide* and its Owners,' *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38.1 (2015), 65–82.

[71] Bowdoin Library Bowd PC2109.M44 1667. An early American admirer of Mauger was Franz Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown in Pennsylvania, who recommended Mauger's grammar as one of the best: Patrick Erben, Alfred Brophy and Margo Lambert, eds., *The Francis Daniel Pastorius Reader: Writings by an Early American Polymath* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), p. 332. The English Short Title Catalogue lists a copy in Barbados which I have been unable to locate.

[72] Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Anglo-French 11 1696-MAU. Compare Weston Library, Oxford Radcl. f. 120, a copy of Mauger and Festeau's 1693 *Nouvelle Double Grammaire* bearing dated inscriptions from Thomas Frewin in 1697 and R. Frewin in 1698–99.

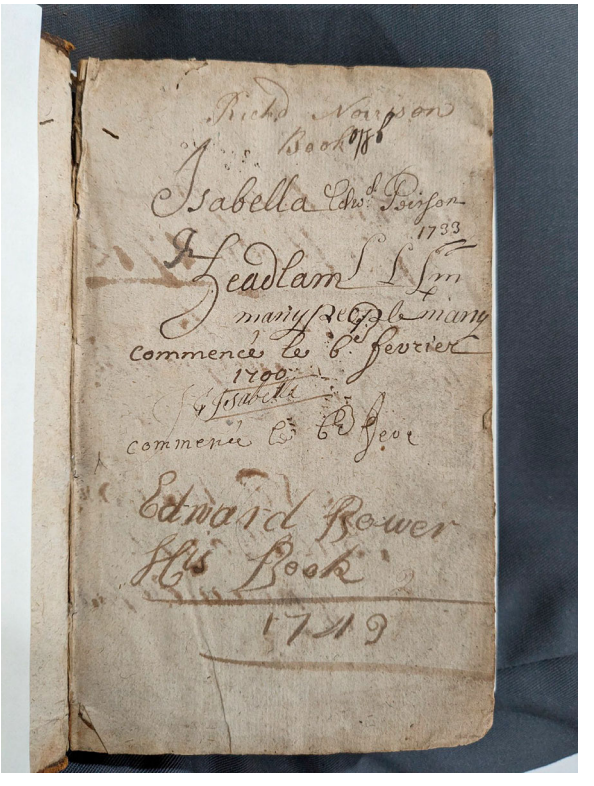


FIGURE 1 Claude Mauger, Claudius Mauger's French Grammar (London, 1696). Reproduced with the permission of Special Collections, Leeds University Library, Anglo-French 11 1696-MAU.

endpapers, too.[73] The Illinois copy of a 1684 edition bears inscriptions by Thomas Stodart and David Williams, with only the latter offering a date – 1716 – for his inscription.[74] The inscription in a copy of Mauger's 1667 French grammar bears witness to the process of passing the book from hand to hand: it reads 'Cette Grammaire est a Mr. le proviste Et Je luy ay preste la mienne.'[75]

As the signatures of Isabella Headlam, Frances Fitzwilliams, and Ann Taylor suggest, women commonly appear as owners of books by Mauger.[76] This reflects

[73] University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 445 M446f1662.
[74] University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 445 M446f1684.
[75] University of St Andrews, Rare Books Reserve (17th century) Collection (r17 PC2103.M3). A Latin inscription shows that the copy found its way into the library of St Salvator's College in St Andrews.
[76] On women's marginalia and its educational uses, see Katherine Acheson, 'The Occupation of the Margins: Writing, Space, and Early Modern Women,' in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (Routledge: New York, 2019), pp. 70–89; see also Edith Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (Routledge: London & New York, 2005), pp. 16–21. The collaborative 'Early Modern Female Book Ownership' blog maintained by Joseph Black, Mark Empey, Sarah Lindenbaum, Tara Lyons, Erin McCarthy, Micheline White, Georgianna Ziegler, and Martine van Elk is a superb resource on women's annotations: <https://earlymodernfemalebookownership.wordpress.com/> [accessed 29 October 2024].

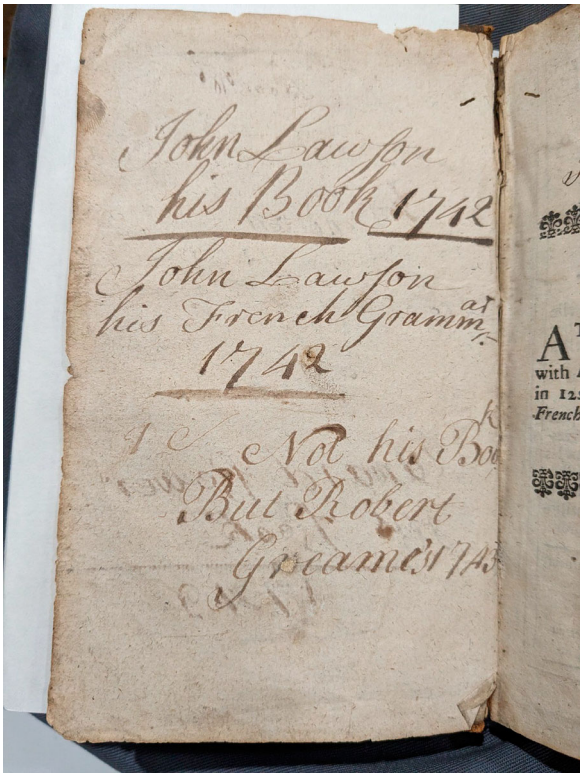


FIGURE 2 Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1696). Reproduced with the permission of Special Collections, Leeds University Library, Anglo-French 11 1696-MAU.

the importance of competence in French for accomplished women in this period, as well as Mauger's care to address some of his teaching materials to a female readership.[77] We know that a 1712 copy of Mauger's *Grammaire Angloise* passed through the hands of a Constantia Smith some years after its publication, since she wrote 'Constantia Smith her Book 1721' opposite the title page.[78] The endpapers of Mauger and Festeau's double grammar published in Brussels in 1696 bear the words 'Mary Staples her Book'; Elizabeth Hibbs wrote her name repeatedly on the front and back endpapers of the 1694 grammar held by Bryn Mawr; a 1679 copy at Oxford's Weston Library bears the names of Mary Shackleton and Elizabeth Leadbeater on the title page, while the date '1826' appears near the latter signature.[79] Two other copies from the University of Illinois bear the

77 Michèle Cohen, 'French Conversation or "Glittering Gibberish"? Learning French in Eighteenth-Century England,' in *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800: Expertise Constructed*, ed. by Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 99–117.

78 Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Anglo-French 11 1712-MAU.

79 Maynooth University Library (from the collection of St Canice's Cathedral Library, Kilkenny) CK 1327; Bryn Mawr College Library Special Collections 445 M443f; Weston Library, Oxford Vet. A3 f. 2052.

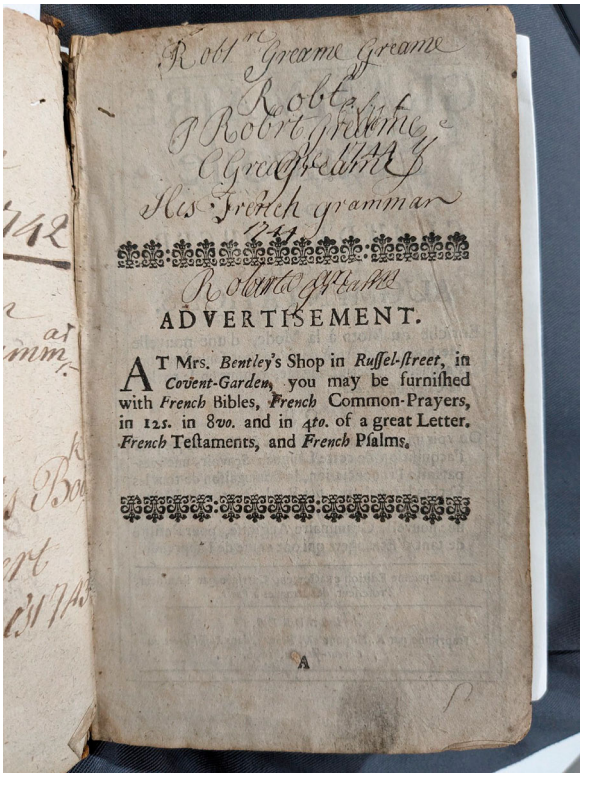


FIGURE 3 *Claude Mauger, Claudius* Mauger's French Grammar (London, 1696). Reproduced with the permission of Special Collections, Leeds University Library, Anglo-French 11 1696-MAU.

names of Elizabeth Pelham and Elizabeth Longford, while a Mary Butterworth put her name to a copy of the 1699 edition held at the University of Virginia.[80] Sometimes we see a reader practising the bilingual communication which the book promised to enable – the Newberry Library's copy of a 1754 French–Dutch edition of Mauger's dialogues contains inscriptions in both languages by the book's owner – Maria Theresia de Cottignies, living in her father's house on the egg market in Antwerp in 1758.[81] Another Mauger copy from the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas carries a faded inscription by a Rebecca Howell, commemorating her receipt of the book as a gift from a Monsieur Descavel, and including a short verse saying 'When this you see remember me and keep me in your mind. and all the world say what they will speak of me as you find.' Elsewhere in this copy, we find the names of Howell and Descavel written one above the other.[82] Descavel may

[80] University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 843M44 C1676 and IUA08587; University of Virginia, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections PE1103.M3 1699.

[81] Newberry Library, Bonaparte 10434. There was a merchant named François Cottignies living on Antwerp's Eiermarkt around this time: Frank van de Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie,' *De Gulden Passer*, 26 (1948): <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gul005194801_01/_gul005194801_01_0009.php> [accessed 29 October 2024].

[82] Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, PC 2109 M44 1673, [A2v], 123.

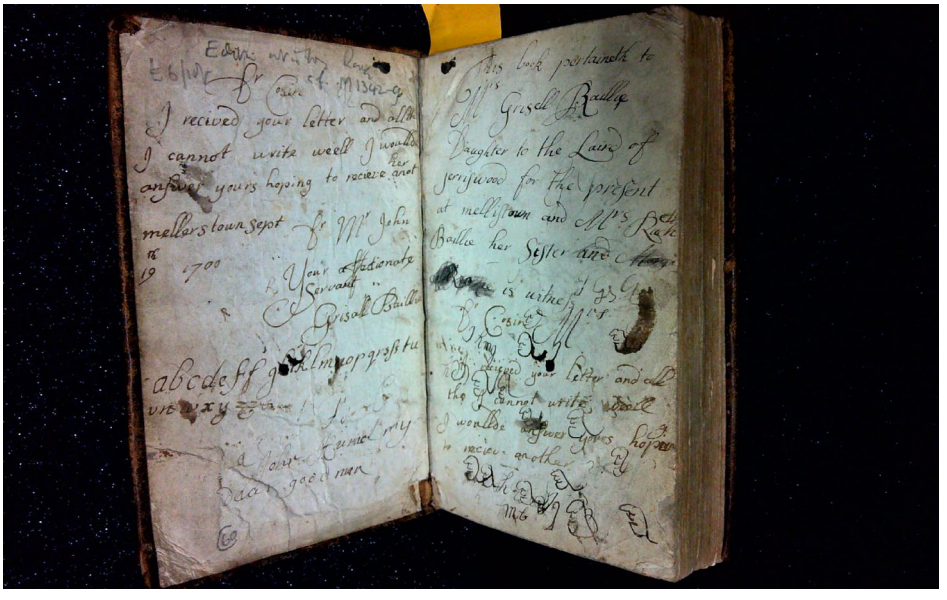


FIGURE 4 Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1693). The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 323251.

have been a tutor or a suitor, but this is a copy which bears witness to what was likely a bilingual relationship.

One woman's ownership of a book by Mauger bears particularly close examination. The Huntington Library holds a 1693 copy of *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* published in London (see Figure 4). It bears the inscription 'This book pertaineth to Mrs Grisell Baillie daughter to the Laird of Serriswood for the present at Mellistown and Mrs Rachel Baillie her sister and Mary Reane is witness.'[83] Born in 1665, Baillie was a staunch Presbyterian and became a heroine of the covenanting movement. She lived an international life, awaiting the overthrow of James II and VII in Utrecht with her family, and towards the end of her life living in Italy with her daughter's family and learning Italian. Her commitment to education saw her living in Oxford for a number of years and managing the education of her nieces, nephews, and grandchildren – a commitment that is evident from her surviving 'Household Book', which details her skilled management of her household and estates. Mauger's book is never mentioned by name in the 'Household Book', but the importance she placed on an education in French is clear. Giving instructions for the education of her daughter in 1703, the elder Grisell instructed Miss Menzies, her tutor, that 'from eleven till twelve [she] write

[83] Huntington Library, 323251. A copy of the 1673 edition (UCLA William Clark Andrews Library, PC2109.M44 1673 *) bears the name 'Lady Margaret Hamilton', possibly the Scottish royalist heroine of that name: Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Hamilton, Margaret, Lady Belhaven and Stenton (b. in or before 1625, d. in or after 1694),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2005), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/93811>.

and read French'.[84] Living in London twelve years later, she noted money spent on a French mistress, a French master, and a number of French books.[85] The inscription's suggestion of joint ownership between sisters, as well as the solemn effect given by the presence of a witness, is another example of Mauger's books as communal resources which brought learners together.

Another prominent demographic among owners of Mauger's manuals are university-educated students and scholars. At Pembroke College, Cambridge, there are copies belonging to the scholar, fellow, and master of the college, Roger Long, a 1662 edition probably donated to the college in 1665 with the collection of the fellow Philip Bacon, and another copy belonging to the student, fellow, and Fellow of the Royal Society Henry Cressener.[86] The Edward Cook who inscribed the Corpus Christi, Oxford copy of Mauger's 1662 grammar might be the Edward Cooke who was a scholar of the college in 1698; another Oxonian reader signed themselves 'G. Walmsley' in 1703 – this may have been the Gilbert Walmsley who matriculated at Trinity in 1698 and went on to become a barrister.[87] At Exeter College, Oxford, a copy of the 1705 edition is inscribed multiple times by Joseph Sanford, the antiquary and bibliophile who matriculated at the college in 1709 and went on to become a fellow of Balliol before bequeathing his library to Exeter.[88] Sanford's copy also points towards other reading in French, suggesting where one student reader of Mauger might have directed his attention. A reader has noted the titles of Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde/⚑/⚑s *Réflexions sur le ridicule et sur les moyens de l'éviter* (1696) and 'Mr. De la Rochefoucault's Morals in octavo'.[89] Sanford's copy, and these others, point towards the vibrant interest in modern foreign languages in seventeenth-century Oxford and Cambridge – an interest with which formal teaching at the universities was slow to catch up. We know, though, that the study of modern languages was an important part of seventeenth-century university life, with undergraduates and others commonly reading multilingually and hiring private tutors to work with them alongside their more formal studies. Mauger's work was evidently a common resource for these Oxbridge language learners in the Restoration and afterwards. Mauger's works found their way into academic libraries early on, too – the University of

[84] Robert Scott-Moncrieff, ed., *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692–1733* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1911), p. xlvii.

[85] Scott-Moncrieff, pp. 31–6.

[86] Pembroke College, Cambridge 11.6.53 (on Roger Long, see <https://bookowners.online/Roger_Long_1680-1770> [accessed 29 October 2024]); Pembroke College, Cambridge 11.7.22 (on Philip Bacon, see <https://bookowners.online/Philip_Bacon_d.1663/65%3F> [accessed 29 October 2024]); Pembroke College, Cambridge 11.6.60 (on Henry Cressener, see <https://bookowners.online/Henry_Cressener_1682-1709> [accessed 29 October 2024]).

[87] Corpus Christi, Oxford LC.1.a.3. For this Edward Cook or Cooke, see *Alumni Oxonienses*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp304-337> [accessed 29 October 2024]. Worcester College, Oxford XBA.4.59. For Gilbert Walmsley, see *Alumni Oxonienses*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1550-1577> [accessed 29 October 2024].

[88] Exeter College, Oxford XSN 54. See John Jones, 'Sanford [Sandford], Joseph (bap. 1691, d. 1774),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24656>.

[89] Compare Weston Library, Oxford Radcl. f. 120, where someone has written 'La Malade Imaginaire par Mons*ieur* Moliere' on the endpapers.

Edinburgh copy of the 1673 edition is inscribed 'Liber Bibliothecae Edinburgen[sis] 1680'.[90]

We can see one of these university readers up close in the library of Nicholas Crouch, a fellow of Oxford's Balliol College who bequeathed his books to the college library on his death. Crouch owned a second-hand copy of Mauger's 1658 grammar, and his notebooks record that he lent it to George Dalgarno, the Oxford-based Scottish schoolmaster, linguist, and deaf educator.[91] Crouch's surviving notebooks are too early in date to reflect his reading of Mauger, but they do record his engagement with earlier books by the Oxford-based French teacher Gabriel Dugrès. Crouch owned Dugrès's grammar and a copy of his French–English–Latin dialogues, published in three Oxford editions between 1639 and 1660. Crouch made notes on vocabulary culled from Dugrès's dialogues and from his copy of the works of Jean Gracieux, the playwright also known as Bruscambille, and his collection included Montaigne's *Essais* and translations of Machiavelli's *Discourses* and Marcus Aurelius in French, alongside a grammar by Charles Maupas, a Latin-language text on French pronunciation which might be the one published by the Elizabethan teacher Claude de Sainliens, a New Testament in French, and another book of dialogues which may be those of Jacques Bellot, again dating to the latter half of the sixteenth century.[92] I mention Crouch here because his surviving manuscripts offer a glimpse of what was happening beyond the pages of the grammar for this one learner: he creates vocabulary lists, copies out texts, and works on 'cheat sheets' of French grammar drawing on the books he has read.[93] His records allow us to imagine Mauger's grammar as part of an individual's collection, as a book that might be used in a variety of specific and practised ways and as part of practices of reading and study – and it shows us Mauger's book as other crowded title pages do, in the context of a social kind of reading.

Beyond ownership, there is the question of usage: how far can we know *how* Mauger's work was read? Frustratingly, many of the surviving copies of Mauger's grammars are remarkably clean, and where there are annotations on the text itself, they are few and far between – I have found relatively few copies which contain extensive annotation in the same hand. This is even the case in books which show evidence of multiple ownership. One possible explanation for this is that, like Crouch, readers of Mauger did their note-taking and writing outside of the book itself, for instance in the notebooks which were commonly used by travelling language learners. We might also think of Heidi Brayman Hackel's argument that 'women's habitual silence in the margins of their books' reflects not that books went unread by women, but that they lacked the freedom to annotate as visibly and prolifically as male readers did.[94] Much work with

[90] University of Edinburgh Special Collections, *.T.23.83.

[91] Balliol College, Oxford Special Collections 735 a 19. See also James Howarth, Naomi Tiley and Nikki Tomkins, *Reconstructing Nicholas Crouch: Cataloguing and Conserving a Seventeenth-Century Library* (Oxford: Balliol College, University of Oxford, 2018), [accessed 29 October 2024].

[92] Balliol College, Oxford MS 458A.

[93] Balliol College, Oxford MSS 458C and 458D.

[94] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 197.

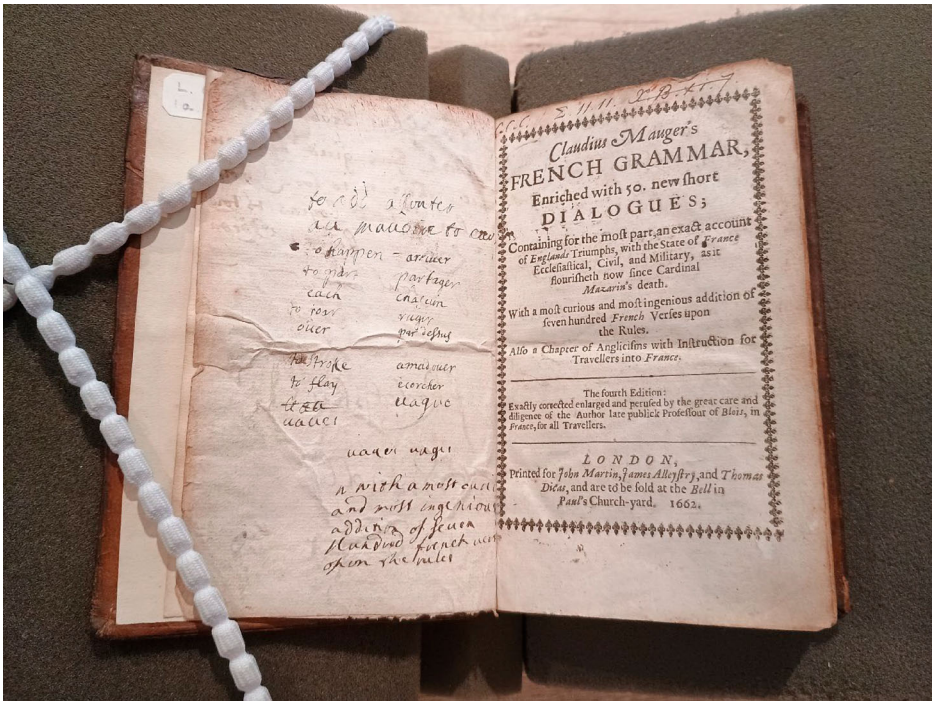


FIGURE 5 Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1662), LC.1.a.3. By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

teachers was done orally, too, something which only rarely leaves traces on printed books.

But evidence of usage does survive. Readers underlined, translated, and copied out words and phrases from Mauger. They made notes on useful vocabulary – at Corpus Christi Oxford, the 1662 edition signed by Edward Cooke bears a riot of scribbles as well as some brief notes on vocabulary, mingling everyday terms like 'each' and 'over' with the verbs 'to roar' and 'to flay' (see Figure 5).[95] The endpapers of a copy of Mauger's 1662 grammar in Emmanuel College, Cambridge contain extensive notes on pronunciation written in Latin; a similar tactic was employed by the owner of the 1679 edition in the library of St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny.[96] Each is a reminder that for many early modern learners, Latin was a language through which modern vernaculars were approached and understood – something Mauger acknowledged by including substantial Latin-language material on French grammar in some editions of his work.[97] In St John's College, Cambridge, a 1698 copy of Mauger's grammar contains a manuscript index to the topics covered by the book – a useful addition given that the editions of Mauger's sprawling text published during his lifetime otherwise contained no

[95] Corpus Christi, Oxford LC.1.a.3.
[96] Emmanuel College Cambridge Special Collections, 338.8.7; Maynooth University Library CK 1743.
[97] Raby, pp. 15, 41–2, 45–8.

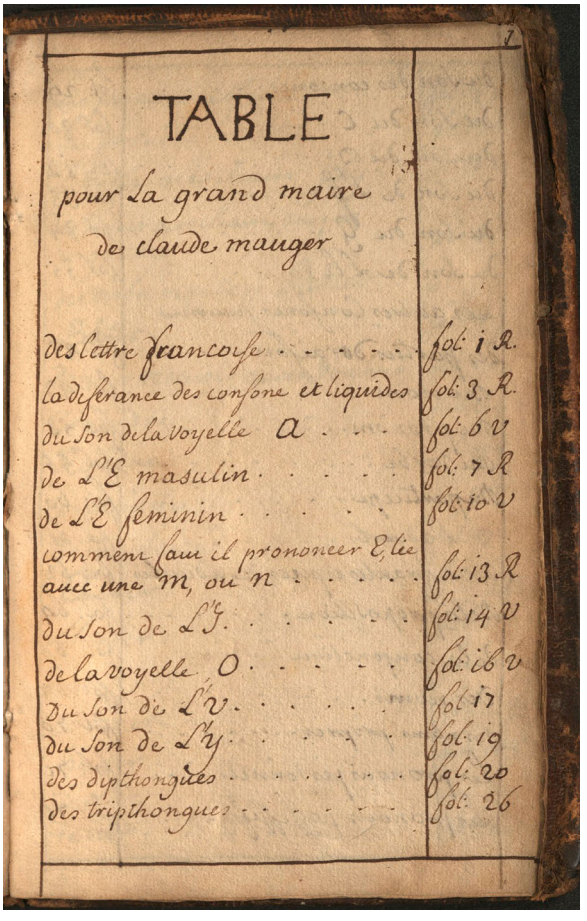


FIGURE 6 Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1698), St John's College, Cambridge Aa/G.11.30. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

guide to their contents (see Figure 6).[98] One reader of the copy in York Minster Library listed the irregular verbs covered in the text and the pages on which they could be found; a similar tactic was followed by the reader of a 1679 edition in Oxford's Weston Library.[99] Some readers experimented with a new language in their annotations. At the front of that York Minster Library copy, an unknown hand or hands has taken issue with someone named Abel Ram, writing 'Abel Ram is a rogue', 'you are alwayes in *the* Kitchin', and 'Come out of *the* Kitchin, Abel sirrah'; at the top of the page, we find in French 'vous estes tousjours dans la Cuisine' (see Figure 7).[100] I think we can catch a glimpse

[98] St John's College, Cambridge Aa/G.11.30.

[99] York Minster Old Library VIII.N.12; Weston Library, Oxford Vet. A3 f.1071.

[100] There are four people with the name Abel Ram listed in Patrick Geoghegan and John Bergin's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* entry for Sir Abel Ram (d. 1692) – himself, his father, his son, and his grandson: <https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.007577.v1>.

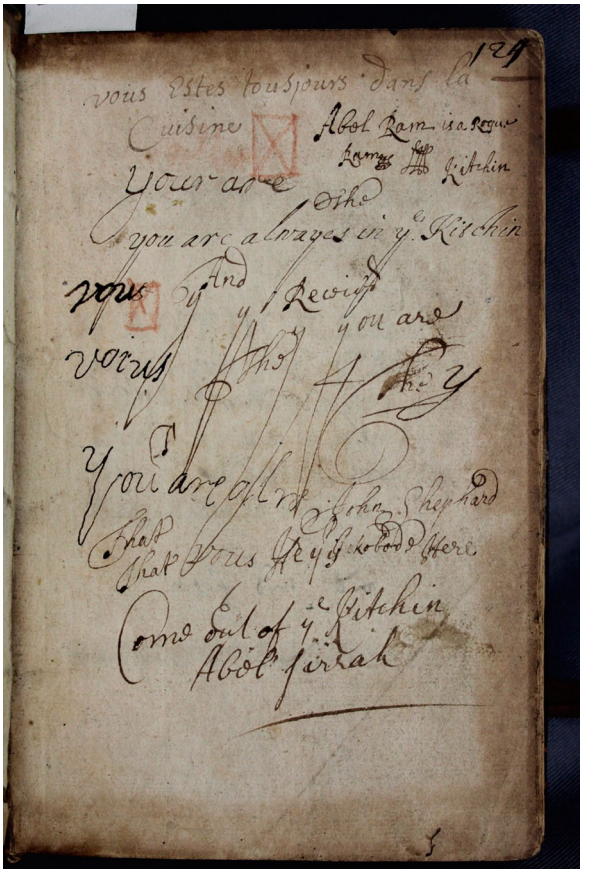


FIGURE 7 Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1673), York Minster Old Library VIII.N.12. © Chapter of York: Reproduced by kind permission.

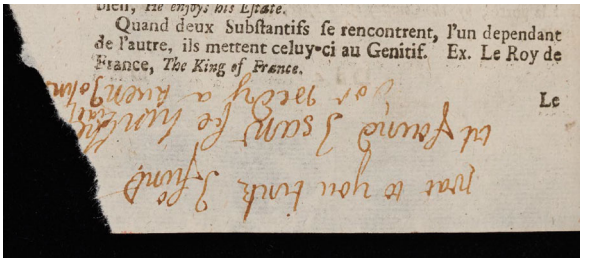


FIGURE 8 Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1708), Magdalene College, Cambridge F.7.1, p. 408. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

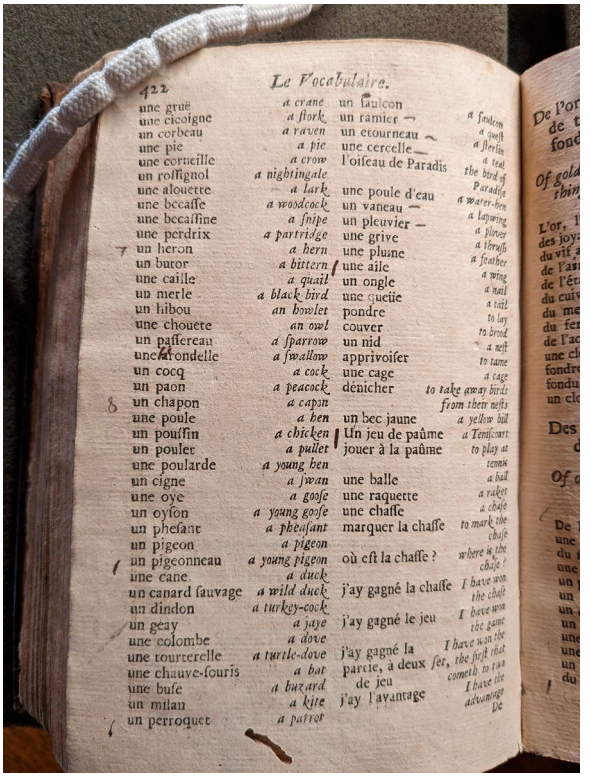
of a French student of English in a copy held at Magdalene College, Cambridge (see Figure 8). This is a copy where sparse annotations and reader's marks cluster in the French-language sections on the grammar of English, and where a

reader's upside-down annotation suggests an unsteady grasp of English: it begins 'wat to you tink I f°und … '[101]

Some readers corrected errors in the text. In a copy of the 1689 Amsterdam edition held in the Cambridge University Library, the reader has begun by correcting a typo which appears, embarrassingly, on the title page – erasing the end of 'temple' and inserting an 's' so that it reads 'temps'. A reader has made some minor corrections to the same copy, correcting minor errors, erasing superfluous words, and writing a brief pair of Dutch phrases at the bottom of a page.[102] A picky reader of the copy at St John's College, Cambridge has corrected the spelling of the different forms of the verb 'avoir'.[103] The Fagel Collection in Trinity College Dublin holds two copies of a 1703 edition of Mauger and Festeau's *Nouvelle Double Grammaire* printed at the Hague, which bear almost exactly the same set of minor corrections. The copies I have seen of this edition do not contain an errata list: it is unclear whether the annotator was working from one which does not survive. They could have been a printer or bookseller making handwritten corrections to the books before sale, or perhaps a teacher who had bought them in bulk and was making these adjustments prior to giving or selling them on to their students, but these manuscript corrections do not appear in the other copies of the same edition which I have consulted.[104]

A small selection of copies contain markings which might indicate how the book was used by a teacher and a pupil working together – a common experience about which we still know remarkably little. In a copy held at Oxford's Weston Library, the parts of the book dealing with grammar, dialogues, and vocabulary contain sections which have been marked with crosses or lines or often numbered (see Figure 9). We know the importance of learning by rote in early modern language learning, and this seems to me likely to be a teacher identifying the materials to be studied by a pupil between sessions, for oral testing when they next meet.[105] We see something similar going on in a copy held in the library of Carlisle Cathedral: the dialogues are heavily marked but only with these impersonal dashes, which appear regularly throughout this section. Their spacing and repetition suggest that these are clearly intentional, though their intention is unclear – again, my hypothesis is that this is a teacher or student dividing the text up into sections for study.[106] In two French–Dutch Mauger grammars held at the Hendrik Conscience Library in Antwerp (see Figure 10), the sections are marked out with sequential dates (the day and month), suggesting students working through the book in a linear fashion. The fact that these manuscript annotations look similar across the two copies suggests to me that here we might be looking at books being used by separate pupils with the same tutor.[107] We can see regular patterns

[101] Magdalene College, Cambridge F.7.1.
[102] Cambridge University Library Bb*.6.41(F). Compare Bowdoin Library Bowd PC2109.M44 1667, 230, 293.
[103] St John's College, Cambridge L.10.9.
[104] Trinity College Dublin, Fagel C. 8. 75; Fagel C. 8. 81.
[105] Weston Library, Oxford, Vet. A3 f.1072.
[106] Carlisle Cathedral Library, A84.
[107] Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp, C 143410 [C2-546 e]; C 52946 [C2-539 e].


422 Le Vocabulaire.

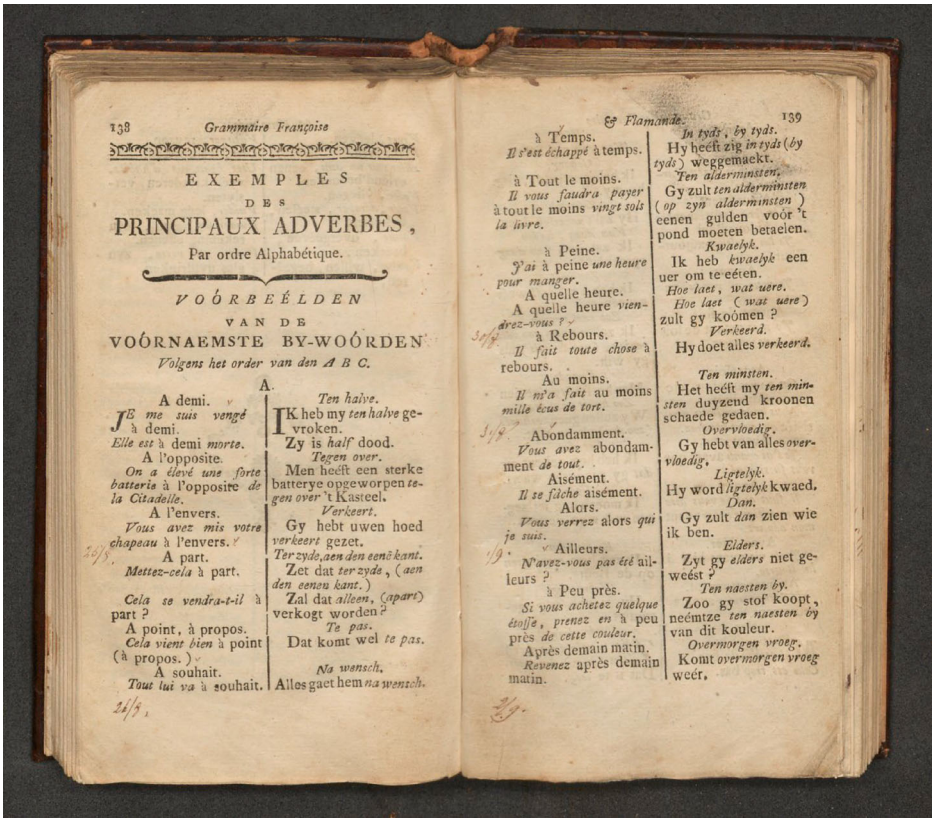
une grue — a crane — un faulcon — a falcon
une cicoigne — a ſtork — un ramier — a ſtock-dove
un corbeau — a raven — un etourneau — a ſtarling
une pie — a pie — une cercelle — a teal
une corneille — a crow — l'oiſeau de Paradis — the bird of Paradiſe
un roſſignol — a nightingale
une alouette — a lark — une poule d'eau — a water-hen
une becaſſe — a woodcock — un vaneau — a lapwing
une becaſſine — a ſnipe — un pleuvier — a plover
une perdrix — a partridge — une grive — a throſh
un heron — a hern — une plume — a feather
un butor — a bittern — une aile — a wing
une caille — a quail — un ongle — a nail
un merle — a black bird — une queüe — a tail
un hibou — an howlet — pondre — to lay
une chouete — an owl — couver — to brood
un paſſereau — a ſparrow — un nid — a neſt
une hirondelle — a ſwallow — apprivoiſer — to tame
un cocq — a cock — une cage — a cage
un paon — a peacock — dénicher — to take away birds from their neſts
un chapon — a capon
une poule — a hen — un bec jaune — a yellow bill
un pouſſin — a chicken — Un jeu de paûme — a Tenniſcourt
un poulet — a pullet — jouer à la paûme — to play at tennis
une poularde — a young hen
un cigne — a ſwan — une balle — a ball
une oye — a gooſe — une raquette — a racket
un oyſon — a young gooſe — une chaſſe — a chaſe
un pheſant — a pheaſant — marquer la chaſſe — to mark the chaſe
un pigeon — a pigeon
un pigeonneau — a young pigeon — où eſt la chaſſe ? — where is the chaſe ?
une cane — a duck
un canard ſauvage — a wild duck — j'ay gagné la chaſſe — I have won the chaſe
un dindon — a turkey-cock
un geay — a jaye — j'ay gagné le jeu — I have won the game
une colombe — a dove
une tourterelle — a turtle-dove — j'ay gagné la partie, à deux de jeu — I have won the ſet, the firſt that cometh to two
une chauve-ſouris — a bat
une buſe — a buzzard
un milan — a kite — j'ay l'avantage — I have the advantage
un perroquet — a parrot

FIGURE 9 Claude Mauger, *Mr. Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1689), Weston Library, Oxford, Vet. A3 f.1072, p. 422. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

of section marking in a copy of a French–Dutch version of Mauger held in the special collections of KU Leuven; the two dated ownership inscriptions on this copy date from 1818 and 1829, suggesting that even after Mauger's works stopped appearing in print, he still attracted readers.[108]

Mauger is an ideal subject for a copy survey: popular, prolific, internationally read, and with substantial numbers of surviving copies, only a fraction of which have been discussed here. But even this small sample of the wealth of language-learning books from this period suggests, I think, that marks of ownership and usage in this genre of texts merit much closer investigation. These were books which were meant to be used and usable, and understanding what readers actually did with them – and who those readers were – will tell us new things about the practices of early modern teachers and learners, and about multilingual reading more broadly. Doing research of this kind at scale would require us to work towards a taxonomy of learners' markings – where they corrected, quibbled, augmented, memorised, and spoke out loud; who they read with, and what other books and

[108] KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, 7A736.


138 Grammaire Françoise

EXEMPLES
DES
PRINCIPAUX ADVERBES,
Par ordre Alphabétique.

VOÓRBEÉLDEN
VAN DE
VOÓRNAEMSTE BY-WOÓRDEN
Volgens het order van den A B C.

A.

A demi.
Je me suis vengé à demi.
Elle est à demi morte.
A l'opposite.
On a élevé une forte batterie à l'opposite de la Citadelle.
A l'envers.
Vous avez mis votre chapeau à l'envers.
A part.
Mettez-cela à part.
Cela se vendra-t-il à part ?
A point, à propos.
Cela vient bien à point (à propos.)
A souhait.
Tout lui va à souhait.

Ten halve.
IK heb my ten halve gevroken.
Zy is half dood.
Tegen over.
Men heeft een sterke batterye opgeworpen tegen over 't Kasteel.
Verkeert.
Gy hebt uwen hoed verkeert gezet.
Ter zyde, aen den eenē kant.
Zet dat ter zyde, (aen den eenen kant.)
Zal dat alleen, (apart) verkogt worden?
Te pas.
Dat komt wel te pas.
Na wensch.
Alles gaet hem na wensch.

& Flamande. 139

à Temps.
Il s'est échappé à temps.
à Tout le moins.
Il vous faudra payer à tout le moins vingt sols la livre.
à Peine.
J'ai à peine une heure pour manger.
A quelle heure.
A quelle heure viendrez-vous ?
à Rebours.
Il fait toute chose à rebours.
Au moins.
Il n'a fait au moins mille écus de tort.
Abondamment.
Vous avez abondamment de tout.
Aisément.
Il se fâche aisément.
Alors.
Vous verrez alors qui je suis.
Ailleurs.
N'avez-vous pas été ailleurs ?
à Peu près.
Si vous achetez quelque étoffe, prenez en à peu près de cette couleur.
Après demain matin.
Revenez après demain matin.

In tyds, by tyds.
Hy heeft zig in tyds (by tyds) weggemaekt.
Ten alderminsten.
Gy zult ten alderminsten (op zyn alderminsten) eenen gulden voór 't pond moeten betaelen.
Kwaelyk.
Ik heb kwaelyk een uer om te eéten.
Hoe laet, wat uere.
Hoe laet (wat uere) zult gy koómen ?
Verkeerd.
Hy doet alles verkeerd.
Ten minsten.
Het heeft my ten minsten duyzend kroonen schaede gedaen.
Overvloedig.
Gy hebt van alles overvloedig.
Ligtelyk.
Hy word ligtelyk kwaed.
Dan.
Gy zult dan zien wie ik ben.
Elders.
Zyt gy elders niet geweest ?
Ten naesten by.
Zoo gy stof koopt, neémtze ten naesten by van dit kouleur.
Overmorgen vroeg.
Komt overmorgen vroeg weér.

FIGURE 10 Claude Mauger, *Nouvelle Grammaire et Dialogues François-Flamands* (Antwerp, no date, printer active 1793–1819), p. 139, Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, C 52946 [C2-539 e].

practices were bound up in their engagement with a language manual.[109] This might expose patterns and ways of reading and learning beyond the quirks of individual readers. Ultimately, this approach offers not just a clearer picture of early modern language learning, but might also enrich our understanding of how early modern people read their multilingual books.

Conclusions

Why should we care about Claude Mauger? Firstly, Mauger is a figure who encourages us – perhaps against his own best efforts – to think about the fine line between prestige and precarity. For at least some of Mauger's contemporaries, the prestige of the language they taught must have been double-edged: many were exiles and refugees who nonetheless had to trade on the 'purity' of the French and

[109] This builds on the rich scholarship of annotation and marginalia in early modern books – a classic work is William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

their relationship to a sense of French identity which could be fraught. In Mauger, we glimpse the precarity that underpinned the migrant teacher's claims of esteem. His assiduous cultivation of dedicatees and projects tends to appear alongside dark remarks about those who carped about and criticised his work.[110] Mauger's effusive praise for his adopted home – 'the extream Love I bear to this Generous Country', as he put it – can be read both ways, as genuine gratitude but also as a performance of the role of 'good immigrant' at a moment of profound Anglo-French tensions.[111]

Secondly, looking at those who read Mauger's work and studied with him reminds us that not all language learners are good language learners. The copies of Mauger which survive speak to a broad array of readers, some of whom engaged only fitfully or unsatisfactorily with Mauger's careful work to demonstrate the language to them. Looking at Mauger's printed output pushes us to think about modes of reading which were abortive, conversational, communal, intermittent – and, well, messy. Even Mauger, who tried to portray his own confident multilingualism in his own writings, was capable of howlers, and if we assume that it was Mauger who did the English translation of the 1671 edition of his letters, that might account for some clunky, unidiomatic, and sometimes downright inaccurate renderings in the text. More of our work on language learning and linguistic encounter needs to pay attention to moments of friction and failure – what happens when people's linguistic abilities are not up to the task. Not every one of Mauger's pupils can have been a credit to him, but these were all people for whom French had meaning, even if they didn't always understand it very well.

Finally, Claude Mauger was not the centre of the world, but he was someone who had an influence – and influence of a kind which current models struggle to account for.[112] What might it mean that a London theatrical audience could laugh at a cod French teacher who shared his name, that a German learning Italian might work through his dialogues without knowing a word of French, or that a Syrian Christian in Halle might choose him as a model for creating a text in his native Arabic? Does it matter that thousands of people, the majority of whom Mauger never met, held his grammar and passed it on in England and Ireland, in New England and Nijmegen, in private homes and parish libraries, in Protestant colleges and Catholic convents?[113] Like so many migrants, Mauger performed language labour, and he

[110] His 1658 grammar contained a Greek preface in which he mocked his competitors in a language they were ignorant of – he chose Greek 'to amuse myself, as well as to deceive with alien speech the minds of the envious teachers from France in order to hide myself from them and thus to escape their darts': Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1658), [A5r]. My thanks to Janika Päll for her translation of this preface, and to Raf van Rooy for sharing his thoughts.

[111] Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger's French Grammar* (London, 1688), [A4r].

[112] At the time of writing, Mauger – like so many teachers, especially teachers who operated outside of institutional frameworks – does not have an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, despite his contemporary fame and significant career in print.

[113] A copy of Mauger's 1689 grammar was part of the Doddington Parish Library, now in the care of Faversham Town Council; a copy of Mauger and Festeau's 1693 double grammar, published in the Hague held at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België in Brussels (VB 5.714 2 A) bears an inscription placing it in the Discalced Carmelite convent in Brussels in 1719; a 1667 edition of Mauger's grammar in the Brotherton Library, Leeds (Anglo-French 11 1667/MAU) bears the inscription 'Michaelis Pauli, & Fr. Mon. Ben.' and a short pious poem, suggesting its presence in the library of a Benedictine monastic community.

prompts us to consider how we think about language teaching as an activity – too often characterised as distinct from or less than more clearly literary or intellectual contributions. Mauger is not as well known to scholars as figures like Abel Boyer or Guy Miège, but this reflects, I think, how certain kinds of language labour are valued above others. Early modern teachers merit much closer study; so too do their pupils, and what those pupils did with what they learnt. By tracing Mauger and his readers through the pages of his books, we might understand better how a teacher's words could shape others' worlds.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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