The English Historical Review Vol. 00 No. 00 Advance Access publication on 00 Month 0000
 https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ceaf197

Selling Education in England, 1650–1715[*]

Sixty years ago, Lawrence Stone charted an 'educational revolution' in early modern England, in which more and more young English men accessed a Latinate education at grammar schools and universities. Stone saw this educational revolution as coming to an end in the middle of the seventeenth century: enrolment numbers in higher education were dropping, grammar school endowments were falling off, and at the same time 'the multitude of little village schools run by the private enterprise of the parson, curate or free-lance schoolmaster slowly died away'. The extraordinary transformation of English educational culture precipitated by the Reformation had spent its force.[1] Writers on educational reform during the Civil Wars and afterwards presented very different proposals, but shared the fundamental position that educational provision in England did not meet the needs of the population, and that change was required—change in what was taught, how, and to whom.[2]

At the same time as authors such as Bathsua Makin, John Milton and John Locke compared proposals for new forms of education, new challengers to traditional institutions of education were emerging. These changes in provision responded to the same problems highlighted by the educational reformers: gaps in the curriculum, underserved groups of learners, and religious or gendered forms of educational exclusion. Dissenting academies met the demand for a religiously reformed education, which nevertheless bore many of the hallmarks of the grammar school

* I would like to thank Dr Jennifer Bishop for conversations and collaborations around the histories of teaching and learning, and Dr Mark Williams for his thoughtful comments on the draft. My thanks to Dr Richard Ansell and to the Centre for Urban History seminar at the University of Leicester, who heard a version of this article in May 2023, and to the anonymous reviewers at the *EHR* for helpful and generous suggestions. I am grateful, too, to my special subject students at Leeds for their enthusiastic engagement with the questions at the heart of this paper, and especially to the 2023–24 cohort—Cate, Egan, Lottie, Maisie and Stephen—for discussing the draft article alongside the reviewers' reports as part of an enjoyable seminar in January 2024. This publication is supported by multiple sources which are available at locations cited in the footnotes of this article.

1. L. Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560–1640', *Past and Present*, no. 28 (1964), pp. 41–80, at 68–9. For a critique of Stone, and on access to education, see D. Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, xvi (1976), pp. 301–20.

2. P.-A. Lee, 'Some English Academies: An Experiment in the Education of Renaissance Gentlemen', *History of Education Quarterly*, x (1970), pp. 273–86; J. Peacey, 'Print, Publicity, and Popularity: The Projecting of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, 1642–1662', *Journal of British Studies*, li (2012), pp. 284–307; T. Raylor, 'Milton, the Hartlib Circle, and the Education of the Aristocracy', in N. McDowell and N. Smith, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Milton* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 382–406; C. Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (London, 1975); M. Feingold, 'Projectors and Learned Projects in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century*, xxxii (2017), pp. 63–79.

and university curriculums, as the Restoration crackdown on religious nonconformity excluded significant numbers of learners from established institutions.[3] The universities' role as finishing schools for young men of the elite was challenged by the increasing vogue for educational travel and the evolving machinery of the grand tour.[4] Proponents of charity schooling saw education as a means to combat the evils of poverty.[5] Educational provision in England was not collapsing: it was fragmenting.

Amid this fragmentation, a new kind of educational economy was developing. This period saw the growth of educational provision offered by private providers working outside of traditional institutions like petty schools, grammar schools and universities, covering a wide variety of subjects and pursuits, but often only glancingly attested in the archives.[6] Urban coffeehouses became venues for lecture series in mathematics or natural philosophy, while modern and ancient languages could be learnt in taverns. Teachers offered long-distance correspondence courses, while boarding schools and residential academies welcomed both male and female students. Near Islington in 1715, one man boasted that he taught dogs.[7] Of course, private education was not new in seventeenth-century England.[8] But in the latter decades of the century, new kinds of schools and teaching emerged: private education became increasingly available to groups who would previously have struggled to access it, and there was a significant role for women and migrants as teachers and proprietors of schools. The educational economy was formed in the vacuum left by an at best patchy regulatory and licensing regime, and was enlivened by intense and sometimes acrimonious debates about authority. It was shaped by and in print, with handbills, newspapers and printed books

3. M. Burden, 'Academical Learning in the Dissenters' Private Academies' (Queen Mary Univ. of London Ph.D. thesis, 2012), available at http://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/123456789/26965 (accessed 14 June 2025).

4. R. Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen: Educational Travel and Family Strategy, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2022); *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649–1654), William Hammond (1655–1658), and Banaster Maynard (1660–1663)*, ed. M.G. Brennan, Hakluyt Society, 3rd ser., xiv (London, 2004), pp. 9–47.

5. C. Rose, '"Seminarys of Faction and Rebellion": Jacobites, Whigs, and the London Charity Schools, 1716–1724', *Historical Journal*, xxxiv (1991), pp. 831–55; D. Payne, 'London's Charity School Children: The "Scum of the Parish"?', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxix (2006), pp. 383–97.

6. Much scholarship on private education focuses on the eighteenth century and is cited elsewhere in these footnotes. For a survey of the period 1660–1800 in English education, see R. O'Day, *Education and Society, 1500–1800* (London, 1982), pp. 196–16; see also J. Money, 'Teaching in the Market-place, or "Caesar adsum jam forte: Pompey aderat": The Retailing of Knowledge in Provincial England during the Eighteenth Century', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1994), pp. 335–77. These developments were not peculiar to England—private provision is better evidenced, and was probably better developed, at an earlier stage in the seventeenth-century Netherlands: D. van Miert, 'Education', in H. Helmers and G.H. Janssen, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 333–49, at 337–41.

7. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 30 Sept.–2 Oct. 1714.

8. For private education in modern languages earlier in this period, see J. Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 14–54.

becoming spaces in which claims to knowledge and experience were staked, and teachers' pedagogical experience and approaches were laid out before an interested public.[9]

Understanding these developments means paying attention to histories of education beyond the institutional. In early modern educational historiography, institutions such as grammar schools, universities, and inns of court loom large.[10] Taking inspiration from Helen Jewell's argument that, in early modern English education, 'Progress was being made, but it was not always identifiable with institutions', I argue that too intense a focus on institutions gets in the way of understanding the changes to the educational economy which gathered pace in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[11] Institutional environments for education are so prominent in the historiography in part because of their archival persistence: many of these institutions, including smaller grammar schools and charity schools, kept records which have survived, allowing historians to examine them on both national and local levels.[12] Beyond the institutional, recent scholarship has enhanced our understanding of the kinds of education and training which took place in the household, while a burgeoning literature on apprenticeship and training highlights the means by which individuals developed the skills required to practise a trade.[13] Scholarship

9. Compare the historiography of the 'medical marketplace' in the same period: M.S.R. Jenner and P. Wallis, 'The Medical Marketplace', in M. Jenner and P. Wallis, eds, *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450–c.1850* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 1–23; for some comparable developments in the natural sciences, see L. Stewart, 'Other Centres of Calculation, or, Where the Royal Society didn't Count: Commerce, Coffee-houses and Natural Philosophy in Early Modern London', *British Journal for the History of Science*, xxxii (1999), pp. 133–53.

10. Probably the best single-volume history of education in early modern England is O'Day, *Education and Society*. Other significant monographs include J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1966); H.M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998); K. Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London, 1965); I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Aldershot, 2009). A recent overview of some of these questions is found in A. Fox, 'Words, Words, Words: Education, Literacy and Print', in K. Wrightson, ed., *A Social History of England, 1500–1750* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 129–51.

11. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England*, p. 40.

12. On grammar schools, see M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974); Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp. 55–125; Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, pp. 89–130; E. Hansen, 'From "Humanist" to "Godly"? The Changing Social Function of Education in Early Modern English Grammar Schools' (Univ. of York Ph.D. thesis, 2015), available at https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/10120/ (accessed 14 June 2025).

13. Central to these developments is scholarship on recipes, health and cooking, as in E. Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL, 2018), and W. Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015). For an approach that connects education and craft skill in the home, see A. Pullan, 'Needlework and Moral Instruction in English Seventeenth-Century Households: The Case of Rebecca', *Studies in Church History*, l (2014), pp. 254–68. On apprenticeship, see P. Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, lxviii (2008), pp. 832–61, and L. Gowing, 'Girls on Forms: Apprenticing Young Women in Seventeenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, lv (2016), pp. 447–73; and work on training in specific trades and occupations, such as M. Schotte, *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill, 1550–1800* (Baltimore, MD, 2019); C. Chamberland, 'From Apprentice to Master: Social Disciplining and Surgical Education in Early Modern London, 1570–1640', *History of Education*

on women's education has illuminated a world in which educational services were evaluated, bought and sold: effectively locked out of established educational institutions, women were both the customer base for and the workforce in a growing number of private boarding schools and academies, while much of women's domestic and craft education served essential economic functions.[14] By contrast with those institutions (and elite practices) which are more clearly visible in manuscript archives, many of these forms of educational activity left few extensive traces in the handwritten records of the period. We can find letters where families discuss their children's private schooling, or moments where a particular teacher encounters a problem or seeks employment, but these scattered references do little to tell the broader story. Teachers and educational reformers wrote books and treatises drawing on their experiences, but seeing through these to everyday experiences of education is a challenge. The broader history of the educational economy in this period remains to be written.

The educational economy was characterised by activities which were often precarious, marginal, or improvised, something that is reflected in its archival slipperiness. I begin this article by arguing that if we want to understand the educational economy of England from 1650 onwards, the best archive available to us is the newsprint of the period. This research draws on the newspapers preserved in the Burney and Nichols collections. Neither represents a complete record of the period's newsprint, and each presents particular issues for the researcher, but these sources are unparalleled for the wealth of information they offer on educational activity, especially in their advertisements.[15] The period under study, from around 1650 to 1715, witnessed the rise to prominence of the printed newspaper advertisement.[16] Newspapers became spaces where

Quarterly, liii (2013), pp. 21–44. On mercantile education, see E. Smith, *Merchants: The Community that Shaped England's Trade and Empire, 1550–1650* (New Haven, CT, 2021), pp. 16—34; R. Grassby, *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 171–203; N. Glaisyer, *The Culture of Commerce in England, 1660–1720* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 100–142.

14. D. Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School: A Study of Women's Education through Twelve Centuries* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 194–280; J. Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History* (London, 1965), pp. 52–82; R. O'Day, *Women's Agency in Early Modern Britain and the American Colonies: Patriarchy, Partnership and Patronage* (London, 2007), pp. 320–37; C. Bowden, 'Women in Educational Spaces', in L. Lunger Knoppers, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 85–96; M. Cohen, '"To Think, to Compare, to Combine, to Methodise": Girls' Education in Enlightenment Britain', in S. Knott and B. Taylor, eds, *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 224–42; A.M. Froide, 'Learning to Invest: Women's Education in Arithmetic and Accounting in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Women*, x (2015), pp. 3–26.

15. A. Marshall and R.D. Hume, 'The Joys, Possibilities, and Perils of the British Library's Digital Burney Newspapers Collection', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, civ (2010), pp. 5–52; A. Prescott, 'Searching for Dr Johnson: The Digitisation of the Burney Newspaper Collection', in S.G. Brandtzæg, P. Goring and C. Watson, eds, *Travelling Chronicles: News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 51–71.

16. For the early development of the newspaper advertisement and the significance of the 1695 Licensing Act, see M. Harris, 'Timely Notices: The Uses of Advertising and its Relationship to News during the Late Seventeenth Century', in J. Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), pp. 141–56.

teachers advertised their services, engaged with new ideas in education, and debated their authority in a competitive market. I argue that these sources offer crucial information about the shape of the educational economy, from the subjects on offer to the students it served. They help to illuminate the venues of early modern education, and show how educational activity was woven through the public and semi-public venues of cities and towns. Finally, I argue that these advertisements offer new ways of thinking about educational labour: who was doing it, what it involved, how it fitted into the (mostly urban) knowledge economy, and how authority and prestige were debated and discussed during this transformative phase in England's educational history.

I

Writing in 1647, Samuel Hartlib urged the establishment of what he called an 'Office of Addresse': a state-run information exchange which would connect people with commodities or services to offer with those who wanted to buy them. For Hartlib, the Office of Address would be 'the onely Proper Remedy and Help to that disorderly and confused condition of Life wherin we may lye for want of profitable Contrivements begetting sociable encounters and communications'.[17] Where information about commodities and employment had up until then been shared in mercantile exchanges and post-houses, a centralised system would facilitate enquiries and advertisements, acting as 'a Common Intelligencer for All', to the great benefit of the commonwealth.[18] One feature of Hartlib's Office was to be its register of persons seeking employment, the first group of whom would include 'Lecturers and Professours of all Sciences … such as offer themselves to be Tutors to Children: All sorts of Schoolmasters in all Languages, and all Schoolmistresses, All masters of Bodily Exercises, as Fencing, Vaulting, Dancing, &c.'.[19] For Hartlib, whose circle was intensely concerned with questions of education and its reform, the collection and distribution of information about teaching and learning was an issue in need of practical solutions.[20]

Hartlib's proposed Office never came to pass, but its role would shortly come to be performed by the rapidly growing periodical press.[21] Periodical print in England had its roots earlier in the seventeenth century, but the number and frequency of periodicals increased substantially during the

17. Samuel Hartlib, *Considerations Tending to the Happy Accomplishment of England's Reformation in Church and State* (London, 1647), p. 40.

18. Samuel Hartlib, *A Further Discoverie of the Office of Publick Addresse for Accommodations* (London, 1648), p. 5. On 'offices of intelligence' and their links to print advertising, see R.B. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650–1750', *Business History*, xv (1973), pp. 112–30.

19. Hartlib, *A Further Discoverie*, p. 19.

20. Webster, *Great Instauration*; Raylor, 'Milton, the Hartlib circle, and the Education of the Aristocracy'.

21. Harris, 'Timely Notices', p. 149.

Restoration and afterwards, with a crowded market for printed news—and for the advertising spaces which became central to the genre.[22] In the first issue of the *City Mercury, or, Advertisements Concerning Trade*, published in November 1675, the importance of advertisements 'to facilitate Communication and Business' was conveyed to readers, who were informed that '[i]n this Paper may be properly inserted Advertisements concerning Goods or Merchandise, Goods upon Sale, Land or Houses, Books, Ships, Stage-Coaches, Carriers, things Medicinal, Curiosities, New Inventions, Masters of Languages, Academies for Exercises, Schools of all sorts, and professed Teachers of any Art or Science, &c.'. Furthermore, '[h]ereby all School-masters, and School-mistresses, and Boarding-schools, and Riding-schools, or Academies, may publish the place where their Schools are kept'.[23] Both Hartlib's scheme and the *City Mercury*'s promotion of advertising show that there was a desire for a more efficient means of collecting and communicating information about educational services. Previously, the two main avenues available to educators had been word of mouth and publishing books which also served as advertisements. The growth of newspapers opened up spaces where educators could address pre-existing readerships, publicise their credentials, respond rapidly to their competitors, and establish education as a commodity like the others which were so keenly traded in Restoration London and its newsprint.

One periodical whose approach to advertising offers particular insights into the workings of the educational economy is John Houghton's *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, which was published intermittently between 1692 and 1703. Houghton was an apothecary with a strong interest in ideas about 'improvement', and he boasted of his 'great Correspondency' which allowed him to collect and share knowledge beneficial to England's agriculture and commerce.[24] The first advertisement for a teacher's services carried in the *Collection* was in February 1694, when 'Henry Coley, Philomath.' advertised his teaching of 'Arts and Sciences Mathematical'.[25] Houghton's personal recommendations and guarantees were a key element of the educational advertisements carried in the *Collection*: he wrote of one French Protestant language teacher that 'From a valuable Divine, my good Friend, I hear a very good Character

22. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers'; Harris, 'Timely Notices'; M. Harris, 'Printed Advertisements: Some Variations in their Use around 1700', in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote, eds, *Books for Sale: The Advertising and Promotion of Print since the Fifteenth Century* (New Castle, DE, 2009), pp. 57–85; C. Ferdinand, 'Constructing the Frameworks of Desire: How Newspapers Sold Books in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers, and Society*, pp. 157–75; M. Nevitt, 'Books in the News in Cromwellian England', *Media History*, xxiii (2017), pp. 218–40.

23. *The City Mercury, or, Advertisements Concerning Trade*, 4 Nov. 1675.

24. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 10 Feb. 1693; N. Glaisyer, 'Readers, Correspondents and Communities: John Houghton's *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (1692–1703)', in A. Shepard and P. Withington, eds, *Communities in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 235–51.

25. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 23 Feb. 1694.

of him', while another 'Gentleman of a Sober Life and Conversation' who could teach a variety of languages along with arithmetic and geometry and who sought a position as a private tutor or as usher in a school was described by Houghton as being 'known by me and well recommended by several persons of eminent Learning and Quality'.[26] The language deployed by Houghton here, as with the language of educational advertising more broadly, indicates that a teacher's reputation, experience and competence to teach were carefully weighed by prospective students. Houghton advertised the services of schools and teachers, but also sought to find places for skilled people for whom he could vouch: if a reader was looking for an M.A. graduate from Aberdeen as a tutor or usher, or a 'Lady's Woman, a Housekeeper, or one fit to look to Children, that is a very good Work-woman, and understands French well', he could help.[27] Sometimes, people would approach Houghton with a specific request for a teacher, so that he could advertise that 'I want a Frenchman that can speak the Latin and French well, to teach 2 or 3 Persons in a Gentleman's House'.[28] This kind of advertisement was not Houghton's province alone: the *Daily Courant* informed its readers in 1710 that 'A single Man of sober Conversation, who is a good Penman and Accomptant, and wants Business, may be employ'd upon encouraging Terms, in a Boarding-School near London', while the next year the *Post Man and The Historical Account* announced that 'An Ingenious Gentlewoman of Ability to manage a Boarding School, and teach all manner of fine Needle-work and other fine Works pertinent to Young Ladies, may meet with promissing Encouragement, at the City of Peterborough in the County of Northampton, there being a considerable School kept there'.[29]

Over time, Houghton's *Collection* became what Jonathan Barry has termed an 'information service', with its editor brokering commercial contacts and relationships through the pages of his newspaper.[30] Beginning in 1694, Houghton promised to collate and publish lists of those offering specific services, including surgeons, gardeners, carriers, notaries, 'Woodmongers', and lawyers of various kinds. Among these he would publish a regularly updated list of schools, in which any reputable establishment could be included after payment of a small fee: as Houghton put it, 'All the Schools in England may be here incerted'. Houghton's lists offered relatively minimal details: the kind of school, the name of the proprietor and the location. Even so, these lists are rich with information, for instance on the geographical spread of educational establishments within and beyond London. The list published on 24 August 1694 advertises multiple boarding schools in Hackney, fitting with established

26. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 7 Sept. 1694, and 31 May 1695.
27. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 8 Nov. 1695, and 3 Apr. 1696.
28. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 7 June 1695.
29. *Daily Courant*, 28 July 1710; *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 13–15 Mar. 1711.
30. J. Barry, 'John Houghton and Medical Practice in London, *c.*1700', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, xcii (2018), pp. 573–603, at 582.

patterns, but also others in Southampton, Salisbury, Coventry and York. The preponderance of schools listed by Houghton were in or around London, but there were grammar schools in Newport, Yarmouth and Bishop's Stortford, dancing schools in Warwick and Dorchester, and a writing school in Rochester. Schools based in London were more precisely locatable, such as the dancing school of Mr Renier located 'near Exeter-Exchange', or the fencing school operated by Mr Forster on Leadenhall Street. While there is no biographical information explicitly on offer here, some of the proprietors' titles hint at their background or qualifications, as in the case of the dancing school operated by 'Mounsieur Isaac' in St Martin's Lane, or the Walbrook fencing school of 'Captain Crisp'.[31] A number of the grammar school proprietors boasted doctorates, while all but two of the thirteen proprietors of boarding schools listed in August 1694 used the title 'Mrs'. One early modern definition of 'mistress' (abbreviated to 'Mrs') was 'a woman who was skilled or who taught', while the title more broadly carried implications of higher social and economic status.[32]

Houghton's list of August 1694 named thirteen boarding schools, fourteen dancing schools, two fencing schools, three French schools, eight mathematical schools, and twenty-four writing schools—sixty-four informal schools in all, alongside twenty-seven grammar schools. There is no sense in which it should be considered complete, and those who appeared in these lists had paid for their names to be included, as was standard practice in early modern advertising.[33] But like the rest of Houghton's work, they show how education and print were intertwined. As the contact through whom his readers could get in touch with the people whose services he advertised, Houghton acted as many booksellers did—a common feature of teachers' advertisements is the name and location of the bookseller through whose shop they can be reached. Indeed, a number of families combined interests in education and the print trade. John Playford, the music publisher who ran a bookshop by the Temple Church, was married to Hannah Playford, who ran a boarding school for young women in Islington for eighteen years. The Playford school was evidently a substantial enterprise, since the house in which the school was located contained twenty rooms, including 'a very fair and large Room, purposely fit for Dancing', which was also the location for performances and for musical social events hosted by the couple.[34] Elizabeth

31. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 24 Aug. 1694. For Monsieur Isaac, a tentative identification by Jennifer Thorp suggests he may not have been French but English, and the Catholic son of a Holborn butcher, albeit with links to France: J. Thorp, 'Mr Isaac, Dancing-master', *Dance Research*, xxiv (2006), pp. 117–37.

32. A.L. Erickson, 'Mistresses and Marriage, or, A Short History of the Mrs.', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 78 (2014), pp. 39–57.

33. E. Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester, NY, 2002), pp. 136–7.

34. *The True News, or, Mercurius Anglicus*, 24 Mar. 1680. On Playford, see S. Carter, '"Yong Beginners, who Live in the Countrey": John Playford and the Printed Music Market in

Tutchin ran boarding schools in multiple locations including Newington Green and Highgate, 'where young Gentlewomen are carefully and soberly educated', and where 'Masters of Dancing, Writing, French, Musick, and Singing, attend the School twice a Week'. Tutchin was the wife and later widow of John Tutchin, editor of the *Observator*, which newspaper continued to carry her advertisements after his death.[35] In 1707, the mathematician James Atkinson operated a shop on Rotherhithe Wall at which he sold mathematical books and instruments while also himself teaching navigation 'and other Practical Mathematicks'.[36] The educational economy catered at least in part to an aspirational middling-sort audience keen on autodidacticism, who were also served by the outpouring of didactic print which characterised the period (and which commonly directed its readers to the in-person teaching offered by its authors).[37]

But, as I argue in the next sections of this article, the relationship between print and the educational economy was more significant than that. It is certainly risky to suggest that, because education becomes more visible through these print advertisements from the middle decades of the seventeenth century onwards, there must have been more of this kind of teaching and learning on offer. There is ample evidence for the provision of private teaching in a wide variety of subjects in London before the period under study, and the spread of private boarding schools, especially those for young women, was a phenomenon which was already well under way by the mid-century.[38] But the emergence of the printed advertisement in England, and the way that it was seized upon by teachers and the proprietors of schools, contributed to the commodification of education. Richard Ansell has highlighted the extent to which families' decisions about their sons' participation in the grand tour were financial ones: educational travel was considered a kind of investment.[39] Presented between adverts for medical remedies and lists of books for sale, other forms of education too were presented as commodities to be bought and

Seventeenth-Century England', *Early Music History*, xxxv (2016), pp. 95–129; R. Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, lxiii (2010), pp. 243–90.

35. *British Mercury*, 2–4 Jan. 1712; E. Taylor, 'John Tutchin's *Observator*, Comment Serials, and the "Rage of Party" in Britain, 1678–*c.*1730', *Historical Journal*, lxiii (2020), pp. 862–84.

36. *The General Remark on Trade*, 4–6 Aug. 1707. On mathematical education, instructional print and the instrument trade, see P. Beeley, 'Practical Mathematicians and Mathematical Practice in Later Seventeenth-Century London', *British Journal for the History of Science*, lii (2019), pp. 225–48.

37. On print and autodidacticism, see N. Glaisyer and S. Pennell, eds, *Didactic Literature in England, 1500–1800: Expertise Constructed* (Abingdon, 2003); D.A. Seger, *The Practical Renaissance: Information Culture and the Quest for Knowledge in Early Modern England, 1500–1640* (London, 2022). Helen Berry highlights how a publication such as the *Athenian Mercury*, which featured considerable advertising of educational services, targeted a middling readership eager to improve their knowledge through reading and study: H. Berry, 'An Early Coffee House Periodical and its Readers: The *Athenian Mercury*, 1691–1697', *London Journal*, xxv (2000), pp. 14–33.

38. O'Day, *Education and Society*, pp. 186–90.

39. Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen*.

sold. This mirrored developments elsewhere in Europe. Arthur de Weduwen notes that '[t]he first expansion of goods and services advertised in [seventeenth-century] Dutch newspapers was stimulated by private schooling', while Ulrike Krampl has charted the presence of educational services in printed French advertisements from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards.[40] Advertisements were spaces where educational entrepreneurs entered into public communication with prospective students and with each other. Through those conversations, periodical print changed how education was spoken about and sold, with implications for ideas of expertise, access to teaching and learning, and the emergence of a new kind of educational economy.

II

A defining characteristic of that new educational economy was the broad range of subjects of study on offer. In educational advertising, languages were ubiquitous, especially French and Latin, with French as the working language of some schools. Writing schools abounded, often offering instruction in arithmetic and accounts alongside handwriting, with girls and boys among their pupils and women and men among their teachers.[41] A range of schools offered instruction in English, and not only to foreign learners of the language—a series of advertisements in 1702 referred to a 'Reading-School' at the Cock and Swan in Cannon Street, and a teacher who worked with students on their reading, spelling and writing.[42] Dancing and music (vocal and instrumental) were commonly taught, often together, with teachers and schools for both often being part of the wider world of music performance.[43] An advertisement in the *Post Boy* in 1701

40. A. der Weduwen, 'From Piety to Profit: The Development of Newspaper Advertising in the Dutch Golden Age', in Brandtzæg, Goring and Watson, eds, *Travelling Chronicles*, pp. 233–53, at 242–3; U. Krampl, 'Education et commerce à Paris à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: L'offre d'enseignements de langues modernes', *Histoire de l'Education*, cxl–cxli (2014), pp. 135–56.

41. A. Heal, *The English Writing-masters and their Copy-books, 1570–1800* (London, 1931); R.S. Christen, 'Boundaries between Liberal and Technical Learning: Images of Seventeenth-Century English Writing Masters', *History of Education Quarterly*, xxxix (1999), pp. 31–50. On women teaching arithmetic, see Froide, 'Learning to Invest', p. 4. On the link between the teaching of writing and accounts, see J.R. Edwards and M. Anderson, 'Writing Masters and Accountants in England: A Study of Occupation, Status and Ambition in the Early Modern Period', *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, xxiv (2011), pp. 685–717, at 695–6.

42. *Post Boy*, 18–21 July 1702; *The London Post, with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick*, 17 Apr. 1702. Other teachers offered tuition in English to non-native speakers, including James Ford of Kensington, 'who removes Stammering, and other impediments in Speech; and teaches Foreigners to pronounce English like Natives; and who has lately brought a Child to speak that was both deaf and dumb': *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 30 Dec. 1703–1 Jan. 1704. On 'speech specialists' who worked at the intersection of education and medicine, see E. Foyster, '"Fear of Giving Offence Makes me Give the more Offence": Politeness, Speech and its Impediments in British Society, *c.*1660–1800', *Cultural and Social History*, xv (2018), pp. 487–508.

43. A. Eubanks Winkler, 'Opera at School: Mapping the Cultural Geography of Schoolgirl Performance', in S. Aspden, ed., *Operatic Geographies: The Place of Opera and the Opera House* (Chicago, IL, 2019), pp. 26–8.

for 'Mr Abell's Consort of Musick' closed by noting that 'At the Request of several Persons of Quality, Mr Abell will Teach to Sing'.[44] Other subjects advertised included physical exercise of various sorts, such as the lessons in sword combat offered by 'Peter Besson, a Waldense, born in Piedmont', who taught 'the use of the Italian Spadroon' and could be observed performing his exercises at a coffee house near Charing-Cross three mornings a week.[45] The teaching of natural sciences attracted significant public interest: the willing student might expand their knowledge by attending lectures or public experiments, or pursuing one-on-one tuition. William Johnson, who advertised himself as 'late Operator to … Mr [Robert] Boyle', advertised 'Courses of Chimistry, with Experiments on the Air-Pump, Mr Boyle's Experiment of Colours, or any of his Experiments of what sort soever', all of which might be seen 'at any time at the Sign of Van Helmont's Head in Fetter-Lane'.[46] An education in natural sciences was not restricted to male learners: in the early 1670s Bathsua Makin's short-lived school in Tottenham promised a rigorous scientific education to the girls who wanted to study it.[47] At an apothecary's house in the Strand in 1710, a 'Graduat Doctor' promised to teach 'the Practice of Physick, and the several Parts of Medicine, as they are Taught at the University of Leyden; so that they shall be able after 6 Months time at Leyden to pass their Tryals for the Degree of Doctor'.[48] Teachers of mathematics and geography taught their respective arts as well as the use of instruments such as globes; they might teach navigation or astronomy, too.[49] Other schools, particularly those which aimed to recruit female students, offered craft and household skills, from needlework to pastrywork and preserving.[50]

44. *Post Boy*, 25–27 Nov. 1701.

45. *Daily Courant*, 1 Apr. 1707. In 1681, fencing was taught three mornings a week at the King's Arms in Crutched Friars, 'where is likewise taught Wrestling and Vaulting': *True Protestant Mercury, or, Occurrences Forein and Domestick*, 24–28 Sept. 1681.

46. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 3 Apr. 1696. See also J.R. Wigelsworth, 'Bipartisan Politics and Practical Knowledge: Advertising of Public Science in Two London Newspapers, 1695–1720', *British Journal for the History of Science*, xli (2008), pp. 517–40; Stewart, 'Other Centres of Calculation'.

47. Bathsua Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues: With an Answer to the Objections against this Way of Education* (London, 1673), pp. 42–3.

48. *Post Boy*, 14–16 Mar. 1710.

49. On the link between teaching and the selling of scientific instruments, see Wigelsworth, 'Bipartisan Politics and Practical Knowledge', pp. 534–9.

50. Schools of this kind left other material traces in the form of surviving work that was made by (sometimes identifiable) pupils and teachers: I. Rosner, '"A Cunning Skill did Lurk": Susanna Perwich and the Mysteries of a Seventeenth-Century Needlework Cabinet', *Textile History*, xlix (2018), pp. 140–63. One tantalising relic of a cookery school from this period is University of Leeds, Brotherton Library MS 75, in which handwritten recipes follow a printed title-page reading 'Receipts of Pastry and Cookery For the Use of his Scholars. By Ed. Kidder. Who teacheth at his school On Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays, in the Afternoon, in St Martin's Le Grand. And on Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, in the Afternoon, at his School next to Furnivall's Inn in Holborn. And Ladies may be taught at their own Houses'. A handwritten addition reads 'London 1702'. This document suggests that pupils at Kidder's school might have copied out his approved recipes into

Boarding schools and academies were an increasingly visible part of the educational economy. There is evidence of private boarding schools for young women on the outskirts of London from the earlier decades of the seventeenth century, and these establishments continued to spring up (and advertise) in places like Hackney, Chelsea and Putney—the number of schools for women in Hackney was such that it was known as 'the ladies' university'.[51] Chelsea played host to the school run by Josias Priest and his wife, where the female students staged an early performance of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*.[52] Many of these boarding schools were run by women, who would hire masters to teach a variety of subjects to their female boarders.[53] Other academies boasted specialist teachers for the different subjects they offered—this was a selling-point of the school established by the French Protestant Solomon Foubert from 1679 (who had moved his educational operation from Paris to London as a result of religious persecution), while a short-lived but impressively backed campaign for a pair of 'Royal Academies' in the 1690s sought to raise funds with a lottery whose winners would receive free tuition from a roster of well-known teachers.[54]

What general points can be made about this crowded and varied educational landscape? First, we might highlight the overlap between these private offerings and the curriculums of more established educational institutions. That instruction in Latin is a relatively common feature of educational advertising in this period is testament to the existence of numbers of people who wanted to gain some competence in the language but did not have access to the traditional environments for studying it—the universities and grammar schools. Even if it might have been gradually declining in importance, Latin's value was still evident to an audience beyond those following a standard scholarly track, and the commercial possibilities of serving this audience were evident to private teachers and proprietors of private schools.[55] Secondly, there were areas where private providers were capitalising on gaps in institutional offerings—such as natural sciences and modern languages, which were slow to be incorporated into the courses of study followed by students at grammar schools and universities, even if students might commonly supplement their studies with some private tuition or practice in these

a branded book of this kind, creating a personal print-manuscript hybrid record of their education in cookery.

51. Kamm, *Hope Deferred*, p. 68.

52. M. Goldie, 'The Earliest Notice of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*', *Early Music*, xx (1992), pp. 392–400; J. Thorp, 'Dance in Late Seventeenth-Century London: Priestly Muddles', *Early Music*, xxvi (1998), pp. 198–210.

53. Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School*, pp. 206–19.

54. R. Ansell, 'Foubert's Academy: British and Irish Elite Formation in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Paris and London', in R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven and S. Goldsmith, eds, *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour* (London, 2017), pp. 46–64; M. Tilmouth, 'The Royal Academies of 1695', *Music and Letters*, xxxviii (1957), pp. 327–34. On the Royal Academies, see the concluding section below.

55. J. Leonhardt, *Latin: Story of a World Language*, tr. K. Kronenberg (Cambridge, MA, 2013), pp. 122–244.

subjects. From at least the late sixteenth century, writers on educational reform had been putting pressure on established educational institutions by highlighting the areas where their provision was lacking. Even where some reformers explicitly disavowed the idea that their proposed new institutions represented a challenge to the universities, the implications were usually clear: from modern languages to physical education and military training, England's prestigious educational institutions were failing to meet the nation's needs.[56] That this was the case is further illustrated by the way that the curriculums of some grammar schools were expanding in this period to offer (sometimes at an extra cost) instruction in new disciplines like modern languages or merchants' accounts.[57]

Those who operated within the educational economy addressed themselves to a broader range of potential learners than did the grammar schools and universities. Even if early modern England's grammar schools were not wholly single-sex establishments, they remained overwhelmingly male-dominated throughout the period. By contrast, those who advertised private educational services were keen to attract the custom of women and girls. In printed advertisements, women were invited to apply themselves to a wide range of subjects including needlework, French, Italian, German, Latin, Greek, music and dancing, geography, arithmetic and a variety of crafts.[58] We should be wary about taking advertisers' references to their students as 'gentlemen' or 'gentlewomen' and 'ladies' overly literally; while there were certainly establishments which catered more to elite students, there is also an element of jockeying for prestige in these advertisements' appeal to an imagined elite clientele. Rosemary O'Day has shown that schools for young women were in demand not just among the aristocracy, but also among the professional and merchant classes; indeed, some time spent in a school of this kind could be a precursor to going into service for a young woman.[59]

A period of study could, educational advertisers suggested, prepare a pupil for a variety of possible futures. The geography tutor Amandus Reller offered his services to 'all Gentlemen, that will employ themselves

56. Lee, 'Some English Academies'; Feingold, 'Projectors and Learned Projects'.

57. See, for instance, John Houghton's advertisement seeking 'One that writes and casts Accompt well and can teach Merchants Accompts, to be Writing Master in a Grammar School': *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 2 Aug. 1695; Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity', p. 307; V. Salmon, *Language and Society in Early Modern England: Selected Essays, 1982–1994* (Amsterdam, 1996), p. 179.

58. See, for instance, the 1701 advertisement that 'A Boarding School for young Gentlewomen has been lately set up at Hampstead, where is taught French, English, all manner of Needle-work, Writing Arithmetick [*sic*], Geography, Dancing, and Drawing, and where there are all sorts of good accommodations': *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 15–17 July 1701; or Mrs Prichard's Northamptonshire boarding school which taught young women 'all manner of Work; as Cross Stich Irish Stich, Imbroydery, Brocading, French, Quilting, Stitching Flourishing, and Plain Work, or any other sort of Needle-work, Painting upon Glass, Dancing, Singing, Musick, Writing, Arithmetick and French, by the best Masters': *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 14–16 Feb. 1712.

59. O'Day, *Women's Agency*, pp. 325–6.

in public Affairs or Trading abroad' as well as to 'any Scholar or curious Person'.[60] Announcing that he had recently taken over the Kensington boarding school previously operated by Richard Johnson, Oswald Dykes (himself trained at Queen's College, Oxford) claimed that his establishment would 'fit Youth either for the University or for Common Business'.[61] The royal licence obtained by Lewis Maidwell for a school which would teach youths Latin, Greek and mathematics alongside French and Italian for free stated that the purpose of such an education was 'to qualifie them, not only for Our Universities, but likewise to prepare them for Our Sea Service, or otherwise'.[62] The educational economy catered to a diverse set of publics, with teachers addressing women and men, and students who were preparing themselves for much more than a life of leisure.

We still have frustratingly little information about the students who attended these schools or took lessons with the teachers who advertised in newspapers, barring very rare instances where teachers tell us something about the pupils in their care, or where it is a topic for discussion in family correspondence. In the absence of more explicit information, prices charged for tuition suggest that there was a variety of establishments aimed at different levels of income or willingness to invest in education, though teachers and the proprietors of schools were often coy about detailing publicly the cost of the education they provided. We know that in 1696, for instance, a month's dancing tuition under William Cox would set a young woman or her family back 10 shillings, the art of drawing could be studied near St Paul's for '5s. Entrance, and 5s. per Month', and that a son could be put to school in 'a very good House' near London for £20 a year.[63] The operator of a school in the water-yard of Somerset House taught 'the Rudiments of the Latin, French and English Tongues, Writing and Arithmetick' with a range of payment options—students could pay 10 shillings a quarter, or twelvepence a week, while children learning only to read or those who came for only an hour a day would have tuition at half-price.[64] Bathsua Makin's short-lived female academy at Tottenham charged £20 a year, though she counterintuitively suggested that students who made significant progress might be charged more, and ultimately indicated that 'the Parents shall judge what shall be deserved by the Undertaker'; a boarding school for young women in Oxfordshire charged £13 a year in 1698.[65]

Where tuition costs are hazy, we sometimes get a sense of the social range of students in the educational economy from information about

60. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 24–26 Mar. 1702.
61. *Daily Courant*, 4 June 1707.
62. Kew, The National Archives, SP 44/350, fo. 157, warrant for a great seal, 1701.
63. *Post Boy*, 4–6 Feb. 1696, and 7–9 Jan. 1697; *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 17 Jan. 1696.
64. *Post Boy*, 24–26 Sept. 1700.
65. Makin, *Essay*, p. 43; *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 17–19 Mar. 1698.

the times at which teaching would take place. The operator of the Somerset House school announced further that 'Apprentices, and such as are grown to maturity, may be instructed in Arithmetic, &c. Suitable to their Trades and Employments, between 5 and 8 these Winter Evenings'.[66] The offer of teaching to those who were already in apprenticeships and could only come in the evening is telling. An advertisement for the exercise-book *Youth's Instruction to Trade* described it as being 'chiefly design'd for the Use of the Writing-School, to imploy Youth at Night, and other vacant Times, while they learn to Write'; the book's author ran a school at which he taught young apprentices.[67] Teachers might be careful about the language they used to describe their prospective pupils, but these advertisements indicate the social reach of the educational economy.

III

From rented rooms where teachers taught physical exercise and performance to whole houses fitted out as boarding schools, and from coffee house lectures to teaching in taverns, educational activity wove through the spaces of early modern cities and towns, often in ways that merged aspects of the private and the public. Caroline Bowden has argued that locating women's education in early modern England requires us to look at a broad range of spaces, some not traditionally associated with teaching and learning, as well as deploying a more capacious understanding of what constituted educational activity, and this holds true when we are looking at informal education more broadly.[68] Many venues for teaching were ephemeral rather than established: teachers moved between different premises and offered their services in a variety of convenient places rather than in one fixed location, once again making these activities difficult to trace in the archival record. Customers seeking educational services had to make decisions about the spaces and places of educational activity—whether to hire a teacher to attend them in private at home or to join a group of fellow students in a public or semi-public space. Implicated in these decisions were questions of the teacher's authority and appropriateness, as well as a set of concerns about status, gender and health. Printed educational advertisements offer a wealth of information about where teaching took place, give an indication of what made for appropriate spaces for different kinds of teaching, and show how the value and desirability of these places and spaces were communicated to an audience for whom these factors mattered in the decision-making of the educational economy.

66. *Post Boy*, 24–26 Sept. 1700.
67. *Daily Courant*, 20 Oct. 1702.
68. Bowden, 'Women in Educational Spaces'.

Advertisements for premises to be let offer a sense of the requirements of an effective pedagogical space. In 1680, for example, the site of a boarding school was advertised to be let. Situated in Well-Street in Hackney, it was 'a Good House, Garden, Orchard, Stable, and Wash-house', with the possibility of adding a coach-house. Readers were informed that while the site was currently 'employ'd for a Boarding School for Young Gentlewomen', the mistress of the school planned to relocate to Hatton Garden, where she would continue to teach an array of subjects in a house with a garden.[69] This advertisement gives a sense of the scale of some of these establishments, and the quantity and kinds of labour, both pedagogical and otherwise, which was required to run them.[70] Others included more detail about the features of individual schools' teaching environments, as with one from 1698 that announced the letting of a late Frenchwoman's boarding school in Westminster, which boasted 'a Dancing Room of Twenty seven Foot in length', or an advertisement of 1703 for a house to let which had formerly housed Mr Brooke's writing school—it was located right next to a grammar school, and was still furnished for teaching, 'the Forms and Desks being standing'.[71]

These advertisements also suggest qualities that were sought after by potential students or their families. Advertisement after advertisement highlights the environment in which schools were located. There was Elizabeth Eade's boarding school for young women, '[s]ituate in an excellent Air at Sunning near Reading, in the Road from London', a boarding school in Epsom which was 'situate in an healthful Air near the Downs', and the school operated near Northampton by Mrs Prichard, in 'a very good House in a healthful Air and pleasant Country'.[72] Mrs Woodcock, who kept a school near London's Royal Exchange, was said to be moving to 'a great House at Islington, for the Air to keep a Boarding School'.[73] As these examples suggest, air quality was a constant theme in these advertisements: John Houghton had suggestions '[i]f any body will put their Sons to School in a very good Air, within a few Miles of London',[74] while a minister who gave Spanish-language sermons in London made it known that he also 'boards Gentlemen's Sons in a convenient and Airy Place, and teaches Latin, Spanish and Dutch'.[75] Air was 'healthy',

69. *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence, or, News Both from City and Country*, 23 Jan. 1680.

70. An advertisement placed in the *Post Boy* in the autumn of 1713 drew attention to a property 'fit for a Merchant, Gentleman, or Boarding School', describing it as 'A Large Dwelling-House, of 6 Rooms on a Floor, with a Bake-house, Brew-house, and all other Conveniencies, with a Coach-house, Stable, and 4 Acres of Garden-Ground and Orchard, Wall Fruit, and 150 Standard Fruit-Trees, with 13 Acres of Pasture, all lying 4 Miles East from London, and near the Thames-side': *Post Boy*, 3–5 Sept. 1713.

71. *Flying Post*, 4–6 Aug. 1698; *The Post-Man and The Historical Account*, 2 Feb. 1703.

72. *Post Boy*, 28 Apr.–1 May 1711; *The Spectator*, 5 Dec. 1711; *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 14–16 Feb. 1712.

73. *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence, or, News Both from City and Country*, 23 Mar. 1680.

74. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 17 Jan. 1696.

75. *Post Boy*, 29 Mar.–1 Apr. 1707.

'pleasant', 'good', or 'healthful', and was commonly linked to the school's possession of gardens or its situation outside of the city; these claims reflect a widespread concern with air quality and smoke pollution in Restoration London.[76] In 1701, the founder of a Latin boarding school at Leytonstone announced his new venture by publishing a twelvepenny volume of poetry, with its centrepiece a work titled 'Leighton-Stone-Air, a Poem: Or, A Poetical Encomium on the Excellency of its Soil, healthy Air, and Beauteous Situation'.[77]

A location outside of the bustle and pollution of the city itself was advantageous for a school of this kind, though these schools still needed to be accessible from the city so that they could employ prestigious teachers who had other employment there.[78] A 1696 advertisement for a school about 40 miles outside of London boasted that the master had turned many of the boys into ministers and schoolmasters in their own right, while the girls were taught 'Lace-making, Plain Work, Raising Paste, Sauces, and Cookery to the Degree of Exactness' by his wife. Anxious urban parents were reassured that 'Coaches and other Conveniencies pass every Day within half a Mile of the House; and 'tis but an easie Days Journey to or from London'.[79]

But the educational economy was never confined to the formal schoolroom, and London in particular emerges from these advertisements as a city rich in sites of informal teaching and learning. Coffee houses, nicknamed 'penny universities', frequently did double duty as makeshift classrooms or spaces for educational performance.[80] Sometimes coffee houses were simply sites for the brokering of educational services—so, in 1710, a reader of the *Post Boy* could learn that 'A Gentleman, who teacheth the Modern, and Law-French, and helpeth to read all Classick or any Latin Authors, may be spoke to, at the Sun Coffee-House in Chancery-Lane'.[81] If the readership of the *British Mercury* in 1713 contained '[a] Sober young Man that would be willing to teach a Grammar-School', he was informed that he could 'hear of one in good Pay, and on easy Terms' by calling at Partridge's coffee house.[82] But coffee houses were more than just places for making contacts: some functioned

76. W. Cavert, *The Smoke of London: Energy and Environment in the Early Modern City* (Cambridge, 2016); M. Jenner, 'The Politics of London Air: John Evelyn's *Fumifugium* and the Restoration', *Historical Journal*, xxxviii (1995), pp. 535–51.

77. *Flying Post*, 20–23 Dec. 1701; Joseph Harris, *Leighton-Stone-Air, a Poem … Humbly Dedicated to the Worthy Encouragers of the Latin Boarding-School, Newly Erected in Leighton-Stone* (London, 1702).

78. Winkler, 'Opera at School', p. 29.

79. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 3 July 1696. Compare the advertisement for a boarding-school for young women at Farringdon in Berkshire which added, as a postscript, 'N.B. Glocester and Cirencester Stage Coaches goes through the Town most Days in the Week': *Daily Courant*, 23 June 1711.

80. B. Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT, 2005), pp. 99–101.

81. *Post Boy*, 25–27 Apr. 1710.

82. *British Mercury*, 25 Feb. 1713.

as classrooms or lecture-halls in their own right. The Marine coffee house near the Royal Exchange was, in 1701, the site of mathematical lectures given at 5 in the evening on Tuesdays and Fridays. Free of charge, Mr Harris would 'explain any parts of Mathematicks, which a sufficient Number shall agree to desire'.[83] A 1704 advertisement informed readers of the teaching of Michael Ferre in 'French, Navigation, Astronomy, the use of Globes and Spheres, Geometry, Fortifications, Arithmetick, &c.'. Ferre taught 'gratis' on Monday and Thursday evenings at the Camisars Coffee-house in St Martin's Lane, 'and every day at his House from 9 in the morning till 5 in the Evening at reasonable rates'.[84] Here and elsewhere, it seems to have been the case that coffee-house teaching would be offered for free as an enticement to potential students who could then be signed up for private tuition.[85]

Even taverns and alehouses could be spaces for teaching. In 1715, 'a Gentleman lately come from France' promised to teach French and English four evenings a week at the White Hart alehouse in Covent Garden, 'for the Advantage of such as cannot spare time in the Day'.[86] That this teaching took place both in the evenings and in an alehouse suggests that the anticipated clientele may have been of lower social status than those addressed by other teachers. A language teacher who is almost ubiquitous in the newspapers of the 1690s, Christopher Switerda, taught students in a variety of locations, including at 'the Romer Tavern in Greek-street'.[87] Switerda taught at other drinking establishments, including the Hoop tavern near Leicester Fields, and boasted that 'From 4 till 8 he teacheth Abroad, where Gentlemen will appoint him, at their Houses or at a Tavern, every one is to pay according to their Quality'.[88] Elsewhere he promised to teach 'Noblemen and ladies where they will appoint him at their Houses, or at a Tavern, if it is worth his Acceptance', perhaps indicating the potential reputational risk of being known to teach in a less salubrious or respectable environment.[89] Switerda was also one of a number of teachers who proposed to teach by correspondence when a student lived too far from London to meet in person. Richard Sault, proprietor of a mathematical school located near the Royal Exchange, offered 'to Teach by Letters in any place in England, with the

83. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 18–20 Sept. 1701; see also Stewart, 'Other Centres of Calculation'.

84. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 9–11 May 1704.

85. Compare the free French tuition offered on Wednesday evenings in the Blue-coat coffee house near the Royal Exchange by a Frenchman who also taught men and women privately in their homes: *The Spectator*, 6 Dec. 1711.

86. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 6–8 Sept. 1715.

87. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 27 Apr. 1694.

88. *Flying Post*, 16–18 Apr. 1702; *English Post*, 1–4 May 1702.

89. *English Post*, 29 May–1 June 1702. Peter Clark argues that by the later seventeenth century the alehouse was coming to be viewed with less social stigma, as 'an informal buttress of the established order, economic, social and political', as well as a site for new forms of association and sociability: P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (London, 1983), pp. 222–38.

same Expedition and Success as by a Personal Attendance, when once a Correspondence is settled'.[90]

Schools themselves were recognisable landmarks. A 1689 advertisement announced that a dog had been lost 'from the next door to Mr Reason's Dancing School in Viller-street [Villiers Street] in York Buildings, in the Strand'; in 1706, a reader of the *Daily Courant* offered a reward for the return of a sword which had been 'Lost out of a Coach between Amen Corner and Mrs. Wallis's Boarding-School in Hackney'.[91] Schools were polyvalent sites which were used for other public activities—they appear in advertisements as locations for the drawing of lotteries and for public auctions of goods, events which could draw significant audiences and which were themselves commonly advertised in the periodical press.[92] And they were sites of performance, too: schools for dancing and music did double duty as venues for concerts and balls, while girls' boarding schools provided stages for operatic performances.[93] As places which were at least partially open and which invited the city in—often through the medium of printed advertisements—schools showcased their spaces and services in part by displaying their students in performance. Schools and teaching shaped urban geography, creating spaces for sociability, imbuing spaces both public and private with educational activity, and inviting observers to become part of the process of judging quality in a vibrant educational economy.

IV

Often in precarious positions and unable to rely on teaching to provide a reliable income, teachers frequently worked in other roles—in the advertisements, we find education offered by people also working as laundresses, instrument-makers, medical practitioners and musicians.[94] Women and migrants are prominent in the population of teachers who advertised their services. The question of who was a teacher was also an open one, since the absence of a comprehensive licensing system for teachers outside of established institutions meant that those who offered

90. *Athenian Mercury*, 27 June 1693. Sault was a member of the 'Athenian Society' and one of the writers behind the *Athenian Mercury*, which answered readers' questions on a variety of topics. He was also one of the teachers of mathematics (alongside the French émigré Abraham de Moivre) whose services were advertised as part of the ill-fated Royal Academies scheme later in the decade: Berry, 'An Early Coffee House Periodical'.

91. *London Gazette*, 18 July 1689; *Daily Courant*, 10 Sept. 1706.

92. 'The Milliners Lottery, at the Three Chairs in Cornhil … to be drawn at Mr Hill's Dancing-School in Crosby-square in Bishopsgate-street': *Athenian Mercury*, 25 May 1695. For an auction 'at the Mathematick School in Channel-Row, Westminster', see *London Gazette*, 5–8 Jan. 1702.

93. A. Eubanks Winkler, *Music, Dance, and Drama in Early Modern English Schools* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 8–38.

94. D. Cressy, 'A Drudgery of Schoolmasters: The Teaching Profession in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in W. Prest, ed., *The Professions in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 129–53. On the different kinds of work undertaken by mathematical teachers and practitioners in this period, see Beeley, 'Practical Mathematicians'.

educational services had to make the case for their own authority to teach their subject.[95] This meant that reputation was crucial in the educational economy, and newspaper advertisements—like handbills and the prefaces of books—became spaces where competing claims about pedagogy and qualifications were worked out. While, in principle at least, from 1662 onwards private schoolmasters were required to possess a licence issued by the bishop of their diocese, many teachers who appear in these advertisements either did not seek or did not receive licences in this period, while a series of legal cases around the turn of the eighteenth century 'made it clear that the licensing applied only to the masters and ushers of grammar schools, not to those in petty schools, mathematical schools, or dancing schools'.[96] A licence might be demanded when a teacher's religious loyalties came under suspicion, as in 1670 when the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford was ordered to pull down the school of one Mrs Davies, who 'teaches younge women', and not to allow her to teach without a licence from the bishop, since she was known to have attended nonconformist conventicles.[97] We know from at least one case that the lack of a licence was an irritant and a cause for the harassment of a private teacher, but the reality seems to have been that much private teaching in this period operated in a regulatory grey area.[98] This meant that the educational economy became a space for competition around authority, expertise and prestige, and newspaper advertisements were an ideal site for teachers to outline their claims.

An advertisement from 1707 informed the public that 'a Gentlewoman that Clear-Starcheth after the best Manner, and as Cheap as Possibly may be desired' was living in Leather Lane, where she 'also Teacheth Children to Work all sorts of fine Needle Work'.[99] This woman, who combined a trade with her teaching activity, is emblematic of the kind of labour that drove the educational economy in this period. Seeking work in teaching might be one of several options open to someone: one woman sought employment as 'a Housekeeper or Governess to Children',[100] while a French clergyman was open to working as 'a Tutour, Chaplain, Curate, or to travel with some Person of Quality'.[101] Joseph Houghton informed his readers that 'If any Gentleman wants a Tutour

95. O'Day, *Education and Society*, pp. 165–78.
96. At least one teacher made a point of listing his licence in a printed advertisement: 'Mr Dennis, a French Minister, licens'd by the Lord Bishop of London, keeps a Boarding-School near the Hospital at Hoxton, and teaches Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Geography, History, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick. He has a particular Talent for Writing, especially the Characters for Graving or Printing, in Gold or Colours, in Oil or otherwise'. *British Mercury*, 25–28 May 1711. On licensing, see W.E. Tate, 'The Episcopal Licensing of Schoolmasters in England', *Church Quarterly Review*, clvii (1956), pp. 426–32.
97. The National Archives, SP 29/272, fos 75–76.
98. Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, p. 45.
99. *The General Remark on Trade*, 3–5 Sept. 1707.
100. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 12 Feb. 1697.
101. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 3 Apr. 1696.

for Home or Abroad or any Printer a Corrector, I can help to one will be well recommended'.[102]

At the same time, the educational economy relied on the labour of more than teachers. Elsewhere, I have highlighted the role of 'invisible educators', the servants and other staff who worked in schools, and whose work often had a pedagogical element (for instance, in boarding schools where French was the working language and the servants themselves were French-speakers).[103] Private schools could employ ushers: Mr Tondu, a boarding-school proprietor, had been an usher at a school in Kensington before setting up on his own.[104] Another teacher boasted that his employment of an assistant to look after the pupils at his school in Smithfield freed him up to attend gentlemen for private lessons in their chambers.[105] Newspaper advertisements show that a wide range of jobs combined an educational element with other kinds of knowledge or labour—tutors and governors might offer moral instruction or support during travel, while servants with particular linguistic abilities might offer conversation practice alongside their other duties. These advertisements give a sense of the varieties of educational labour, as well as of the people who were engaged in it.

Teachers used newsprint to communicate the quality of their teaching, and deployed a variety of strategies to attract pupils. Some pointed to their university education or to other training, such as the teacher at the Two Golden Pens who had been a pupil next door at St Paul's School, meaning that he was now equipped to teach his own pupils 'to Write the Greek and Hebrew Characters'.[106] Others boasted of their long experience of teaching, such as the Church of England minister who operated a grammar and writing school and who wrote that he had 'been experienced in the Art of Teaching above Twenty years'.[107] Still others pointed to their networks and to prominent pupils they had already taught, such as Peter de la Touche, who had served as 'Governor to the Pages of Honour to the late Queen' (Mary II), and now ran a boarding school.[108] Some were so confident in their wares that they offered refunds to unsatisfied customers: the advertiser of a new school in Smithfield which taught languages, writing, mathematics and 'Rules and Practices of Civil Behaviour' promised that 'If upon a Quarter of a Yeares Tryal, the said School-Masters do not give an evident Proof of what they propose, they will have Nothing for their pains'.[109]

The care some advertisers took to establish their relationship to well-known practitioners or schools indicates that reputations mattered

102. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 14 Aug. 1696.
103. Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, pp. 34–5.
104. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 15–17 Dec. 1702.
105. *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 10 Jan. 1682.
106. *Daily Courant*, 6 Jan. 1710.
107. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 8 Nov. 1695.
108. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 20–22 July 1703.
109. *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 10 Jan. 1682.

and could have a significant afterlife—so, an advertisement from 1680 informed readers that, while Mrs Woodcock had moved to Islington to keep a boarding school, the school near the Royal Exchange which she had run previously would continue to operate, with the same masters providing teaching and with the dancing-master Mr Hughes as the proprietor.[110] This is a reminder that schools themselves, along with their fee-paying students, could be saleable commodities. An advertisement in Houghton's *Collection* in 1695 sought 'any that have an English or Grammar School indifferently well stor'd with Scholars, will part with it to another for a Summ of money'.[111]

Some sense of a professional community of teachers can be garnered from these advertisements—for instance, in the offer of free attendance at grammar lectures for schoolmasters, where ordinary students had to pay, or free instruction in written 'characters' of dances for 'Country Dancing Masters' who could come to London for a fortnight.[112] These offers could be advantageous for those who made them, since they often had books of their own to sell (like the grammar lecturer, whose *Perfect English Grammar* illustrated the matter of his lectures), which might be bought in bulk for use in the classroom by those who came to hear them.[113] But there was conflict too, and some advertisements highlight the opportunity that print afforded for underhand behaviour and undercutting of competitors. On 17 August 1703, the *Post Man and The Historical Account* carried a seemingly innocuous advertisement which ran as follows:

> The famous Writing Master Coll: Ayres, having lately left off his business. The same Art, with Accounts, are Taught by John Rayner, who serv'd an Apprenticeship with him, and now liveth at the Hand, Pen, and Crown, near the Free School in St Pauls Church-yard.[114]

The next issue of the same paper, published two days later, carried a new advertisement by Colonel Ayres, who claimed that the advertisement

110. *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence, or, News Both from City and Country*, 23 Mar. 1680.

111. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 15 Nov. 1695.

112. *Athenian Mercury*, 25 Apr. 1693; *Post Boy*, 30 Mar.–1 Apr. 1714. Advertisements indicate that some authors and booksellers offered bulk discounts to teachers who bought multiple copies for use by their own students, as in the case of 'A Guide to True English', which was designed for use in a reading-school and was 'particular recommended to the Use of Writing-Masters by which they may put their Scholars into a singular Method of Spelling with a great deal of Ease; and by buying a quantity may have them the cheaper': *Post Boy*, 18–21 July 1702. On community and sociability between mathematical practitioners, teachers and scholars, see Beeley, 'Practical Mathematicians', pp. 244–7.

113. Similarly, we can assume that the copies of 'A Short Discourse or Explication of the Grounds of Dancing' which were offered for free by the dancing-master Mr Fert were a means of enticing potential students. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 26–29 Nov. 1709; see also Harris, 'Printed Advertisements', pp. 79–80.

114. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 17–19 Aug. 1703; J.I. Whalley, 'Ayres, John (d. 1704 x 9), Writing-Master', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/945 (accessed 15 June 2025); Heal, *English Writing-Masters*, pp. 7–8.

placed on 17 August was a ruse by a competitor. Ayres told readers the previous advertisement had been 'clandestinely convey'd to the Printers by a Youth unknown', and promised that:

> [i]f the said Youth will within the space of 12 months discover the Author or Authors thereof, he shall receive a gratuity of 2 Guinea's from the said Mr Ayres, at his Writing School, at the Hand and Pen in St Pauls Church-yard, London, Where are taught Writing in all the Hands of England, Arithmetick and Merchants Accompts, and Youth Boarded.[115]

Ayres's rebuttal of false information indicates the level of competition among London's writing-masters, while his attempt to unmask the person behind the false advertisement could be read as taking advantage of controversy and conflict as an eye-catching opportunity to publicise his school . He was not the only victim of this kind of subterfuge—in 1701 and 1703, the writing-master Robert More complained about 'false and groundless' and 'false and malicious' rumours about his leaving the trade.[116] Around the same time, the *London Gazette* had carried a notice to indicate that:

> [w]hereas it hath been reported, That Mrs. Lumly, who for the last Ten Years past hath kept the Boarding-School in the Manor-house at York, had left off keeping the same, These are therefore to certifie all Persons to the contrary, and that the said School is, and will be continued as formerly, for the teaching all sorts of Work in their Perfection, as they are taught in other Schools in and about London.[117]

Other forms of conflict are hinted at in these advertisements: notifying readers that he had begun to offer instruction in mathematics in London in 1711, William Whiston—the former Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, who had been ejected following accusations of Arianism—promised that his teaching would contain no discussion of 'Controversies in Religion, or Differences in Politicks, neither of which are to be discours'd of during the time of such Lectures'.[118] Dark caveats of this kind, such as Elizabeth Tutchin's insistence in 1712 that she

115. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 19–21 Aug. 1703. A fortnight later, an advertisement was placed in the *Daily Courant* by the writing-master Charles Snell which, after advertising his own school in Foster Lane, carried on to say that 'On this Occasion 'tis likewise thought seasonable to acquaint the Publick, (that Mr John Ayres late Writing-Master at the Hand and Pen in St Paul's Church-yard, hath declared to me that he has left off that Employ, and) that one Mr Robert More is the present Teacher in that School: Notwithstanding an Advertiser by the Post-Man of Saturday the 21st and Thursday the 26th instant, whether out of any imaginary Service to the said More, or other particular meaning, seems so very tender of letting the Publick know the said Alteration in that School. C.S.' *Daily Courant*, 31 Aug. 1703.

116. *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 29 Apr. 1701; *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, 4 Feb. 1703. Heal, *English Writing-Masters*, pp. 76–8.

117. *London Gazette*, 1–5 Apr. 1703.

118. *Daily Courant*, 15 Aug. 1711; J.R. Wigelsworth, 'Navigation and Newsprint: Advertising Longitude Schemes in the Public Sphere, *ca.*1715', *Science in Context*, xxi (2008), pp. 351–76.

continued to operate her school 'notwithstanding some Reports of prejudic'd persons to the contrary', remind us that these printed advertisements were the tip of the iceberg of an educational economy which continued to be shaped not just by print, but also by the spoken and written word, and in correspondence and conversations which no longer survive.[119]

The emphasis on the character and background of the teacher mean that advertisements can be read as an unusual kind of life-writing. We can trace some teachers' careers through their voluminous output of advertisements—Christopher Switerda, for instance, specialised in lengthy and sometimes multilingual advertisements which deployed a variety of strategies. He claimed to have been honoured for his teaching by crowned heads of Germany and England, wrote that he only taught to serve the public good (since the death of his brother, a military hero, had left him independently wealthy), and offered to challenge other teachers to see who could offer children the most effective Latin instruction, with a cash prize on offer for the winner. Switerda used newspaper advertisements to berate his critics, to complain about the lack of enthusiasm of the London audience for his skill and pedigree, to offer his printed cards of verbs for sale, and to propose himself as a prospective governor to a young traveller.[120] Another teacher and author active in the 1690s, François Cheneau, was a teacher of languages who had been 'born at Paris' and later perfected his pedagogical method 'by the Teaching of many Famous learned Men, Divines and others, as well in this City of London, as at Nottingham, York, Edinburgh in Scotland, Lincoln, Stamford and Peterborough'. Alongside French and Italian, Cheneau's advertisements noted that 'He teaches also the Writing of Arabick or Turkish, and the grounds of it, having been a Slave and Governour in that Countrey formerly'.[121] Cheneau claimed to have been enslaved in the Mediterranean and later made governor of Naxos and Paros, whence he had escaped and made his way to London where he became a teacher. While Cheneau would have benefited from the relative rarity of teachers advertising instruction in these languages in London, he also made his purported experience of captivity central to his pitch for the importance of language-learning. He told the story of his captivity, he said, in order 'to give any one a good encouragement to learn the Tongues as much as he can, because they were the first Foundation of my Fortune in Turky; And to shew how that a Man who is ingenious, can live in all sorts of conditions God pleases to put him in'.[122]

119. *British Mercury*, 2–4 Jan. 1712.
120. Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, pp. 43–5.
121. *Athenian Gazette*, 10 Jan. 1693.
122. François Cheneau, *Francis Cheneau's French Grammar* (London, 1685), sig. A3r.

V

In 1695, a lottery was announced. Forty thousand tickets had been printed and were to be sold at 20 shillings each. The money raised would be added to £1,000 which had already been offered by the king, and the whole sum would go toward the establishment of a pair of 'Royal Academies' in London, where the lucky winners of the lottery (two thousand in number) would be welcome to undertake a course of study of their choice. Those who failed to win a place would still be welcome to take classes on payment of a fee. The proposed academies—one near the Royal Exchange, one near Covent Garden—would be open to men and women, who would be taught separately according to their sex and age. The range of subjects would include languages, mathematics, dancing, fencing, writing, music and wrestling, alongside 'Chimistry, Heraldry, Marshall Discipline, Drawing, Japaning, Waxwork, and other Faculties of Curiosity, Exercise, and Knowledge', while the academies would also host musical entertainments. The advertisements for the scheme, which appeared in newspapers and in printed handbills, boasted a roster of well-known teachers, including Guy Miège teaching French, Richard Sault and Abraham de Moivre teaching mathematics (through Latin, French, or English), Charles Snell and Robert Arnold teaching writing, and a number of respected musicians—including one 'Mr Purcell' teaching the organ and the harpsichord. Solomon Foubert, whose academy was a byword for gentility and martial education, would teach riding and look after students who boarded on site.[123] The undertakers of the scheme wrote with confidence that '[t]he Abilities of our Masters are so well known to the world, that we need say nothing in their behalf'—more evidence for the culture of pedagogical reputation at which advertisements can only hint.[124]

The people behind the lottery evidently saw that there was money to be made in education, and sought to bring together teachers of disparate subjects under a well-appointed roof, using their prestige (and the king's support) to create an educational institution which was on a much grander scale than the capital's private schools. They aimed to use the established reputations of their teachers, who were known as masters but also as performers, composers, writers and thinkers, to boost the prestige of their fledgling academies. They spoke explicitly to women as well as men, promising 'a strict Regard to all the tenderest Scruples of Modesty and Honour'. They mobilised print to spread the word, advertising in

123. On Purcell and the list of teachers, see Tilmouth, 'Royal Academies of 1695'.

124. London, Congregational Library, 85.4.14 (Q), handbill titled 'The Royal Academies. By the King's Authority'. My thanks to Jane Giscombe for sharing this image with me. An initial advertisement for the Royal Academies scheme appeared in *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 22 Feb. 1695; other advertisements were featured in the *Collection*, the *Athenian Mercury* and *The Flying-Post from Paris and Amsterdam*, while the printed proposals (which were revised in the summer of 1695) could be obtained from the offices where tickets were sold.

newspapers and selling lottery tickets through booksellers and their shops around the city. One supporter was John Houghton, at whose apothecary's shop tickets for the lottery could be bought, and who boosted the scheme in his *Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, writing of the significant sums of money that had already been paid into the scheme and urging his readers to buy their tickets quickly to avoid missing out.[125] Curious readers could learn more by coming to meet with some of the scheme's trustees, who met on Thursday afternoons at Garraway's coffee house near the Royal Exchange. By announcing their intentions, the undertakers also entered the competitive world of the educational economy: they sought to address their critics point by point, reassuring readers that the scheme was practical and that its promoters were not solely in it for their own personal gain. They explicitly attacked the methods of education which they saw as still holding England back. '[O]ne of the grossest Scandals we suffer under', they wrote, was 'a perverse Way of Institution, which in truth hath more in it Generally speaking of a Slavish and Pedantick Tyranny, than of an Instructive and Ingenuous Freedom'. This new foundation would be 'a Nursery Erected for the Entertainment of Arts and Sciences, and a Foundation laid of Glory and Greatness to the Nation'.[126]

The printed advertisements for the Royal Academies lottery, like much educational advertising of the period, reflect both the fragmentation of English educational culture and the opportunities—for everything from financial gain to educational reform—that it presented. This was a moment of rapid change—change in terms of who could access education and how that access was negotiated, how authority and expertise were understood, and what the educational needs of the English nation and state were. Proposals such as that for the Royal Academies were critique in practice: they attempted to muscle in on the perceived educational monopoly of established institutions, and drew on the vibrant and increasingly visible educational economy to do so. They spoke to an idea of education as an immaterial commodity, something to be invested in, whether by the people who dreamt it up or the ticketholders who saw the lottery as an educational opportunity for themselves or their families. Like Bathsua Makin's famous *Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen*, which ended with an advertisement drumming up business for the author's private school, they remind us that arguments about educational reform in this period need to be understood as emerging from and responding to the emerging educational economy.

Nothing ever came of the Royal Academies. The teachers who had promised their services presumably went back to their other work, and what happened to the money spent on tickets for the lottery is unknown. As an attempt to harness the appeal and the labour of London's informal

125. *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 19 Apr. 1695.
126. Congregational Library, 85.4.14 (Q), 'The Royal Academies. By the King's Authority'.

educators within a new institutional form, it seems to have been entirely unsuccessful. But the attempt itself speaks to contemporaries' understanding of the forces that were fragmenting and transforming early modern educational culture: from entrepreneurs stepping in to offer what established institutions could not or would not, to students who were excluded from or unsatisfied by traditional educational pathways, all fought over in a print culture where pedagogical authority was up for debate and education was up for sale.

University of Leeds, UK JOHN GALLAGHER