

**Danger, Risk-taking and Masculinity on the British Grand
Tour to the European Continent, c. 1730-1780**

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Abstract

This thesis undertakes a revision of the eighteenth-century British Grand Tour through investigating the role played by danger, risk and hardship in its rationale and process of masculine formation. The question of why Grand Tourists risked the dangers of travel when many aristocratic male lines were dying out has puzzled various scholars. My research argues that danger was much more central to the Grand Tour's culture and rationale than has previously been allowed.

Examining manuscript writings from aristocratic and gentry families across several generations c. 1730-80, and focusing upon the importance of Grand Tour destinations beyond Italy, this thesis identifies how and why Grand Tourists willingly engaged with dangers as varied as moral hazard, war, mountains, disease and the risks and hardships of the road and sport. The Grand Tour was a crucial forum in which formative experiences of discomfort and danger could take place. Perceived as imbued with transformative properties that encouraged and confirmed the development of valued masculine internal and physical virtues, these experiences constituted a central element of masculine formation and culture.

Scholars have largely ignored these activities and the wider ramifications they have upon our understanding of elite masculine culture. Through examining them, this thesis argues that eighteenth-century elite men sought to cultivate a hardy masculine identity that embraced martial, sporting and chivalric masculinities, and sat alongside the more commonly acknowledged masculinities of politeness and sensibility. As importantly, the experience and narration of danger acted as an important platform for homosocial bonding, and one through which wider issues of elite masculinity, authority, identity and power were explored. Danger was used to advocate a wide array of elite masculine identities, ranging from the martial to the man of feeling. Such narratives often sought to further individual and collective claims for the elite's hold on exclusivity and power.

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Author's Declaration

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or a diploma at any university, and is entirely my own work. A version of Chapter 4 will be appearing as "Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour," in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* (forthcoming), and material from Chapter 1 will be appearing as "The Social Challenge: northern and central European Topographies on the Aristocratic Grand Tour," in *Beyond the Grand Tour: northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. Sarah Goldsmith, Rosemary Sweet, and Gerrit Verhoeven (Farnham: Ashgate, Forthcoming).

Introduction

In his draft memoirs, Edward Gibbon, while narrating the two phases of his educational travels - his time in Switzerland in 1753-58 and his Grand Tour in 1763-65 - gave a description of his ideal traveller. It began with the following qualities:

He should be endowed with an active indefatigable vigour of mind and body, which can seize every mode of conveyance, and support with a careless smile every hardship of the road, the weather or the Inn, I must stimulate him with a restless curiosity, impatient of ease, covetous of time and fearless of danger; which drives him forth at any hour of the day or night, to brave the flood, to climb the mountain, or to fathom the mine, on the most doubtful promise of entertainment or instruction.¹

Most famously known for his iconic description of his approach to Rome and the eternal city's role in the intellectual genesis of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), Gibbon is closely associated with the Grand Tour as a schooling in the classical history, culture and art of Italy.² It is perhaps surprising to find him valorising the most physical, dangerous and uncomfortable elements of the Grand Tour. Here he celebrated a very different sort of traveller and masculinity to the polite, urbane elite Grand Tourist so frequently described by scholars. Going on to demand that a traveller should be sociable, adaptable and interested in everything from husbandry and manufacturing to music and architecture, Gibbon's list of ideal qualities and interests strongly intimated that the Grand Tour was about more than polite and classical agendas.

The standard histories of the Grand Tour have established a commonly accepted understanding that it was an institution intended to form young elite men in their adult masculine identities. With research almost exclusively focused upon Italy and France, scholarship on the eighteenth century has largely accepted the argument that these masculine identities were centred upon concepts of classical republican virtue, aesthetic taste and politeness. Yet, in *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, Jeremy Black spells out a perplexing and persistent question: given that the British aristocracy were experiencing a major demographic crisis that imperilled the succession of several key

¹ BL, Add. Ms. 34874 C, "Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon, written c. 1789-90," 29-30. See also Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life*, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Group, 1984), 142-43.

² John Wilton-Ely, "Rome," in *The Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy*, ed. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 137. J. G. A. Pocock has complicated scholarly understandings of Gibbon's claims and self-fashioning here in *Barbarism and Religion: Volume One The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 275.

families, *why* did families keep sending sons and heirs ‘abroad on a lengthy and often hazardous Grand Tour, which sometimes...led to deaths that produced a breach in the direct line of succession’?³ As Michèle Cohen notes, despite extensive archival research and speculations on ‘significant social reasons’, Black fails to answer the question and merely concludes that ‘There is insufficient evidence surviving to permit any conclusive general explanation’.⁴

As Black’s question suggests, the Grand Tour was a dangerous undertaking. Eighteenth-century travel could involve multiple physical hazards in the form of accidents, crime, illness, wars and dangerous natural terrains.⁵ The Grand Tour was also frequently seen as a dangerous, unnecessary luxury that encouraged numerous less tangible hazards, such as profligacy, effeminacy, affectation, gambling, debauchery, Catholicism and other dissolute behaviours.⁶ Scholars have traditionally sought to account for the Tour’s on-going popularity by arguing that elite families believed that the risk of danger was outweighed by the Tour’s supposed benefits. The Grand Tour was paradoxically ‘deeply necessary and deeply dangerous’.⁷ This stance casts travel as fundamentally disruptive, an unwelcome barrier to overcome en route to the arts and antiquities of Italy and the lessons and culture of politeness to be reaped from France. Danger formed no part in the Grand Tour’s overall cultivation of elite masculinity and was to be avoided (war), feared (crime, illness, mountain passes), endured (hardships of the road) and contained by tutors or stern parental letters (moral hazards).⁸

³ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1992), 334.

⁴ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 57; Black, *British Abroad*, 334.

⁵ Capturing the ‘ardour of travel’ via extensive archival research, Black dedicates several chapters to fleshing out what these oft-briefly referenced hazards actually were in Black, *British Abroad*, chap. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13.

⁶ See for example Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinities in British art, 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: YUP, 2005), 48-49; Black, *British Abroad*, chap. 9, 11 and 13; Ian Littlewood, *Sultry climates: travel & sex* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002), 11-27; Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel writing and imaginative geography 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 36-37; Carl Thompson, *The suffering traveller and the Romantic imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 40.

⁷ Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: YUP, 1996), 9.

⁸ Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Putnam, 1969), 24; Roger Hudson, *The Grand Tour, 1592-1796* (London: Folio Society, 1993), 16, 18; R. S. Lambert, *Grand Tour: a journey in the tracks of the age of aristocracy* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1937), 57-58, 42; Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 2; W. E. Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 2, 7, 140-48; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain gloom and mountain glory*;

This historiographical stance is deeply problematic. Scholars have observed that many contemporaries had ambivalent views of the Grand Tour's effectiveness as an institution of masculine formation. It was intended to expose young elite men to positive Continental examples but vehement published debates throughout the period claimed that participants returned corrupted rather than improved by their travels.⁹ British society deemed that the elite man constructed by the Grand Tour was ineffective. As such, scholars have reached an impasse in concluding that the dangers of travel moved beyond the unnerving or inconveniently exasperating to the dangerously untenable, and that the supposed benefits of the Grand Tour were in fact dangers. This leaves Black's question unanswered: if the Grand Tour was so ineffective and harmful, why did it remain such a highly popular means of elite male education?

This in turn begs certain questions of elite society and culture. Did its popularity indicate that families were unaware that the Grand Tour was deemed to be a failure? Or did elite families hold inherently different understandings of the Grand Tour's aims, agendas and rationales that the contemporary published debates refused to acknowledge and that scholars have failed to see? Gibbon's memoirs suggest that the Grand Tour's relationship to danger and masculinity was far more complex than current scholarship suggests and that the latter question might be considered in more detail. It is significant that first and foremost on Gibbon's list of ideal qualities were those of physical and mental bravery, fearlessness and resilience. This ideal traveller's careless, vigorous, willing relationship with danger, hardship and risk constitutes an under-investigated aspect of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and corresponding cultures of elite masculinity.

My thesis researches the Grand Tour between c. 1730-80, stopping before the upheavals of the French Revolution, and placing its findings in the context of the scholarship on the long eighteenth century. It draws primarily upon an extraordinarily rich array of archival correspondence and diaries from Grand Tourists, tutors, their families and wider social circles. It presents a reassessment of the relationship between the Grand Tour, elite masculinity and danger by asking *how* danger was important to the Grand Tour's cultures and purposes. Danger is a useful vehicle for reassessing wider issues of masculinity,

the development of the aesthetics of the infinite (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959), 25-26, 279; John Ingamells, "Discovering Italy: British Travellers in the Eighteenth Century," in *Lure of Italy*, 21-22; John Brewer, "Whose Grand Tour?" in *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour*, ed. Maria Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox (New Haven and London: YUP, 2013), 46, 52; Redford, *Venice*, 17.

⁹ Redford, *Venice*, 17-25.

education, elite culture and self-fashioning. My thesis identifies how this relationship was understood, idealised and engaged with by elite young men and their families. It argues that the Grand Tour took place *because* of the difficulties and dangers involved, rather than *in spite* of them. Danger formed a crucial part of elite masculine formation, and was perceived to assist in the cultivation of masculine virtues. My thesis recovers the importance of elite masculine identities, such as the martial, sporting, chivalric and hardy, which placed an emphasis upon physically demanding and courageous performances. The Grand Tour operated as a crucial forum in which experiences of discomfort, physicality and danger could take place. Whether incidentally met or deliberately cultivated through various curricula, exposure to danger and hardship formed and tested certain masculine virtues and created important narrative platforms upon which various masculine identities could be constructed and advocated. As such, danger was a crucial component in the Tour's purpose, culture and rationale.

In pursuing this analysis, my thesis presents a fundamental reassessment of the Grand Tour that moves away from current understandings that have limited it to Italy, France, the aesthetics of taste and the cultivation of polite masculinity. It deliberately focuses upon the neglected geographies and itineraries of the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. It also places the practices of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and masculine formation more fully within the context of seventeenth- and nineteenth-century practices as well as wider scholarly understandings of eighteenth-century culture, society and masculinity.

Grand Tour Scholarship: An Overview

By the eighteenth century, the Grand Tour was a well-established educational practice amongst many aristocratic and gentry families in Britain. This is typically understood to have been its hey-day before it was displaced by the development of popular tourism from the nineteenth century onwards.¹⁰ The Tour was reflective of early modern

¹⁰ For examples of discussions of the Grand Tour prior to the eighteenth century, see Michael G. Brennan (ed.), *The origins of the Grand Tour: the travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2004); Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the seventeenth century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985); Chaney, *The evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance* (London: Portland, 1998); Chaney, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013); John Lough, *France observed in the seventeenth century by British travelers* (Stocksfield: Oriel Press, 1985); Mark Motley, "Educating the English gentleman abroad: the Verney family in seventeenth-century France and Holland," *History of Education*, 23:3 (1994): 243-56; Joan Parkes, *Travel in England in the seventeenth century* (London: OUP, 1925); George B. Parks, "Travel as education," in *The seventeenth century: studies in the history of English thought and literature from Bacon to Pope*, ed. Richard Foster Jones

education as a whole in following no rigid formula of age, route, length or curriculum. However, unifying traits are clearly discernible. It typically involved a lengthy period of travel lasting from several months to several years. Its geographical reach was limited to the European Continent, often covering France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy, with occasional excursions further afield. Undertaken after school, home tutoring or university but before the responsibilities of adult life, the Grand Tour was normally taken by young elite men in their late teens and early twenties. Typically the family heirs, they could also be accompanied by tutors and younger brothers. Finally, the Grand Tour had a distinctly educational purpose that distinguished it from other eighteenth-century cultures of travel. Often defined by scholars as an important rite of passage to adulthood, it was intended to form participants in their adult masculine identity and endow them with the skills and virtues most highly prized by the elite.¹¹ To achieve this, the Grand Tour provided a formal education, through tutors, academies and universities, alongside an experiential education, through encounters with European countries, societies and cultures. This could cover everything from learning languages, legal systems and dancing, to observing gold mines, climbing Vesuvius and admiring the Apollo Belvedere.¹² As Cohen observes, ‘The most important characteristic of the Grand Tour is that it was a major educational and cultural experience shared by young men who constituted Britain’s ruling class’.¹³ Despite its ambivalent status within wider British culture, the Grand Tour remained an important tool within strategies of elite self-fashioning and power.¹⁴ It frequently resulted in rich archival and visual records and provides a valuable insight into eighteenth-century elite culture, particularly in relation to elite concepts of masculinity.

(London: OUP, 1969), 264-90; A. Lytton Sells, *The paradise of travellers: the Italian influence on Englishmen in the seventeenth century* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1964); John Stoye, *English travellers abroad, 1604-1667* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968).

¹¹ For example of definitions of the Grand Tour as a form of initiation see Redford, *Venice*, 7-9, 14-15; Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: YUP, 2009), 12-14; Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man’s Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1660-1900* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 137-43; Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 54-63; John Brewer, “Whose Grand Tour?”, 45-62; Rosemary Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 23-25.

¹² For standard pedestrian descriptions of the Grand Tour route and itinerary, please see Black, *British Abroad*; Hibbert, *Grand Tour*; Mead, *Grand Tour*; George C. Brauer, *The education of a gentleman: theories of gentlemanly education in England, 1660-1775* (New Haven: College and University Press, 1959), chap. 6; Hudson, *Grand Tour*; Lambert, *Grand Tour*; Trease, *Grand Tour*; Keith Dent, “Travel as Education: the English Landed Classes in the Eighteenth Century,” *Educational Studies* 1:3 (October 1975): 171-80.

¹³ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 130.

¹⁴ Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 24-25; Stephen Conway, *England, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), chap. 7.

Despite being consistently acknowledged as a finishing school of masculinity, and encompassing a broad array of countries, curricula and itineraries, the Tour has typically been approached as geographically focused on Italy and France and as revolving around two key axes within eighteenth-century elite culture: politeness and aesthetic taste. Citing Richard Lassels, Samuel Johnson and Gibbon amongst others, scholars have repeatedly emphasised Italy as the Grand Tour's ultimate destination. They have used a wide variety of creative theoretical and methodological approaches to examine the importance of the aesthetic and classical ideals associated with this topography in elite culture.¹⁵ Following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the British elite appropriated classical models to manufacture an identity based on the history and iconography of ancient republican Rome.¹⁶ This led to an enduring association between the visual arts, classics and politics that had profound implications for architecture, the commissioning, purchasing and display of fine art, and the Tour's aesthetic and classical itinerary. Each became opportunities to display 'one's political and cultural allegiance to Roman republican values'.¹⁷ As Joseph Burke argues, 'the self-identification of the Whig oligarchy with the senators of republican and imperial Rome' gave a new purpose to the Grand Tour.¹⁸ Through Italy, and particularly Rome, the Grand Tourist 'encountered the material fragments of the classical heritage to which he was supposedly heir, where he could discover the rapture of identification with his noble predecessors.'¹⁹

¹⁵ Francis Haskell, "Preface," in *Lure of Italy*, 7. See for example Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) and *Classical Sculpture and The Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (Oxford: OUP, 2009); Myrone, *Bodybuilding*; Sánchez-Jáuregui and Wilcox, *the Westmorland*; Paolo Coen, "Andrea Casali and James Byres: The Mutual Perception of the Roman and British Art Markets in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34:4 (2011): 291-313.

¹⁶ Kelly, *Society of Dilettanti*, xv; Wilton-Ely, "'Classical Ground': Britain, Italy and the Grand Tour," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28:1 (2004): 137, 140. For further discussion of the important of Classical culture and education in elite eighteenth-century identity, see Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997); Dana Arnold, "The Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House," in *The Georgian Country House: architecture, landscape and society*, ed. Dana Arnold, Timothy Clayton et al (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 100-16; Jeffrey Morrison, *Winckelmann and the notion of aesthetic education* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 1-19.

¹⁷ Wilton-Ely, "Classical Ground," 152; Cesare de Seta, "Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century," in *Lure of Italy*, 13; Ingamells, "Discovering Italy," in *Lure of Italy*, 21, 26; Sweet, *Cities*, 5; M. V. Wallbank, "Eighteenth-Century Public Schools and the Education of the Governing Elite," *History of Education* 8:1 (1979): 1-19; Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: prince of painters in eighteenth-century Rome* (New Haven: YUP, 2007), 38.

¹⁸ Joseph Burke, "The Grand Tour and the Rule of Taste," in *Studies in the Eighteenth Century; papers presented at the David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra, 1966*, ed. R. F. Brissenden (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), 234.

¹⁹ Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 48.

Equally, as Britain became increasingly confident in its status and power, the principled integrity of Britain began to be favourably compared to Imperial Rome's decline into decadent corruption.²⁰

The Grand Tour was deemed an important formative experience that prepared young elite men for their future role in a 'monumental patriarchal order'.²¹ Rome transformed the Grand Tourist into a 'gentleman-classicist, possessor of the past', as he quite literally acquired and displayed proof of his cosmopolitan taste and civic mindedness.²² Drawing on E. P. Thompson's argument that the power of the eighteenth-century elite was 'located primarily in cultural hegemony, and only secondarily in...economic or physical (military) power,' Bruce Redford contends that their political control depended on a cultural display that was achieved through the Grand Tour's social exclusivity.²³ This cultural hegemony was also performed through one's ability to "read" the Italian landscape through corresponding classical texts, a skill that was proof of an elite classical education, and provided an opportunity to imbibe the classical virtues of honour, courage, duty and loyalty.²⁴ As Rosemary Sweet, Chloe Chard and others observe, published travel literature in the first part of the eighteenth century was dominated by this trope of 'classic nostalgia' epitomised in Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Italy* (1705).²⁵

Rome and Italy were undeniably important. However, in the 1990s Cohen identified the crucial significance of France.²⁶ Expanding upon the Grand Tour's commonly noted curriculum of riding, fencing and dancing, Cohen yoked the Grand Tour to what Lawrence

²⁰ de Seta, "Lure of Italy," in *Lure of Italy*, 14; Sweet, *Cities*, 124-25.

²¹ Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 35, 140.

²² Redford, *Venice*, 8-9; Brewer, "Whose Grand Tour?" in *the Westmorland*, 45.

²³ Redford, *Venice*, 8-9, 16.

²⁴ Sweet, *Cities*, 24, 109-11.

²⁵ Sweet, *Cities*, 5; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 20-22.

²⁶ See Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*; Cohen, "The Grand Tour: Constructing the English Gentleman in Eighteenth-Century France," *History of education* 21:3 (1992): 241-57; Cohen, "Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 312-29; Cohen, "Manliness, effeminacy and the French: gender and the construction of national character in eighteenth-century England," in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Cohen (London: Addison Wesley, 1999), 44-62; Cohen, "French conversation or "glittering gibberish"? Learning French in eighteenth-century England," in *Didactic literature in England 1500-1800: expertise constructed*, ed. Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 99-117.

Klein identified as the eighteenth-century “paradigm” of politeness.²⁷ Constructed by a trio of Whig cultural ideologists, Shaftesbury, Addison and Steele, politeness was tied to the shift in political power from the court to parliament, and to the rising commercialisation and urbanisation of society.²⁸ The concept of politeness has been extensively debated by scholars of the eighteenth century, who have argued over the extent of its dominance and the ways in which the ideology and terminology was used in different geographies and social strata.²⁹ Klein has subsequently acknowledged that it was a complex term with many diverse meanings. Within the context of aristocratic and gentry sociality it functioned as an ideal of social behaviour, a ‘dexterous management of words and actions’, that focused upon the mutual benefits of the ‘art of pleasing’.³⁰ Until recently, scholars have accepted politeness as the dominant code of eighteenth-century elite masculinity and its associated education and formation.³¹ Characterised by a refined, virtuous nature that emphasised softened tempers and rationality, polite masculinity was also about display as outward graces signalled inner virtue. This was achieved through intensive bodily cultivation in which dancing, fencing and riding were viewed as essential.³²

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, French society was perceived to be the most civilised of European societies, exemplifying the art of politeness.³³ While this

²⁷ Cohen, “Manners,” 312; Lawrence Klein, “Politeness and the interpretation of the British eighteenth century,” *The Historical Journal* 45:4 (2002): 881; Klein, “The third earl of Shaftesbury and the progress of politeness,” *Eighteenth Century Studies* 18:2 (1984): 189.

²⁸ Klein, “Shaftesbury,” 186-88, 190-91; Klein, “Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England,” *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 59:1 (1996): 30-51; Klein, “Liberty, Manners, and Politeness in Early Eighteenth-Century England,” *The Historical Journal* 32:03 (1989): 583-84, 587; Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 27-28. Anna Bryson has also sought to locate the emergence of eighteenth-century manners in seventeenth-century precedents in *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

²⁹ See for example: Berry, “Rethinking Politeness,” 65-81; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) and “The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 311-31; Sweet, “Topographies of Politeness,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 355-74.

³⁰ Klein, “Politeness,” 42, 45; Klein, “Liberty, Manners, and Politeness,” 588.

³¹ Philip Carter, *Man and the emergence of polite society, Britain, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), 8; Cohen, “Manners,” 312; Klein, “Politeness,” 881.

³² Kelly, *Society of Dilettanti*, 19; Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 63; Klein, “Shaftesbury,” 202; Carter, *Man*, 72-74, 77, 166; Matthew McCormack, “Dance and drill: polite accomplishments and military masculinities in Georgian Britain,” *Cultural and Social History* 8:3 (2011): 2, 317, 319-20; Cohen, “Manners,” 313.

³³ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 12, 38-39.

perception was also problematised, as the French could be perceived as *overly* refined and effeminate, through the Grand Tour, young elite British men accessed French academies and a curriculum of riding, fencing, dancing and French that enabled them to refine their abilities and bodies.³⁴ This was followed by time with the leading polite societies across Europe, where they perfected their skills in sociability.³⁵

These interpretations of the Grand Tour as an institution of polite masculinity and a cultivator of elite classical taste have been broadly accepted by historians of the eighteenth century and of travel.³⁶ This has been accompanied by a certain assumption that the Grand Tour is “done” as a historical concept. In recent decades, scholars have instead turned to challenging the presumption that eighteenth-century travel was the exclusive preserve of the elite male. This has placed the Grand Tour within a much-needed context of a broader continuum of travel cultures and practices. This approach was partially initiated by literary scholars, who identified travel writing as a distinctive genre and a highly influential force in the development and diffusion of key literary and cultural trends, such as sentimentalism, the gothic, Romanticism and the novel.³⁷ The prominence of travel writers from the middling sorts, such as Laurence Sterne and Tobias Smollett, and female travellers, such as Hester Lynch Piozzi and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, has been noted.³⁸ This in turn has led to a

³⁴ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 38-39, 55; Cohen, “Manners,” 322; Cohen, “Constructing the English Gentleman,” 129-31; Klein, “Politeness,” 894.

³⁵ Cohen, “Constructing the English Gentleman,” 131, 133-34.

³⁶ See for example French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 138-40; Kelly, *Society of Dilettanti*, 19-21, 34-35; Brauer, *Education of a gentleman*, 189-90; Thompson, *Suffering traveller*, 47; Sweet, *Cities*, 23, 25. For examples from wider eighteenth-century scholarship, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: YUP, 2002), 167-69; John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 206; Maura A. Henry, “The making of elite culture,” in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. H. T. Dickinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 319-20; Christopher Reid, *Imprison’d Wranglers: The rhetorical culture of the House of Commons, 1760-1800* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 18.

³⁷ See for example: P. G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (New York: St Martins Press, 2000); C. L. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: form and convention in eighteenth-century travel literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing 1770-1840* (Oxford: OUP, 2002); C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1957); Elizabeth Bohls and Ian Duncan, “Introduction,” in *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology*, ed. Elizabeth Bohls and Ian Duncan (Oxford: OUP, 2005), xx-xxv; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*.

³⁸ See for example M. Agorni, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: British Women Novelists, Translators and Travel Writers 1739-1797* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); E. A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*

wider on-going investigation of travellers from different social classes, genders and life stages who were motivated to travel for a whole range of reasons, including health, war, employment, industry and Enlightenment concerns.³⁹ Alongside this, scholars have traced the rise of modern concepts of tourism,⁴⁰ the development of domestic tourism,⁴¹ and have very gradually begun to decentre the Italian- and Anglo-centric nature of travel history. This has involved considering the travel cultures of other European countries⁴² and the mapping of

(Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Alison Chapman and Jane Stabler (ed.), *Unfolding the South: Nineteenth-Century British women writers and artists in Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Karen R. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe 1750-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Terence Bower, "Reconstituting the national body in Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy*," *Eighteenth Century Life* 21:1 (1997): 1-25.

³⁹ For discussion of female travellers and travel writers, see Sweet, *Cities*; Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002); Marianna D'Ezio, "Sociability and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Venice: European Travellers and Venetian Women's Casinos," in *Sociability and Cosmopolitanism: Social Bonds on the Fringes of the Enlightenment*, ed. Scott Breuninger and David Burrows (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 47-58; D'Ezio, "Literary and Cultural Intersections between British and Italian Women Writers and *Salonnières* during the Eighteenth Century," in *Readers, Writers, Salonnières: Female Networks in Europe, 1700-1900*, ed. Hilary Brown and Gilliam Dow (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 11-29. For soldiers as tourists, see Gavin Daly, "Liberators and tourists: British soldiers in Madrid during the Peninsular War," in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1730-1830*, ed. Catriona Kennedy and McCormack (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 117-35; Kennedy, *Narratives of War: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland, 1793-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); For those motivated by scientific, intellectual and Enlightenment concerns, see Peter Jones, "Industrial enlightenment in practice: visitors to the Soho manufactory, 1765-1820," *Midland History*, 33:1 (2008): 68-96; Ana Simoes, Ana Carneiro & Maria Paula Diogo (ed.), *Travels of learning. A geography of Science in Europe* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003); For servant's perspectives, see Matthew Todd, *Matthew Todd's journal: A Gentleman's Gentleman in Europe 1814-20*, ed. Geoffrey Trease (London: Heineman, 1968). For health-related travel, see: Richard Wrigley and George Revill (ed.), *Pathologies of Travel* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

⁴⁰ See for example John Towner, "The Grand Tour: a key phase in the history of tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12:3 (1985): 297-333 and *An historical geography of recreation and tourism in the western world, 1540-1940* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1996); James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: OUP, 1993); Thompson, *Suffering traveller*, 3, 21-22.

⁴¹ See for example Benjamin Colbert (ed.), *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: taste, travel, and the rise of tourism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990); Esther Moir *The discovery of Britain: the English tourists, 1540-1840* (London: Routledge, 1964).

⁴² Certain areas such as the German principalities and Austria have attracted minimal scholarly attention (see David Worthington, *British and Irish experiences and impressions of central Europe, c.1560-1688* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) for a Early Modern exception). Scholarly interest in the discourse surrounding mountains has meant the Alps have received more attention (For a recent publication see Peter Hansen, *Summits of Modern Man: Mountaineering after the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

non-Italian European destinations, and has led to a clearer identification of differing practices of travel.⁴³ For example, Gerrit Verhoeven highlights the late-seventeenth-century Netherlandish development of the *divertissant somertogje*, brief summer excursions to a nearby metropolis, that were popular with older men, women and families.⁴⁴ The field of eighteenth-century travel history not only continues to broaden in scope but also merges fruitfully with concurrent methodologies in eighteenth-century and historical studies. For example, Rosemary Sweet and Richard Wrigley's recent publications have both focused upon Rome and other Italian cities, but have brought fresh insights by exploring tourist engagement via theories of urban history, Britain's evolving relationship with its own past, and the history of the senses.⁴⁵

This diversification has led some scholars, such as Jeremy Black and Chloe Chard, to argue that the distinctions between different types of travellers should be collapsed, and

Areas designated as the "periphery" of Europe, such as Russia, Scandinavia and the Levant, have been the subject of discourses concerning boundaries of civilisation (See for example E. Adamovsky, *Euro-Orientalism: Liberal Ideology and the Image of Russia in France (c. 1740-1880)* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006); Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: the map of civilisation on the mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994)). Several focused on the tourism surrounding the Netherland and Low Countries. See for example Liesbeth Corens, "Catholic nuns and English identities: English Protestant travellers on the English convents in the Low Countries, 1660-1730," *Recusant History* 30:3 (2011): 441-59; Hugh Dunthorn, "British travellers in eighteenth-century Holland: tourism and the appreciation of Dutch culture," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 5 (1982): 77-84; C. D. Van Strein, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1600-1720* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

⁴³ Since Lacy Collison-Morley, "The Georgian Englishman in Contemporary Italian Eyes," *The Modern Language Review*, 12:3 (1917): 310-18, a substantial body of literature has emerged examining the trend of anglophilia from French, Italian and German perspectives. See for example Gesa Stedman, *Cultural exchange in seventeenth-century France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1985); Ian Buruma, *Voltaire's Coconuts: Or, Anglomania in Europe* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999); Jackson I. Cope, "Goldoni's England and England's Goldoni," *The Modern Language Review*, 110 (1995): 101-31. There is only a very limited body of literature in English that deals with non-anglophile European travel cultures.

⁴⁴ Gerrit Verhoeven, "FORESHADOWING TOURISM Looking for modern and obsolete features – or some missing link – in early modern travel behavior (1675–1750)," *Annals of Tourism Research* 42 (2013): 262–83. See also *Europe within reach. Netherlandish travellers on the Grand Tour and beyond (1585-1750)* (Brill, in press & scheduled for 2015).

⁴⁵ Sweet, "British perceptions of Florence in the long eighteenth century," *The Historical Journal* 50:4 (2007): 837-59; Sweet, "The Changing View of Rome in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:2 (2010): 145–64; Richard Wrigley, "Making Sense of Rome," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:4 (2012): 551-64.

eighteenth-century travel culture discussed under a generic title of “Grand Tour”.⁴⁶ Numerous other scholars have inadvertently done this by drawing upon travel accounts without fully considering their authors’ backgrounds.⁴⁷ I would contend that distinguishing between different types of travel cultures remains extremely important, and throughout this thesis I use the term “Grand Tour” in its traditional sense as relating specifically to elite young male educational travellers and their tutors. While a young male Grand Tourist, his servant, a married aristocratic woman, and a clergyman travelling for health might have visited the same places, interacted on various levels and shared multiple commonalities, they also travelled within their own distinctive sub-cultures in much the same way that a backpacking Gap Year student and a retired couple might visit Australia in different ways today. Sweet and Katherine Turner have both pointed to such discrete differences. Sweet, for example, has explored the differences and similarities between male and female travellers in Italy’s principal cities.⁴⁸ Turner has argued that published travel writing and debates concerning the value of the aristocratic Grand Tour were dominated by the rising middling sorts who ‘claimed most insistently to embody Englishness or Britishness.’⁴⁹ This branch of travel writing and culture was therefore part of an ideological battleground in which the middling sort appropriated civic virtue, patriotism and British manliness through the disparagement of the Frenchified, effeminate aristocratic traveller.⁵⁰ It is important to recognise this as a distinct travel discourse in its own right. Such debates had a long cyclical history, identifiable throughout the early modern period, and were often expressive of broader political concerns about national identity rather than necessarily reflecting the realities of the Grand Tour.⁵¹ Unreflectively merging materials from different, and even conflicting, travel cultures can lead scholars to view eighteenth-century travel through certain socio-cultural prisms that may not give access to the full nuances of experience, culture and influence.

⁴⁶ Black, *British Abroad*, v-vi; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 11-13; Towner, “The Grand Tour,” 301.

⁴⁷ Despite his carefully narrow definitions of the Grand Tour, Redford, *Venice* is one such example.

⁴⁸ See Sweet, *Cities*, 27-61 for an excellent summary of her findings.

⁴⁹ Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 17.

⁵⁰ Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 46; For briefer acknowledgements of this, see Black, *British Abroad*, 315-16; Thompson, *Suffering traveller*, 40.

⁵¹ For an important examination of this, see Sara Warneke, *Images of the educational traveller in early modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). For shorter discussions, see French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 140; Stoye, *English travellers abroad*, 165-66; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 91-94; Black, *British Abroad*, 316, 329.



Fig. 1. S. H. Grimm, "What is this my son Tom," (The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 1774)

This has very much been the case with the elite male educational Grand Tour, as the scholarship relating to its aesthetic and polite purposes has been combined with contemporary caricatures and criticisms to create a stereotypical scholarly image of the Frenchified, foppish Grand Tourist, exclusively interested in art, sex and the extravagances of fashionable refinement (see, for example, Fig. 1). Travelling too young and herded by tutors, the eighteenth-century Grand Tourist has become something of an atrophied strawman often used by scholars to set up new research on other cultures of travel, masculinity and national identity.⁵² For example, there have been some fruitful reconsiderations of the role of danger within the wider history of travel culture and associated masculinities. Scholars have noted that seventeenth-century educational theorists explicitly discussed the value of travel's 'wholesome hardships' and that Grand Tour curricula in this period often included the

⁵² This forms an important component in the arguments of Buzard, *Beaten Track*, Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, and Turner, *British Travel Writers*.

observation of and participation in live military camps and battles.⁵³ Roger Manning argues that, even when briefly done, seeking out danger on the battlefield and field of honour remained an elite social convention that was part of a ritualised initiation into manhood.⁵⁴ Equally, scholars discussing Romantic travel culture have often noted that danger, hardship and destabilisation formed an integral part of travel writing, as the Romantic mind-set attached a subtle prestige to the traveller and man who courted adversity.⁵⁵ Exposure to danger, hardship and risk cultivated the finest masculine virtues and resulted in a revelatory knowledge of the world and self.⁵⁶ Percy Bysshe Shelley, for example, proclaimed that he was fit to write *The Revolt of Islam* (1818) as ‘dangers which sport upon the brink of precipices have been my playmate; I have trodden the glaciers of the Alps and lived under the eye of Mont Blanc’.⁵⁷ Simon Bainbridge stresses that mountaineering as a ‘school of courage’, reached ‘a previously unreached or rarely reached place; a testing of physical ability and mental daring’.⁵⁸ This cultural mind-set persisted into the nineteenth-century culture of mountaineering.⁵⁹

While this would suggest that danger and hazard were often central to cultures of travel, such cultures have tended to be contrasted against the eighteenth-century Grand Tour. For example, John Towner’s recent analysis of the historic relationships between war and tourism between 1500 and 1800 identifies the presence of military tourism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, but largely neglects the eighteenth century. Here war ‘was merely to be avoided, as ‘by the eighteenth century the leisure classes were more interested in fine arts and manners’.⁶⁰ Similarly, Carl

⁵³ Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 8; See also Stoye, *English travellers abroad*, 110, 112-16, 128, 133; Brennan, *Origins of the Grand Tour*, 25, 67.

⁵⁴ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 9, 105.

⁵⁵ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 11, 114-16, 137-93; Thompson, *Suffering traveller*, 1-3, 21-23.

⁵⁶ Thompson, *Suffering traveller*, 5-6, 16-17, 23-25, 274.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁸ Simon Bainbridge, “Writing from the perilous ridge: Romanticism and the Invention of Rock Climbing,” *Romanticism* 19:3 (2013): 246-60; Bainbridge, ‘Romantics and Mountaineering’, *Romanticism* 18.1 (2012): 1-15.

⁵⁹ Robert MacFarlane, *Mountains of the mind* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 84-86.

⁶⁰ Towner, “The English Tourist and war, 1500-1800,” in *War and Tourism*, ed. Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul (London: Routledge, 2013), 50. For discussions of tourism and travel surrounding the French Rev and Napoleonic wars see J. M. Thompson, *English Witness of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1938); Adriana Craciun and Kari Lokke, *Rebellious Hearts: British Women Writers and the French Revolution* (Albany: State University of New

Thompson claims the common stereotype of the Grand Tourist as ‘an enervated, somewhat effeminate traveller’ ‘usefully counterpoints the manliness and vigour of the Romantic traveller’s activities.’⁶¹ Both scholars advocate that the Grand Tour’s masculinity was fundamentally uninterested in danger and its physical, formative or revelatory benefits. They justify this stance through referring to the eighteenth-century Grand Tour’s presumed relationship with polite masculinity and aesthetic concerns. This assumption raises key critical questions. How do we account for this apparent anomaly within the wider chronologies of cultures of travel and masculinity? Was the eighteenth-century Grand Tour actually so narrow in its focus?

Reassessing Danger and Masculinity on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

My thesis contends that current understandings of the Grand Tour present an overly narrow conceptualisation of its rationale and place within wider cultures of elite masculine formation and society. As this section will discuss, such conclusions are also out of step with current debates concerning the history of masculinity. This thesis uses archival research to undertake a reassessment of the Tour’s relationship with danger and to reconstruct how the Grand Tour was actually perceived within elite families.

As Peter Mandler’s review of Karen Reynolds’ *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* observed in 1999, following the dynamic scholarship of the 1960s, 80s and 90s that pioneered investigation into the history of the working and middle classes, the lack of connection between aristocratic subjects and the origins of socialism or feminism, and their strong connections with elements of political conservatism, meant that scholars had been reluctant to study the upper class. Observing the emergence of new scholarship that exploited the archival richness of landed families and reignited interest in elite women, Mandler contended that this had the opportunity to not only revise understandings of elite society, politics and culture, but to also explore the complex relationships between the politics and cultures of different social strata.⁶² While the recent scholarship on other parts of

York Press, 2001); Kennedy, “From the Ballroom to the Battlefield: British Women and Waterloo,” in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820*, ed. Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall (Basinstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 137-56; A. V Seaton, “War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:1 (1999): 130-58; Elodie Duché, “A passage to imprisonment: naval prisoners of war and transnational experiences in Napoleonic France,” (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2014).

⁶¹ Thompson, *Suffering traveller*, 48-51. See also Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 215.

⁶² Peter Mandler, “Namier in Petticoats,” review of K. D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (New York: OUP, 1998), *Reviews in History* 63 (1999),

society has produced new and exciting insights into the eighteenth century, investigations into the elite that test and situate these conclusions within the whole context of the eighteenth-century world, this thesis joins in this approach using the rich body of manuscript material from Grand Tourists, their families and social circles that is preserved in numerous archives and has yet to be examined in-depth.

My research joins that of scholars such as Henry French, Mark Rothery, Sweet and Black, as well as wider work on the archival dimension of different layers of eighteenth-century society, in correcting this oversight by analysing the diaries, correspondence, memoirs and publications of over sixty gentry and aristocratic Grand Tourists, tutors, families, friends and fellow travellers travelling between c. 1730-80.⁶³ Within this, certain Grand Tours feature more heavily than others. These include Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, and Joseph Spence's Grand Tour in 1739-41; Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray's Grand Tour in 1739-41; the collective and separate travels of the Common Room club between c. 1738-45; Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond's Grand Tour with his younger brother, Lord George Lennox and their tutor Abraham Trembley in 1750-55; Frederick North, later 2nd Earl of Guilford and William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth's Grand Tour in 1751-54; Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke's Grand Tour in 1751-54; George Bussy Villier, later 4th Earl of Jersey, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham and later 2nd Earl Harcourt's Grand Tour of 1754-56 with their tutor William Whitehead; Edward Gibbon's 1753-58 and 1763-65 Grand Tour and periods abroad; John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield's Grand Tour of 1763-66; George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth's Grand Tour of 1775-79 with his younger brothers, William and Charles, and their tutor, David Stevenson; George Augustus Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke's Grand Tour of 1775-80, with his tutors, Rev. William Coxe and Captain John Floyd; Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke's Grand Tour in 1777-79, with his tutor Colonel Wettstein; and Sir Francis Basset's Grand Tour of c. 1777-78. While only the briefest summary of their Grand Tours is possible here, Appendices 1-13 provide fuller details of their biographies, travels, families and later careers, alongside basic maps of their destinations. Where possible, these maps have attempted to show their actual route, but there has not always been enough information to discern this.

It is worth briefly noting here that this material and the concept of danger and risk in travel could be approached in several ways. Presentations of this research have frequently

accessed Sept 5, 2015, <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/63>.

⁶³ Black, *British Abroad*, v-vi; French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*; Sweet, *Cities*; See also Greig, *Beau Monde*; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Life in Georgian England* (New Haven: YUP, 1998) and *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: YUP, 2009).

resulted in queries relating to the “reality” of the risks involved. Such questions are almost impossible to answer. The closest one could come to finding an answer would be to evaluate contemporary assessments of risk. Robert Pearson, Geoffrey Clark and others have observed that the concept of probability theory and statistical assessments of hazard were slowly evolving in this period in relation to different forms of insurance.⁶⁴ Some form of personal travel insurance existed and can be found under general life assurances, but preliminary research into the London Assurance Corporation’s records from 1721-1809 found only a few, scattered examples covering typical Grand Tour destinations and none covering periods longer than one year.⁶⁵ While it is possible that Grand Tourists may have used other companies or made private arrangements with banks, preliminary research strongly suggested that a coherent contemporary valuation of risk and travel would be extremely challenging to define. Even then, this runs the risk of anachronistic applications of modern conceptualisations of risk, health and safety, which did not really emerge until the nineteenth century. As the anthropologist Mary Douglas observes, the notion of risk has held different connotations throughout time and place. In the nineteenth century, it held negative associations with the ‘technical calculations of probability’, in the eighteenth century, it was more neutrally linked to the probability of loss or gain, while in the seventeenth, risk was more commonly associated with gambling.⁶⁶

Scholars from a range of disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, literature and history have frequently asserted that the assessment, perception, experience and communication of danger, risk and associated reactions, such as emotional responses of fear, exhilaration and horror, are socially constructed, subjective and variable. For example, in his theory of reflexive modernisation, the German sociologist Ulrich Beck asserts that risks are socially filtered and open to ‘social definition and construction’, while Douglas suggests that the individual perception of risk and danger are shaped by wider social structures.⁶⁷ These arguments echo Joan Scott’s critical reflections on the constructed nature of ‘experience’ and the need for historians to examine the relationship between discourse, cognition and

⁶⁴ Robin Pearson, “Moral Hazard and the Assessment of Insurance Risk in the Eighteenth-and-Early-Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *The Business History Review*, 76:1 (2002): 9-10; Geoffrey Clark, *Betting on Lives: The Culture of Life Insurance in England, 1695-1775* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁶⁵ H. A. L. Cockerell and Edwin Green, *The British Insurance Business 1547-1970: An Introduction and Guide to Historical Records in the United Kingdom* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1976), 34; LMA, Acc. 8740, London Assurance Company Papers, “Assurance on lives” books, 6 vols, 1733-1809.

⁶⁶ Mary Douglas, “Risk as a Forensic Resource,” *Daedalus* 199:4 (1990): 1-2.

⁶⁷ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, trans. Mark Ritter (London: SAGE Publications, 1992), 23; Douglas, “Risk,” 9-10.

reality.⁶⁸ Scholars working on the history of emotions, such as Ute Frevert and others, have recently exemplified this approach in reasserting the social construction of emotions and their expression.⁶⁹

This research follows a similar methodological approach and undertakes a close textual analysis of Grand Tour manuscripts to explore how young elite men identified, understood and perceived danger and risk in travel. Working on archival material has many challenges. As Hannah Greig observes, the eighteenth-century elite left ‘a paper mountain rather than a paper trail...the challenge is to select appropriately from an overwhelming mass of extant material.’⁷⁰ As Cohen observes, the role of the Grand Tour in the formation of elite male identities ‘is riddled with paradoxes and contradictions’.⁷¹ The families of aristocratic and gentry Britain were strikingly interconnected throughout the century, and even one Grand Tour was the focus of a vast array of disparate opinions. This thesis does not pretend to resolve all these paradoxes but it does seek to avoid the common pitfall of Grand Tour scholarship of becoming no more than a confusing and contrary collection of quotes. As such, coherence is achieved through the following. First, as noted, the thesis draws tight boundaries in terms of the sorts of traveller considered and draws predominantly upon examples from between 1730-80. While this thesis will include some discussion of the relationship between elite Grand Tourists and non-elite and female travellers, this is largely confined to the Introduction. Second, it pays particular attention to geographies outside of Italy, seeking to understand the purpose, function and attractions of non-Italian Grand Tour destinations and examines the topographies, themes and narratives of travel, hazard and challenge as discussed and identified by Grand Tourists, tutors, their family, friends and wider elite circles. Third, I have selected and framed my choice and analysis of these discussions in terms of their relevance to the connection between danger and masculine formation. Certain dangers, such as the physical hazards of war, illness, sporting activities, accidents and hardships on the road, and encounters with challenging natural terrains

⁶⁸ Joan W. Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” *Critical Inquiry* 17:4 (1991): 773-97.

⁶⁹ See for example, Ute Frevert et al, *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-200* (Oxford: OUP, 2014); Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford: OUP, 2015); Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002): 821-45; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001). Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of northern Carolina Press, 2008) is an excellent example of the work being done on emotions and the eighteenth century.

⁷⁰ Greig, *Beau Monde*, 29.

⁷¹ Cohen, “The Grand Tour: Language, National Identity and Masculinity,” *Changing English* 8:2 (2001): 3.

receive more attention than others. Not only were they frequently discussed by Grand Tourists and their circles; they also present a cohesive insight into an under-discussed aspect of the Grand Tour and elite masculinity. Little will be said about crime, as the tourists examined here rarely discussed this danger. I would speculate that this is because their status meant they were relatively well protected during their travels. Chapter One begins by examining social and moral hazards in conjunction with a reassessment of the Grand Tour's overarching social aims, but minimal space has been given to discussions of political and religious dangers. This area of hazard enters into a very different aspect of the intersection between danger, the Grand Tour, elite culture and masculinity, and requires more space to do it justice.

The History of Masculinity

In identifying the formation of elite masculinity as the key purpose of the Grand Tour and in reconsidering this in light of the role of danger, my thesis responds to and furthers a number of recent scholarly developments relating to the Grand Tour and the converging fields of travel, masculinity, education, elite identity and culture. Scholarly understanding of the Grand Tour's relationship with danger had been inhibited by the tendency to focus on polite masculinity in which the role of physical courage, danger and violence has been consistently downplayed. For example, Philip Carter has argued that politeness was deemed superior to 'many existing forms of manly virtue, which, on account of their association with elitism, violence or boorishness, were judged detrimental to truly polite society'.⁷² Instead, the polite man distanced himself from the physically violent and hazardous expressions of masculinity bound up in hunting, duelling, warfare and other sports.⁷³ By extension, he also distanced himself from danger and hardship.

Scholars have approached the Grand Tour and eighteenth-century masculinity in terms of R. W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity, seeing them as alternatively dominated by the cultures of politeness, chivalry and sensibility.⁷⁴ Connell's widely-used

⁷² Carter, *Man*, 1.

⁷³ Carter, *Man*, 70-2; Robert Shoemaker, "Male Honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth-century London," *Social History*, 26:2 (2001): 190-208; Robert Shoemaker, "The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honor and Ritual Violence in London, 1600-1800," *The Historical Journal* 45:3 (2002): 525-45; Jenny Skipp, "Violence, Aggression and Masculinity during the Eighteenth Century: A Review," *Cultural and Social History*, 4:4 (2007): 570-71.

⁷⁴ See for example, Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994); Carter, *Man*; Cohen, *Masculinity*; G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in*

model argues that only one type of masculinity can dominate at any given time. His three other categories of complicit, subordinate and marginalised masculinities assume that any other co-existing cultures of masculine identity were either illegitimate alternatives or active forms of resistance.⁷⁵ At the same time, studies of historic masculinity have also been defined by sharp periodisation.⁷⁶ Within the context of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, politeness is presumed to have replaced patriarchal and courtly expressions of masculine identity, and was in turn replaced by chivalry and sensibility, which were then replaced by taciturnity and domesticity in the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ For example, Cohen argues that politeness was intended to affirm elite manhood but was constantly in danger of collapsing into effeminacy.⁷⁸ As Karen Downing summarises, scholars working on the forging of the British nation in the eighteenth century have argued that the military defeats of the 1750s, alongside the dramatic expansion of British territories following the Seven Years War (1754-63), raised significant concerns over the capacity of British masculinity and its ability to defend Britain.⁷⁹ This resulted in demands for a more robust, martial and civic-minded masculinity and a British identity that was formed through combat.⁸⁰ By the 1760s, the inevitable happened and politeness was supplanted by a national masculinity expressed through a recharged culture of chivalry that was the result of a rise of interest in history beyond the classics. Chivalry, while still maintaining a devoted and restrained attitude towards women and a sense of refinement, also produced men fired by a love of martial valour who sought to demonstrate their courage and manliness through hazardous physical endeavours and exercise. Cohen casts the Grand Tour as the embodiment of politeness, and

Eighteenth Century Britain (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Cohen, "Manners," 312-29.

⁷⁵ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 76-81. For a good summary of how historians of masculinity have interpreted this model, see Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 290-91.

⁷⁶ Karen Harvey and Shepard, "What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 279-305; French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 9.

⁷⁷ For an excellent summary of the scholarship adhering to this, see Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, c. 1650-1800," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 298-305.

⁷⁸ Cohen, "Manners," 59.

⁷⁹ Karen Downing, "The Gentleman Boxer: Boxing, Manners, and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Men and Masculinities*, 12:3 (April 2012): 330-31; Cohen, "Manners," 312-29; Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 9-11.

⁸⁰ Colley, *Britons*, 1, 9.

suggests that masculine identities such as chivalry had no part in this institution. This suggests that that the rise of chivalry equalled the demise of the Grand Tour.⁸¹

John Tosh has observed that scholars have too readily assumed that hegemonic masculinity is a cultural phenomenon *tout court*.⁸² As Karen Harvey argues in relation to polite culture, such trends may have become a self-fulfilling prophecy as we are ‘destined to find modern man in the eighteenth century because of the places we choose to look.’⁸³ Within the last decade, scholars have begun to revise the validity of the hegemonic theory as they have repeatedly identified aspects of masculine identity, behaviour and culture that do not fit within its established paradigms, but instead reflect a wider variety of masculine cultures contained within the overall spectrum of elite masculinity. For example, alongside the cosmopolitan man of politeness and the sensitive ‘Man of Feeling’, scholars have drawn attention to the pervasive role of all-male convivial society, which could range from Enlightenment-style discussion and rowdy drinking sessions to more impolite and libertine cultures.⁸⁴ Initially, scholars sought to account for their findings by arguing that men were exposed to conflicting and confusing codes of conduct.⁸⁵ More recently, scholars have emphasised how such cultures were validated by contemporary society in ways that makes it difficult to cast them simply as illegitimate or subversive. For example, Vic Gatrell, Jason Kelly, French and Rothery, and Downing have each observed how the impolite, libertine, sporting and violent behaviour of elite men could be applauded, condoned and affirmed by

⁸¹ Cohen, “Manners,” 312-29. In her investigation of the culture of eighteenth-century antiquaries, Sweet has suggested that the study of domestic antiquity was linked to concepts of patriotic virtue. It encouraged domestic travel within Britain, and the identification and association with Britain’s glorious past, rather than the achievements of foreign countries. See Sweet, *Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 36.

⁸² John Tosh, “Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender,” in *Masculinity in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 52.

⁸³ Harvey, “History of Masculinity,” 311.

⁸⁴ See for example, Kelly, “Riots, Revelries, and Rumour: Libertinism and Masculine Association in Enlightenment London,” *Journal of British Studies*, 45:4 (October 2006): 774-75; Vic Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), 178, 316; Helen Berry, “Rethinking Politeness In Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King’s Coffee House And The Significance Of ‘Flash Talk’,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 65-81; Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 203; Harvey, “Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 214 (2012): 165-203.

⁸⁵ See for example, Elizabeth Foyster, “Boys will be boys? Manhood and aggression, 1660-1800,” in *English Masculinities*, 164-65.

the rest of elite society, including women and the King.⁸⁶ An elite man could be polite *and* impolite, refined *and* capable of violence.

In 2005, Harvey and Alexandra Shepard edited a special edition of *Journal of British Studies* that assessed the field of the history of masculinity and called for fresh approaches. Beginning with the validity of the hegemonic model, they began to explore how a society or individual could adhere to several different dominant masculine codes.⁸⁷ Shepard, for example, suggests a modified model of masculinity, which functioned as ‘very loose categories rather than rigid types, with a considerable degree of fluidity...It is...possible that one man might conform to more than one category not only over the course of a lifetime but also over the course of a single day.’⁸⁸ As sociologists have argued since the 1970s, an individual is not just one self but actually several different selves. Derived from membership of several social communities, these multiple social identities may or may not overlap and complement.⁸⁹

Harvey and Shepard also address the overly sharp periodisation in the history of masculinity, noting that studies of seventeenth-century masculinity tend to be based upon archival sources and focus upon social relationships, while studies of eighteenth-century masculinity have been based upon published material and have considered cultural representations more closely. This constitutes a methodological division that may obscure the continuities between prevailing cultures of masculinity, and Harvey and Shepard have called for the two approaches to be combined.⁹⁰ Scholars of eighteenth-century masculinity have begun to respond to this methodological challenge. For example, Matthew McCormack’s recent work on Georgian masculinities and the militia explicitly notes that:

⁸⁶ French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 125-27; Gatrell, *City of laughter*, 178, 316; Kelly, “Riots,” 774-75; Downing, “Gentleman Boxer,” 328-52.

⁸⁷ Harvey and Shepard, “What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?” 278; See also Jennifer Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 170; Carter, “James Boswell’s manliness,” in *English Masculinities*, 111-30; William Stafford, “Gentlemanly masculinities as represented by the late Georgian Gentleman’s Magazine,” *History* 93:309 (2008): 47-68.

⁸⁸ Shepard, “Anxious Patriarchs,” 291.

⁸⁹ Michael A. Hogg and Graham M. Vaughan, *Social Psychology*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), 111-13, 122-26.

⁹⁰ Harvey and Shepard, “What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?” 275-76, 280; Shepard, “Anxious Patriarchs,” 281. Scholars of eighteenth-century masculinity have often acknowledged the limitations of their cultural approach. See for example, Carter, “Men about town: representations of foppery and masculinity in early eighteenth-century urban society,” in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations, and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Longman, 1997), 33-34.

The field of cultural studies has experienced a backlash against the excessive focus on representations, which has apparently resulted in histories based upon free floating texts and images rather than actual historical experience and processes. Some historians of masculinity have argued that the field of masculinity is losing its physical and psychological aspects and we should reconnect with the ethos of social history.⁹¹

McCormack pushes the parameters of the history of masculinity further, in arguing that scholars should be considering the bodily and physical experiences of masculinity as well.⁹² Equally, French and Rothery's recent archival study of landed gentry masculinity and education from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century directly responds to Harvey and Shepard's call in moving 'beyond the study of printed conduct literature, which had dominated earlier accounts', in a bid to understand the 'familial cultures of masculinity rooted in the everyday experience of young men at a pivotal moment in their lives.'⁹³ Supporting Shepard's contention that there were 'several viable normative models' of masculinity at any one time, they argue that the notion of hegemony mistakenly conflates the underlying hegemonic patriarchal distribution of power between men and women with the less rigid, less containing societal stereotypes of appropriate male and female behaviour. These changed over time and were far more variable.⁹⁴ Their research finds 'fundamental and remarkably tenacious ideas of male honour, virtue, reputation and autonomy' that were deeply internalised within individuals and families, and diffused throughout social, political and economic institutions. These endured throughout the three centuries under investigation.⁹⁵ French and Rothery argue that these deep-seated masculine principles, that included self-control, independence, stoicism, courage, honour and hard work, formed an unchanging backdrop against which the different societal expressions of appropriate 'manly' behaviour could be set.⁹⁶ These virtues could be realised in multiple ways. As Shepard suggests, united by the same underlying virtue, this resulted in a fluid spectrum of masculine behaviour. Self-control, for example, could be expressed through the controlled bodily and

⁹¹ McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 6. My sincere thanks to Matthew McCormack for giving me early access to this publication.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹³ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 16, 18-19; French, and Rothery, "'Upon your entry into the world': masculine values and the threshold of adulthood among landed elites in England 1680-1800," *Social History* 33:4 (2008): 421.

⁹⁴ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 11.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11-15, 37.

⁹⁶ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 78, 254; Padhraig Higgins, "'Let us play the men': masculinity and the citizen-soldier in late eighteenth-century Ireland," in *Soldiering in Britain*, 184; Foyster, "Boys will be boys," 152-53, 159-61.

verbal motions of polite deportment, through the physical disciplines of dancing, drill work, fencing or boxing, or through a courageous and disciplined response to scenarios of danger, such as battle or natural hazards. The various trends and stereotypes identified by scholars were simply different manifestations of the same virtues.⁹⁷

These advances have only been slowly extended to the Grand Tour. French and Rothery's study includes a chapter on the Tour and other examples of formative travel, while Richard Ansell's forthcoming article and doctoral research examines the Grand Tour within the context of Anglo-Irish families and their wider educational strategies, demonstrating, for example, how families prized advice 'bestowed by authoritative individuals' over 'vicarious encounters with reading'.⁹⁸ Paola Bianchi's exploration of the famous Savoyard *Accademia Reale* in Turin and its archival records reveals its fundamentally transnational role in the education and relationships of Grand Tourists from across Europe, including Britain, Austrian and numerous German courts, while European scholars are also beginning to publish their research on the various Continental equivalents of the Grand Tour in English.⁹⁹ Research into

⁹⁷ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 12-13, 15, 78, 102, 135.

⁹⁸ Richard Ansell, "Irish Protestant Travel to Europe, 1660-1727," (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2013), 71; See also "Educational travel in Protestant families from post-Restoration Ireland," *Historical Journal* (Forthcoming, 2015); See French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, chap. 3 for Grand Tour and other types of travel.

⁹⁹ Paola Bianchi, "La caccia nell'educazione del gentiluomo. Il caso sabaudo (sec. XVI-XVIII)," in *La caccia nello Stato sabaudo I. Caccia e cultura (secc. XVI-XVIII)*, ed. Bianchi and Pietro Passerin d'Entrèves (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2010), 19-37; Bianchi, "Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento, di," in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI-XIX)*, ed. Marco Bellabarba and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010), 135-53; Bianchi and K. Wolfe's forthcoming edited volume, *Torino Britannica: Political and Cultural Crossroads in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016). This builds upon Conway's analysis of a shared European identity in *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe*, chap. 7. For recent publications on non-British educational travel, particularly German and central European elite men, see R. Babel and W. Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005); A. Chales de Beaulieu, *Deutsche Reisende in den Niederlanden. Das bild eines Nachbarn zwischen 1648 und 1759* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2000); Zdeněk Hojda and Eva Chodějovská (eds.), *Heřman Jakub Černín na cestě za Alpy a Pyreneje*, vols. 1-2. (Praha: Nakl. Lidové Noviny, 2014); Jiří Kubeš, *Náročný dospívání urozených. Kavalířské cesty české a rakouské šlechty (1620-1750)*. (Pelhřimov: Nová tiskárna Pelhřimov, 2013) and "Friendship, "Admiration, or Hatred? The Image of the United Provinces in the Travel Diaries of the Czech Nobility (1650-1750)," *Theatrum historiae* 4 (2009): 215-33; Mathis Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour. Adelige Erziehungsreisen im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004) and "Across Europe. Educational Travelling of German Noblemen in a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 417-49; J. Rees, Siebers W. & H. Tilgner, "Reisen in Erfahrungsraum Europa. Forschungsperspektiven zur Reisetätigkeit politisch-sozialer Eliten des Alten Reichs (1750-1800)," *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, 26 (2002): 35-62; Antje Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder. Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 2001).

the cargo of the captured ship, the *Westmorland*, uses a unique methodological approach and source to reveal that Grand Tourists and tutors purchased art, artefacts and literature that represented a wide variety of tastes and interests linked to itineraries and activities pursued in France, Switzerland, Germany and other destinations in northern and central Europe.¹⁰⁰ Each of these scholars contributes to a welcome reassessment of the Grand Tour.

Within this, Cohen, French and Rothery have very briefly indicated the need to revise the Grand Tour's attitude towards masculinity, travel and danger. Turning to the context of late seventeenth-century elite education, Cohen quotes François Misson's 1695 enthusiastic description of the 'wholesome hardships' of travel and his emphasis that Grand Tourists not only endured, but also surmounted these obstacles. Drawing on this, Cohen argues that 'the boy had to be toughened' and that through this process the Tour strove to produce men, not just gentlemen.¹⁰¹ More recently, French and Rothery have argued that elite families always saw value in experiences of danger. They similarly point back to earlier pedagogical writers, such as Richard Lassels who argued in 1670 that travel 'teacheth him wholesome hardship'.¹⁰² However, they also draw upon Chloe Chard's theory of Romantic danger, destabilisation and discovery of the self in travel, arguing that elite families already perceived travel in this light as they 'recognised that travel was physically and morally perilous, but regarded it as the means by which the full attributes of elite authority, autonomy, civility and power could be realised.'¹⁰³ French and Rothery draw upon McCormack's work on the importance of independence to elite masculine status in suggesting the Grand Tour was viewed as 'a test of their son's resolve, character, and virtue', and its dangers were risked as a positive step towards filial autonomy.¹⁰⁴ This work provides important preliminary indications that elite culture and Grand Tour pedagogy had a more complex attitude towards danger than hitherto realised and highlights important continuities with seventeenth-and-nineteenth century perceptions of danger, but further exploration is required. Cohen, French and Rothery's arguments constitute minor points within their overall scholarship. Cohen leaves this argument unexplored as she focuses upon the Grand Tour's polite dimension, and fails to return to it in her consideration of chivalry. Likewise, French and Rothery frame their main analysis of the Grand Tour within the more familiar ground of polite accomplishments and fail to push their analysis of danger beyond these initial observations.

¹⁰⁰ Sánchez-Jáuregui and Wilcox, *the Westmorland*.

¹⁰¹ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 58.

¹⁰² French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 140.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 143, 148.

My work contributes to the overall revision of eighteenth-century masculinity, presenting the Grand Tour as an ideal case study for examining the intricate and complex influences on relationships between differing elite masculine identities and cultures. Delving into the relationship between the Grand Tour, danger and masculinity, my thesis argues that the masculinities traditionally associated with the Grand Tour fail to match up to recent scholarly findings as more elite masculine cultures that co-existed alongside politeness are found. Some of these had a very different relationship with danger. Elite cultures of sport and duelling, the elite connection with military and militia leadership, and advice given in educational and conduct literature all viewed danger, hardship and physical risk as essential factors within masculinity.¹⁰⁵ For example, Elizabeth Foyster has found that pedagogical literature across the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consistently advocated hardship and physical training as a fundamental part of male education, particularly because it stimulated a healthy body and the virtues of fortitude and courage. Courage allowed men to ‘encounter every Danger when necessary’ and ‘to suffer pain with a manly spirit’.¹⁰⁶ Men were expected to be spirited and physically powerful, but restrained and reasoned in their behaviour. Their physical strength, aggression and competitiveness needed to be fruitfully harnessed through physical training, sports and other channels rather than denied.¹⁰⁷ My thesis expands upon the brief conclusions reached by Cohen, French and Rothery and contends that, alongside preparing men in polite identities, the Grand Tour was also meant to assist in the formation of this sort of masculinity. In doing so, I propose a wider re-evaluation of the Grand Tour as an institution of masculine formation.

This thesis identifies a branch of elite masculine identities and cultures that placed a high value on physical courage and display through exploring the purpose and use of physical danger on the Grand Tour. When discussing masculine cultures, Cohen and Downing have

¹⁰⁵ See for example, V. G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford: OUP, 1988), 114; Low, *Manhood and the Duel*, 3; Stephen Banks, *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: The Duel and the English Gentlemen, 1750-1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), chap. 4, and "Killing with courtesy: the English duelist, 1785–1845," *The Journal of British Studies* 47:03 (2008): 540; Kennedy, "John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British Army Officer during the Napoleonic Wars," in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830*, ed. Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 131-32; David Bell, *The first total war: Napoleon's Europe and the birth of warfare as we know it* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2007), 23-24; McCormack, *Embodying*; Downing, "Gentleman Boxer," 335-6; Peter Radford, "The Olympic Games in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:2 (2012): 172; Dave Day, "'Science', 'Wind' and 'Bottom': Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29:10 (2012): 1448.

¹⁰⁶ Foyster, "Boys will be boys," 153.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 176.

previously used the term “manly” to denote physically strong and courageous masculine performances.¹⁰⁸ However, while “manly” was in use throughout the early modern period and eighteenth century and certainly, in the case of Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary*, did have associations with other terms such as “brave”, “stout” and “undaunted”, it was also used more broadly to praise a particularly successful masculine identity or performance, rather than to denote a specific masculine culture.¹⁰⁹ For example, one could be a manly man of politeness, of military endeavour or of libertinage.

Tourists referred approvingly to activities and identities associated with martial, chivalric and sporting cultures as ‘hardy’. The adjective “hardy”, meaning bold, courageous and daring, was a well-established term used principally in relation to a person’s manner, actions and qualities.¹¹⁰ For example, between 1775-80 George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke’s Grand Tour placed heavy emphasis upon martial and physical pursuits. Herbert and his tutors, Rev. William Coxe and Captain John Floyd, attended Strasbourg and Turin’s military academies, undertaking a rigorous curriculum of military training and physical exercise.¹¹¹ They also explored the harsh terrains of the Alps and (more unusually) the fringes of the Arctic wastes. During a mountain journey to Turin, Herbert scoffed, ‘I wish and still wish only that those Gentleman who find hardships in such trifles, had followed the Triumvirate through Swisserland [sic.] and other places where they went for their pleasure’.¹¹² These lesser men were juxtaposed against ‘my Coxe [who] is certainly nothing less than a hardy, stout, Man.’¹¹³ As such, I suggest that “hardy” is a suitable portmanteau term for a specific set of masculine identities that encompassed military and other physical dangers.

¹⁰⁸ See for example, Cohen, “French conversation,” in *Didactic literature*, 314-22; Downing, “Gentleman Boxer,” 331, 329.

¹⁰⁹ “manly,” Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd ed. (London, 1755-56), vol. 2. ; “manly, adj.,” *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/113558?rskey=rfXG8x&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed 28 May 2015); John Tosh, *Manliness and masculinities in nineteenth-century Britain: essays on gender, family, and empire* (Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 2-3.

¹¹⁰ “hardy, adj.,” *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84203?rskey=aj88M3&result=2&isAdvanced=false> (accessed 15 August 2014).

¹¹¹ See Appendix 11.

¹¹² WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 1st December 1779, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke’s Grand Tour Journal.

¹¹³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 1st December 1779, Herbert’s Journal. See WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/26, 12th August 1779, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert, for another example of this term.

In identifying the presence of hardy masculinities on the Grand Tour and its influence upon elite attitudes towards danger, this thesis focuses upon one type of masculinity but does not seek to deny the validity and existence of others. While some Grand Tourists closely identified with this masculinity, others associated themselves with masculine performances and identities that had very little to do with hardiness and physicality. This thesis contributes a greater degree of complexity to our understanding of early modern and eighteenth-century masculinity by detailing the multiple masculinities involved in the Grand Tour and outlining the complex relationships between them. It suggests that the Grand Tour was a formative institution that exposed participants to and allowed for a multitude of masculine identities and cultures that were encompassed within a broad spectrum of elite masculinity. Exploring the Grand Tour in this light helps us to appreciate the nuances involved. The masculinities manifested by Grand Tourists were reflective of the masculine cultures and preferences associated with their families and friends, as well as being shaped by their individual natures and wider societal pressures. As importantly, it also reveals the extent to which one Grand Tourist could subscribe to a number of masculine cultures and behaviours, moving between them in response to differing circumstances and settings. Yet, the fluidity of eighteenth-century masculinities can be overstated. This array of masculine identities was not selected from an *à la carte* menu. Tourists faced coercive and frequently competing pressures from parents, family, friendships, tutors and the societies they moved through, and strove to avoid censure: those who failed to conform to expected standards could incur sharp punishment and ostracisation. This pressure should not be underestimated when considering how they presented their Grand Tour experiences, particularly in relation to danger.

Before concluding with an outline of the chapters, I wish to consider one final element of my research. This research stresses the need to understand how concepts such as the Grand Tour and masculinity were internally defined and understood by elite families and society. The Grand Tour was a strongly generational practice. William Legge, 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, Frederick North, later 2nd Earl of Guilford, and Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, who all travelled in the 1750s, sent their sons on Grand Tours in the 1770s. Likewise, the Lennox, Harcourt, Villiers, and Windham families, amongst many others, had up to three or four generations of men undertake the Grand Tour across the long eighteenth century. Certain families, such as the Lennox, Pelham, Clinton and Fox families, who were heavily interrelated, could have fathers, uncles, sons and nephews from several family branches and generations abroad for different reasons at any one time. As Turner points out, 'it is important to register how few Grand Tourists...actually published their travel accounts'.¹¹⁴ Instead, their knowledge of the Grand Tour, how they understood it, rationalised

¹¹⁴ Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 16-17.

it, and what it was meant to achieve, was expressed in letters, diaries and writings that were circulated internally within elite communities and passed down between different generations.

However, my research does not seek to isolate elite culture and the Grand Tour from contemporaneous trends, debates and literature. As French and Rothery argue, while some familial values ‘cut across or even disregarded broader social discourses or “fashions”’, others interacted with them.¹¹⁵ The Grand Tour was shaped and formed by multiple and, at times, competing influences, as an examination of contemporary correspondence reveals. For example, Pembroke and his wife, Lady Elizabeth, both directly influenced Herbert’s Grand Tour. Alongside these strong and often conflicting maternal and paternal voices, his tutors, Coxe, an Anglican clergyman, and Floyd, a captain in the army, were also influential in Herbert’s Tour. The two men frequently argued, a persistent tension that eventually resulted in Coxe leaving the Tour early. If we look beyond this immediate unit, Herbert received advice and opinions from his old tutors at Harrow, numerous ambassadors, friends from school and on the Grand Tour, the art dealer Thomas Jenkins in Rome, as well as other men and women from different social strata, life stages and nationalities encountered during his travels. Coxe and Floyd were closely connected with the Pembroke family in a professional and social capacity, and had been involved with Herbert’s education prior to their travels. Their writings on and roles in Herbert’s Grand Tour also highlight an intriguing commonality between middling and elite masculinity. As an academic clergyman and professional soldier, concepts of masculinity, power and identity would have interested them in different ways yet the masculinities they exhibited had much in common with their aristocratic charge and played an important role in Herbert’s willingness to encounter physical hardships. Their role in constructing his masculine identity in private and published spheres highlights the extent of the tutor’s influence, raising further questions regarding the direct influence those outside the elite milieu could exert on its culture. Equally, their relationship with the Pembroke family allows us to question how far their construction of masculinity was similarly influenced by their exposure to aristocratic ideals. For example, Coxe wrote several very well received publications based on their travel experiences, which have normally been identified as part of the middle-class surge in publications. Yet Coxe’s travels were dictated and funded by Pembroke and took place within the cultural context of the aristocratic Grand Tour.

As importantly, Grand Tourists and their families read and were influenced by the travel literature most commonly studied by scholars. For example, Horace Walpole and John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, both referenced Addison’s *Remarks*, while Holroyd also

¹¹⁵ French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 105-07.

noted that he had travelled through the landscape where Jean-Jacques Rousseau had set *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761).¹¹⁶ Equally, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, sent his father a letter aping Lawrence Sterne's literary style, in which he humorously discussed seasickness, his ravenous hunger and his determination to write until his beefsteak arrived.¹¹⁷ At the same time, the Grand Tourist's relationship with published literature was extremely complex. As Sweet observes, publications like Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour* (1744) were evidently not exclusively for aristocratic travellers, but instead targeted a wider audience of travellers.¹¹⁸ Attended by servants, tutors, and diplomats, much of the practical information contained in these publications would have been of minimal interest. Equally, while little work has been done on Grand Tourists and their reading patterns, María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui's analysis of the 378 books owned by Grand Tourists and tutors on the *Westmorland* reveals twenty-one grammars and dictionaries, alongside numerous guidebooks, literature, plays and other texts in a range of languages, reflecting a diversity of pleasurable and academic reading.¹¹⁹ This is echoed by the evidence provided by the Grand Tourists investigated in this thesis. While they did own and reference stereotypical travel publications, they more commonly drew upon a far broader body of literature. Herbert's entries in his family's library lending book suggest that he took out classical texts and Latin grammars in preparation for travelling rather than guidebooks.¹²⁰ Equally, Dartmouth directed Lewisham to invest his time in far more advanced texts during his Grand Tour, recommending 'the History & constitutions...of the Empire', Johann Jakob Schmauss' *Corpus juris publici Germanici academicum* (1722) and the works of Hugo Grotius, the seventeenth-century Dutch jurist.¹²¹ Lewisham and Herbert's contemporary Philip Yorke,

¹¹⁶ "22nd March 1740, Horace Walpole, Sienna, to Richard West," and "2nd October 1740, Horace Walpole, Florence, to Richard West," in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West and Thomas Ashton*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1948), vol. 13, 204, 213; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 130-31, 20th October 1763, John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Rev. Dr Baker.

¹¹⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 3rd May 1777, Lewisham, Calais, to Dartmouth.

¹¹⁸ Sweet, *Cities*, 7.

¹¹⁹ Sánchez-Jáuregui, "Books on the *Westmorland*," in *the Westmorland*, 144-53. My sincere thanks to María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui, for sharing this material in its database format. Thank you to Rosemary Sweet for her observation that travel guides such as Richard Colt Hoare's *Hints to Travellers in Italy* (1815) also often contained recommended reading lists which were often heavily classical and historical in focus.

¹²⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/H5/5-7, "Wiltshire House Library Catalogues from 1735 and 1773"; WSHC, Ms 2057/H5/9, "Wiltshire House Library Family and Friend's Lending Record".

¹²¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 28th September 1776, William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, Sandwell, to George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth.

later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke's studies in Leiden and Vienna focused upon modern political history and the rights of ambassadors, war and peace.¹²²

Even when "standard" texts were read and cited, elite reader brought their own editorial opinions to the reading process. For example, the Dartmouth and Pembroke families had evidently read and enjoyed the Earl of Chesterfield's *Letters* (1774). Pembroke used Chesterfield to justify his decision to send Herbert to Turin to improve his riding, fencing and dancing.¹²³ In 1774, a year prior to Lewisham's Grand Tour, Dartmouth wrote to him, 'I have been looking into Ld. Chesterfield's Letters since you left us, & I find so many wise, so many excellent things on the subject of attention, that I cannot help wishing they may have struck you as they did me'.¹²⁴ Perhaps inspired by Chesterfield, Dartmouth frequently sent advice laid out in a similar manner and style, even referring to his desire to move from 'the authority of a Parent' to enjoying 'the privileges of a friend'.¹²⁵ At the same time, Dartmouth altered elements of Chesterfield's writing that contradicted his rather specific worldview that combined aristocratic and Evangelical ideals. Dartmouth was anxious that Lewisham should be 'every thing that can be desired in a man & a Christian,' writing:¹²⁶

To you, I cannot possibly say with Ld Chesterfield *Dii tibi dent annos, de te nam cetera sumes* because I know that you can have nothing great or good, nothing amiable or praiseworthy, but what you must receive from the same hand to wch you must be indebted for the continuance of your life, but I can say, upon better authority than that wch. Ld. C. cites, ask & you shall receive, seek & you shall find, knock, & it shall be opened unto you.¹²⁷

Such an attitude substantially contrasted with Chesterfield's openly pragmatic and cynical approach to society and advancement, alongside his lower standards of morality, suggests

¹²² BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 5, 10th January 1777, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, The Hague, to Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 29, 28th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 45, 25th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 168, 15th April 1779, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.

¹²³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, London, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke.

¹²⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 12th September 1774, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

¹²⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 16th December 1776, Dartmouth, [location unknown], to Lewisham.

¹²⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 12th September 1774, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

¹²⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 3rd October 1774, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

that elite families brought very strong preconceptions to their reading experience, shaping literature to suit them as much as it influenced them in turn.¹²⁸



Fig. 2. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, "Lusores," (The Kimbell Art Museum, 1594)

The correspondence and diaries of Grand Tourists also reveal that they were aware of debates surrounding the worth of the Grand Tour, and of the mocking stereotypes used to critique its outcomes. Strikingly, statements of awareness were typically accompanied by a wry humour. For example, Sir Francis Basset purchased an engraving of Caravaggio's "Lusores," which shows a young man being fleeced by two cardsharps (see Fig. 2.), and visualised one of the common complaints and fears surrounding the Grand Tour.¹²⁹ The Common Room club, a group of Grand Tourists and tutors in Geneva, wrote a parody of the stereotypical *faux pas* associated with Grand Tourists, casting one member, Richard Aldworth, in 'A Short History, Containing An Acct. of ye Actions of Dicky, commonly called The Berkshire Boy...' ¹³⁰ As he approached the end of his Grand Tour, Holroyd cheerfully observed, 'On my arrival it will be absolutely necessary to give myself some Airs least it shou'd be maliciously observed that I have gained nothing by the Grand Tour'.¹³¹ While

¹²⁸ See for example Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *Lord Chesterfield's Letters*, ed. David Roberts (Oxford: OUP, 1992), 29, 41, 58, 98, 198-200.

¹²⁹ Sánchez-Jáuregui, "Books," in *the Westmorland*, 204-05.

¹³⁰ NRO, WKC 7/43/1, "A Short History, Containing An Acct. of ye Actions of Dicky, commonly called The Berkshire Boy, from the first Day of September, to the 20th October in the year 1739."

¹³¹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 185, 23rd December 1765, Holroyd, Hanover, to Rev Dr Baker.

preparing to make the crossing from Hellevoetsluis, he mischievously gestured towards the criticisms surrounding the Grand Tour and fashion. Having left England 'almost naked', he knew 'his friends in London...reasonably shou'd expect some Tinsel as amends for a long absence', but warned them that custom control meant he would most likely be arriving in mourning clothes.¹³²

Much of the scholarly debate surrounding the worth and legitimacy of the elite Grand Tour had been stimulated by the voluble and extensive published contemporary debates. As Turner has rightly observed, few elites defended the Grand Tour in print, but this did not mean that they did not respond in other ways.¹³³ Comments and purchases such as these represent one assured response to these criticisms. This thesis examines other ways in which the Grand Tour was rationalised and defended within aristocratic and gentry circles as an effective and relevant means of forming their young men and future generations of leaders. The Grand Tour offered multiple opportunities to encounter, endure and overcome danger and hardship in a variety of forms, alongside the chance to provide families and friends with carefully constructed accounts of how this was achieved. It was this dimension of the Grand Tour that constituted an important part of its perceived worth and relevance.

Summary of Chapters

This thesis is split into five chapters, each of which elucidates a different aspect of the Grand Tour and engages with different historiographies. Chapter One investigates the scope and importance of the Grand Tour's social itinerary and ambitions, contending that this formed a central part of the Grand Tour's overarching aims. Building upon the scholarship on eighteenth-century sociability and elite strategies of power and exclusivity, it explores how encounters with the multiple and varied metropolises, courts and societies of central and northern Europe acted as an important preparation for and début into society and public life, as well as contributing to a socio-political trans-European network of elites that was renewed and expanded on a generational basis. This chapter establishes several key themes that will be built upon throughout the thesis. An understanding of the Grand Tour's complex social aims and dynamics, I argue, is crucial to comprehend fully the elite masculine identity that it sought to form and how and why Grand Tourists interacted with danger. While ostensibly

¹³² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 187, 10th January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Baker.

¹³³ Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 16-17.

undertaking little direct discussion of danger, Chapter One begins to explore these themes through its case study of moral hazard.

Chapter Two unpacks a very different aspect of the Grand Tour, in exploring its martial itinerary. While considering the social and touristic pleasures associated with military sites and activities, this chapter focuses upon the Grand Tour's educational military curriculum, and places this within the context of wider scholarship on the elite's traditional culture of military leadership and engagement. Highlighting continuities with earlier seventeenth-century practices, it explores how the eighteenth-century elite continued to advocate a martial identity and education. The Grand Tour, I argue, was deliberately used to construct elite young men capable of military command and possessed of the internal masculine virtues of courage, discipline, endurance and stoicism.

In identifying the importance of these martial masculine ideals, this chapter also underlines the necessity of external demonstrations of martial bravery, and the impact this had upon the Grand Tourist's response to military danger. Chapter Three traces the connection between physical hazards and elite masculine performance away from the battlefield. Sporting activities, endurance of hardship during travel and an increasingly physical engagement with mountain terrains all acted as alternative spaces where physically courageous performances could be enacted and certain masculine virtues developed. Complicating current scholarly understandings of the eighteenth-century approach to mountains, this chapter expands upon the disparate scholarship surrounding the history of sports, eighteenth-century pedagogy, mountaineering, exploration and aesthetics to identify a wider elite culture of hardy masculinity.

Chapters Two and Three argue that these curricula formed an important part of how elite culture and families viewed and justified the Grand Tour as an effective means of forming the next generation of British leaders. This was, to a certain extent, a response to the growing mid-century fears that Britain's leaders and men were not sufficiently manly to defend a growing empire. While these chapters focus upon the *performance* of masculinity in relation to danger, Chapter Four turns to the equally important *narration* of danger.

Chapter Four argues that the importance of danger can be measured through the effort invested in narrating the Tourist's emotional and physical reactions to hazard. The letters, diaries and reports from Grand Tourists, tutors and others were treated as evidence of their various successes (or failures) during the Grand Tour's coming of age tests. This evidence was widely circulated and closely scrutinised. Drawing upon literary scholarship and discourses surrounding ego documents, alongside the history of emotion, Chapter Four

argues that Grand Tourists' accounts of danger involved a sophisticated response to various wider cultural changes and expectations, used several narrative strategies, and was a central tool in the construction of a variety of elite masculine identities. As importantly, these narratives often supported individual and collective claims to elite power and privilege.

Sickness, particularly the dangers of malaria, has attracted the attention of scholars who have characterised the Continent as a medically hazardous environment for Grand Tourists. Chapter Five nuances this understanding. While placing the Grand Tour experience of illness more fully within scholarly discourses on the eighteenth-century history of care and medicine, this chapter also analyses the Grand Tour's culture of climate, illness, regime and health in light of this thesis' overall arguments, and suggests that while the southern climate of Italy was perceived as dangerous to one's health, body and morals, time spent in northern climates was understood as an opportunity to increase one's health. The healthy northern environment, combined with the physical activities and regimes discussed in earlier chapters, merged to strengthen the bodies of young Grand Tourists.

In *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, Chard convincingly outlines how the creation of imaginary topographies was closely bound to the practice of travel writing. Drawing upon the theories of Christian Jacob and Edward Said, she defines imaginary topographies as the act of mapping out and naming particular regions in their role of foreignness, a process that combines an imaginative act and commentary with claims to ordering knowledge and advice.¹³⁴ The Grand Tour's imaginary topography of Italy is now extremely well known. Equally, some of the Grand Tour's imaginary topographies of danger are already identified, including the dangers of malaria on Rome's Campania, the hazards of the Mount Cenis and Simplon's Pass, and the discomforts of the channel crossing. But the scholarly understanding of the Grand Tour's map has significant blanks. As noted earlier, little is known of how Grand Tourists understood the topography of Europe north of Italy, while the topography of hazard and danger requires further details and context as to where other dangers were encountered and anticipated.

The chapters laid out here add to our understanding of the Grand Tour's topographies and trace the routes north to south followed by many Tourists over the course of the eighteenth century. Chapters One and Two predominantly focus upon northern and central Europe, while Chapters Three and Four move into the Alps. Chapter Five takes us into Italy, but also draws together how Grand Tourists and elite culture approached the Grand Tour in terms of a circular journey that encompassed the whole geography of Europe, moving from

¹³⁴ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 10.

north to south and back again. In doing so, it suggests that the Grand Tour was conceptualised as a series of challenges and experiences that were intimately tied to the different geographies and topographies of the Continent and the variations between them. It was only through travelling through each and all that the entire formation of the Grand Tour could be accessed.

This thesis examines the Grand Tour through an assortment of different dangers, geographies, activities and masculinities. In doing so, it enters into dialogue with, and contributes to, a wide variety of historiographies and methodological approaches. It contends that far from being “done” as a topic for scholarly investigation, the eighteenth-century Grand Tour continues to be of potential relevance to a number of diverse scholarly fields beyond those interested in the arts, politeness, and the British fascination with Italy.

Chapter 1. The Grand Tour's Social Agenda

In 1777, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, wrote from Vienna to his guardian and uncle, Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, asking for permission to gamble.

Unluckily I know so few Games at Cards that I am at a loss how to make party, I have however played three of four times at Loo & generally come off a Loser. I feel much the want of not having learnt what the French call *Jeux de Societé* sooner, for I find it is an Evil which Custom has made almost necessary, as it is always civil in a Stranger to accept a Party at Cards, & by making himself useful in that way to repay in some measure the politeness & Civilities he receives from others.¹

Yorke's concerns over the *jeux de societé*, quite literally "the games of society", were two-fold. He was anxious over his lack of skill, having already written that this considerable social disadvantage had cut short his time with the leading societies of Brussels and Mannheim.² Underlying this was a wider fear about his ability to play and understand the games, strategies and rules necessary to move successfully within powerful and fashionable society.

Through this, Yorke highlighted two common Grand Tour dangers that will be explored in this chapter. The first of these, moral danger in the form of gambling, has been noted by numerous scholars as highlighted in the Introduction. Yorke's family were prominent in Whig political and intellectual circles. They practiced a "middle-road" Anglicanism morality, where church attendance and prayers were important.³ This was reflected in their apparently disapproving attitude towards gambling. Yet at the same time, the evils of gambling were outweighed by the threat of a second danger: that of social failure. This danger has received far less attention from scholars but in order to avoid *this* danger Yorke proposed that the dangers of gambling had to be embraced. Strikingly, he was not alone in this belief. Hoping to convince his uncle, Yorke reported that 'Sir Robert [Keith, the

¹ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, Vienna, to Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke.

² BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 56, 20th June 1777, Yorke, Brussels, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 74, 5th August 1777, Yorke, Carlsmuhe, to Hardwicke.

³ See Appendix 12 for further details. The following publications discuss the morality of the aristocracy and gentry, John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: the peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 61-63; Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 328; Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-century Britain, 1688-1783* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), 218, 133; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: YUP, 2009), 79-80; Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 26. The following are dates recording church attendance and comments on the quality of the sermon in Yorke's Grand Tour journal: BL Add. Ms. 36258, 29th June, 9th August, 21st September, 29th November 1777, 1st February, 23rd May, 6th June 1778, Yorke's Journal.

British ambassador to Vienna and a voice of adult authority, trusted by most parents and Grand Tourists] advises me much to play & several others recommend it very much as the best & most agreeable way of making acquaintances.⁴ His uncle evidently shared this belief and gave his permission. Yorke's diaries from Vienna regularly recorded him playing.⁵ As David Miers observes, while there were always protests, gambling was a wide-spread leisure activity, reaching unprecedented levels of intensity throughout the eighteenth century.⁶ It performed important social functions in providing space for conviviality and in indicating one's fashionable credentials.⁷ Yorke's letter, Keith's advice, and Hardwicke's response reflected an intimate knowledge of how the elite world operated and what was necessary in order to advance. In this case, one's morals and behaviour had to conform to current cosmopolitan sociability.

Reminded by Hardwicke, 'to mention in yr letters what attentions are shewn you at the different places you visit', Yorke fulfilled this task with aplomb during his Grand Tour of 1777-79.⁸ His diary in particular acted as an account book of social interaction, containing an endless stream of names from northern and central European metropolises that acted as proof of his social endeavours and subsequent successes. He listed stays in over thirty key social centres in the Low Countries, Germany, Austria and Switzerland and gave an insight into the staggering effort devoted to socialising which accounted for an estimated two thirds of his itinerary.⁹ He recorded hundreds of social activities, ranging from formal Court presentations and balls to salon parties, private dinners and riding expeditions. His socialising reached its peak in Vienna in October 1777-May 1778. On his first day, he made fifty social calls.¹⁰ Alongside resolutions to only record new or unusual social activities, he

⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.

⁵ See for example BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 6th, 9th, 10th, 17th, 20th, 29th December 1777, 7th January, 3rd February 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁶ David Miers, "A social and legal history of gaming: From the Restoration to the Gaming Act 1845," in *Legal record and historical reality: Proceedings of the eighth British legal history conference*, ed. T. G. Watkin (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), 107-19; See also Geoffrey Clark, *Betting on Lives: The Culture of Life Insurance in Eighteenth-Century England, 1695-1775* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 40; Jessica Richard, "Putting to Hazard a Certainty": Lotteries and the Romance of Gambling in Eighteenth-Century England," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 40.1 (2011): 179-200; Nicholas Tosney, "Legacies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gaming in modern attitudes towards gambling," *Community, Work & Family* 13.3 (2010): 349-64.

⁷ Miers, "Gaming," 110-11.

⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 59, 29th June 1777, Yorke, London, to Hardwicke.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 31st October 1777, Yorke's Journal.

eventually noted over 290 engagements and over sixty key hosts and hostesses, many of whom were important political and fashionable leaders. At his busiest, Yorke could spend morning, afternoon and evening with different people, cramming three or four activities into one night.¹¹

Yorke and his family were not alone in their prioritisation of this agenda. As Rosemary Sweet highlights, the Tour was 'a prolonged journey based around the principal cities of Europe', suggesting that the very structure of the Grand Tour was organised around metropolises and opportunities for social interaction.¹² Scholars often briefly acknowledge the Grand Tour's social itinerary but have given it little direct attention. Drawing on the itineraries of ten Tourists between 1740-80, this chapter identifies the importance of the Grand Tour's social agenda through examining where, how and why Grand Tourists and their families directed their social efforts. While this would appear to have little to do with danger and the central themes of this thesis, Yorke's letter encapsulates the powerful influence of social norms and ambitions upon a Grand Tourist's behaviour, upon the sorts of adult masculine identities they sought to construct and upon their judgements relating to danger. This chapter establishes the Grand Tour's social itinerary as a fundamental element in the Grand Tour's structure, route and rationale and a key context to this thesis' wider discussion of danger and masculine formation.

The Grand Tour's social itinerary was clearly one of great importance and constituted a central aspect of elite masculine formation. A successful elite male had many facets, but as the innate sociability of humans became a broadly accepted enlightenment concept, a man's social ability was of particular importance.¹³ Summarising the key arguments of influential scholars such as Jürgen Habermas, John Brewer, Peter Borsay, Paul Langford and Terry Castle, Hannah Greig observes that the concept of sociability has largely been discussed within the context of the social transformations of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, such as rapid urbanisation, the development of commercial leisure centres, the rise of a vibrant associational culture and of ideological shifts that praised sociability, politeness and pleasure. Focusing largely on the middling classes and below, scholars have widely

¹¹ BL, Add. Ms. 36258-59, 30th October 1777-11th May 1778, Yorke's Journal.

¹² Rosemary Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 2. See also her article "British perceptions of Florence in the long eighteenth century," *The Historical Journal* 50:4 (2007): 837-59.

¹³ See Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740-1800," *The Journal of British Studies* 51:01 (2012): 53-55 for an excellent summary of this argument.

accepted that this resulted in the emergence of a public sociability that mixed divergent social groups together and formed a new 'social public'.¹⁴ Recently scholars have begun to complicate this understanding of sociability in a number of ways. Greig has focused upon the elite experience of public social spaces, such as London's pleasure gardens. Identifying how 'social exclusivity was performed and practised in ostensibly "open" (inclusive) public arenas', Greig has argued that this concept of sociality was more of an ideal than a reality, as the elite used these spaces to confirm social hierarchies, rather than undermine them.¹⁵ In suggesting that the elite Grand Tourists similarly engaged in an extremely visible but exclusive sociability that involved themselves and their Continental counterparts, this chapter continues to explore the 'metropolitan social tactics of the nobility' through the Grand Tour.¹⁶ However, it also outlines how Grand Tourists were not just engaged with metropolitan elite sociability. They also travelled through a range of social spaces, moving between court and metropolises, between polite and martial social cultures, and from mixed to homosocial groups. Each of these were part of elite social culture but could contain different social standards and etiquettes. As such, Tourists were exposed to a range of ideas as to how to socialise. Expected to succeed in each of these social spheres, Tourists learned to negotiate deftly a variety of social and masculine codes and adapt their behaviour accordingly.

The first and second sections of this chapter recover the fundamental importance of the northern and central European metropolises and courts in the Grand Tour's social itinerary. Often neglected by scholars, these destinations were idealised by elite families as the finest locations of sociability, containing individuals and societies worth emulating and political connections worth cultivating. Interrogating the underlying rationale behind the Grand Tour's social activity, these sections argue that it was educational but also constituted a highly public international *début* and was a key tool within elite strategies of pan-European networking and power maintenance. The third section explores the intersection between elite sociability and masculinity, and argues that the expectations and cultures associated with various social sites on the Grand Tour's itinerary were emblematic of the varied and fluid range of masculine behaviours that elite men were expected to cultivate. Through observing, befriending and socialising with elite Continental men, Grand Tourists were exposed to and directly influenced by a variety of elite masculinities that incorporated but also went beyond politeness.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51, 56, 68-72.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

Because of the priority placed upon social success, Grand Tourists were under considerable pressure to adhere to the social norms in different local cultures, to homosocial codes of behaviour and to the countervailing pressures that could derive from religiously minded family members or middle-class criticisms of elite licentiousness. As discussed above, these social pressures also substantially affected and shaped Grand Tourist's masculine performances and, as Yorke's letter reveals, could easily result in Grand Tourists and families embracing certain hazards. As will be discussed throughout this thesis, the social dynamics identified in this chapter played a crucial role in the masculine formation of young Grand Tourists and their responses to danger. This assertion is briefly illustrated in the final case study of this chapter, which turns towards a direct discussion of danger via a consideration of moral hazards.

Courts and Metropolises: The Social Attractions of Northern and Central Europe

Writing from Vienna in 1755, George Simon Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt crowed, 'I am in high spirits at the thought of seeing Italy in so short a time...for I intend not only to improve my taste, but my judgement'.¹⁷ In 1779, George, Lord Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke described how, during a brief pause en route to Naples, he ran about the ruins for a day, 'for fear it should be swallowed up by an Earthquake', while Yorke's letters from Rome in 1778 grew ever longer as he recounted exhaustive details of the antiquities and treasures before him.¹⁸ Investing money in art collections, commissioning portraits from Pompeo Batoni, and revelling in the country's classical and aesthetic heritage, they and the other Grand Tourists discussed in this thesis were undeniably invested in the Italian branch of their Grand Tour. They conformed to all scholarly expectations in presenting the expected image of gentlemen-classicist and aesthetic critics.

However, if we look at the overall route of these Grand Tours it becomes immediately apparent that the majority of time was actually often spent in northern and central Europe. For example, the maps of Nuneham and George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey (Fig. 3.), and Yorke (Fig. 4.)'s routes demonstrate a comprehensive coverage of destinations outside of Italy, with a focus upon the Netherlands, German Courts, Austria and Switzerland.¹⁹

¹⁷ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-16, 14th September 1755, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, Vienna, to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt

¹⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/34, 26th August 1779, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke, Naples, to Rev. William Coxe; See for example, BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 268, 18th November 1778, Yorke, Rome, to Hardwicke.

¹⁹ For further examples of this, please see the Appendices 4, 5, 9, 10, 11. Equally, less complete routes, such as those in Appendices 3, 6, and 13, hint at a similar pattern, while Appendices 1, 2, and 8 are the exceptions to this argument.

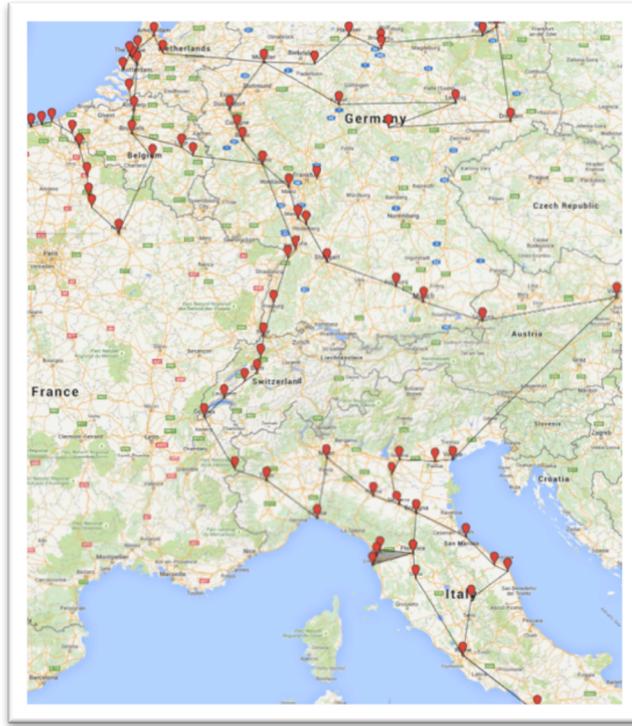


Fig. 3. Map of Nuneham and Villier's Grand Tour, 1754-65

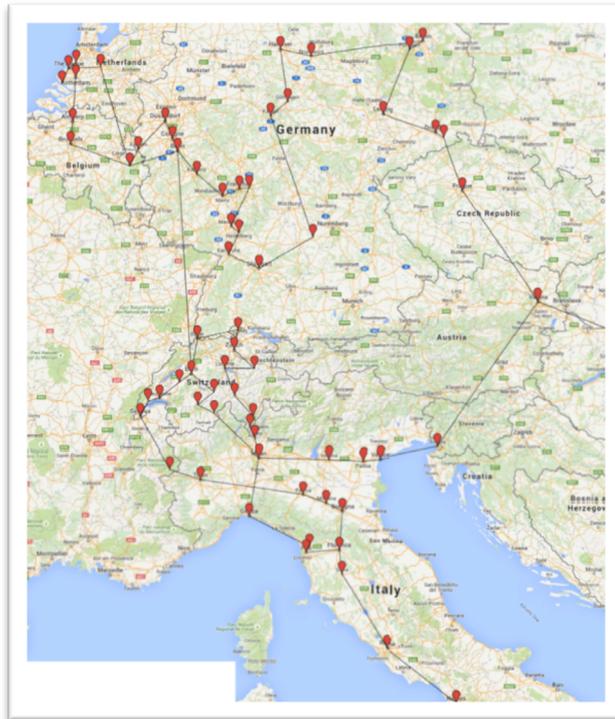


Fig. 4. Map of Yorke's Grand Tour, 1777-79

Between 1750 and 1780, Paris, The Hague, Brussels, Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, Mannheim, Wolfenbüttel, Brunswick, Berlin, Potsdam, Brandenburg, Dresden, Prague and

Vienna were rarely missed, while Kirchhiem, Carlsruhe, Ansbach and other smaller courts also often featured. Leiden, Leipzig, Geneva, Lausanne and various French towns attracted lengthy stays on account of their universities and academies, while towns like Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht, which were devoted more exclusively to trade and commerce, were often quickly visited with no socialising.²⁰ Surviving 1740s itineraries are patchier but evidence suggests that similar routes were prioritised. For example, in 1749, Lord Pultney, the heir to the Earl of Bath, undertook ‘a Round of ye German Courts in ye Autumn & so to get to Turin for ye Winter’.²¹

The itinerary of Grand Tourists in these geographies differed substantially to the one followed in Italy. As scholars are beginning to establish, the northern and central European destinations were attractive for a complex array of reasons, yet I would contend that for the Grand Tour socialising frequently took priority over these other attractions.²² For example, in June 1755, tutor William Whitehead defended how his two Tourists, Villiers and Nuneham, were spending their time in Germany:

Your Lordship seems very apprehensive that we prefer things to men, which is by no means our case; we hardly ever see things but merely out of Complaisance to the several Courts as we pass, & have had no possible time for Books since we left Leipzic. Our whole time is spent in Company.²³

Whitehead’s letter signals the seriousness with which social activities were prioritised. With clear parental instructions to place socialising at the forefront of their activities, Tourists and tutors were under considerable pressure to be socially successful. They were expected to move in the very best circles, with the aim of establishing a degree of intimacy to the extent of

²⁰ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, “Mobility,” in *A History of the University in Europe. Volume 2: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 432-33; See also Maria Rosa di Simone, “Admission,” in *University in Europe*, 318-24. Between 1738-44, the Common Room collected around Geneva’s university. Following a stay at an academy in Rheims with Walpole and Gray, Conway also received education in Geneva in 1739-40. Dartmouth and North spend 1752 at the university in Leipzig, as did Pultney, Pembroke, Villiers and Nuneham in the 1750s. Richmond was at an academy in Geneva from around 1750-1752, and also spent part of 1753-4 at Leyden University. Gibbon attended educational institutions in Geneva and Lausanne throughout the 1750s and 60s. Holroyd attended an academy in Lausanne in 1763-4. Lewisham spent August-October 1775 in an academy in Tours as well as attending academies in Paris and Vienna, while York spent 1777 commuting from The Hague to attend Leiden University. Herbert attended the military academy in Strasbourg in 1775-76 and the academy in Turin in 1779.

²¹ BL, Egerton 2182 f. 12, April 1749, Mr Lewis to John Douglas.

²² See the Introduction for relevant historiography.

²³ LMA, Acc. 510/242, 7th June 1755, William Whitehead, Hanover, to William Villiers, 3rd Earl of Jersey.

being invited to their 'home and table'.²⁴ The challenges involved should not be underestimated. Success relied upon family connections and letters of introduction, but confidence and social address remained crucial. During George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth's 1775-76 winter residence in Paris, his father, William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth was concerned 'to find that you are not yet a part of some good French Circles, I want you to lose no time in getting into that Society'.²⁵ Lewisham had been hampered by illnesses, his tutor's shyness and the poor behaviour of his fellow country men, who 'rendered it much more difficult for such of their countrymen as are really desirous of creditable French connections', as the French refused to allow the British ambassador to dictate who they should meet.²⁶ He redoubled his efforts and soon his correspondence was filled with names, including the Duc d'Orléans, his son the Duc de Chartres, the Duc de Nevers, and his daughter the Duchesse de Cosset.²⁷ As he passed from Paris to Brussels, The Hague, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Hanover, Potsdam, Berlin, Dresden, Prague and Vienna, the list of names continued to grow.²⁸ As this and Yorke's journal suggests, the endless stream of names and events that characterised letters and diaries from northern and central European metropolises acted as important proof of the travellers' social endeavours and subsequent successes.

As will be discussed, the motivations behind the popularity of specific destinations were many and varied, but letters and diaries often broadly characterised northern and central European society as hospitable, welcoming and fashionable, while criticising the dearth of social activity in Italy. Visiting Venice in 1779 after Vienna, Yorke was forcibly struck by the difference between the secretive city on the water and Vienna's hospitality. Having had too much to record in Vienna, in Venice he had so little to say that, despite his

²⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32731, f. 198-99, 8th February 1753, Lord Frederick North, Rome, to Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle.

²⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 18th December 1775, William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, London, to George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth.

²⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 16th August 1775, Lewisham, Upon the Loire, to Dartmouth; 28th January 1776, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

²⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 22nd December 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth; 28th January 1776, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

²⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth; 30th July 1776, Lewisham, Hanover, to Frances Legge, Countess of Dartmouth; 11th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; 4th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; 8th October 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

best efforts, he stopped keeping his regular diary of social events.²⁹ In 1753, Frederick North, later 2nd Earl of Guilford reflected that:

The principal pleasure a Traveller has in Italy, consists, in the first place, in viewing the Antiquities of the country, & in the second, in seeing the great perfection to which the Italians have push'd the arts of Painting, Sculpture, & Architecture; In point of Society I think the tour of Italy inferior to that of Germany.³⁰

While 'civil, obliging & polite enough', North compared Italians against the Germans' 'easy manner of inviting Foreigners to their houses & tables', concluding that 'it is more difficult to get into company [in Italy] than it is there'.³¹ North's letters strongly suggest that Grand Tourists approached northern and central European destinations as spaces primarily characterised and valued for its social opportunities and advantages, and that the social itinerary there was not simply due to a lack of aesthetic attractions.

This divide was not straightforward. Experiences of northern and central European society could be accompanied by complaints that it was dull, rigid or old-fashioned.³² For example, halfway through their tour of Germany, Nuneham complained that the Germans were 'so awkward stiff in their behaviour & have so many thousand ceremonies that are peculiar to themselves that I do not love to be so much with them', and that many of the people he encountered were 'not of rank enough'.³³ In contrast, Turin was a famous centre of civility and Florence a welcoming city when ruled by Anglophones, such as the Grand Duke Cosimo III, and with the energetic and hospitable Sir Horace Mann as ambassador.³⁴ Equally, gender could make a difference. Marianna D'Ezio notes that female British travellers accessed Venetian society more easily than men through the female-dominated casinos.³⁵ However, opportunities for social encounters in Italian cities were often limited by political circumstances. The Vatican's support of the Stuart cause meant that no British ambassador

²⁹ BL, Add MS 36259, 2nd-5th June 1779, Yorke's Journal.

³⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 32731, f. 198-99, 8th February 1753, North, Rome, to Newcastle.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1992), 55-60.

³³ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-7, 28th [undated 1754-55?], Nuneham, [Germany?], to his sister.

³⁴ Sweet, *Cities*, 68, 79, 177-78.

³⁵ Marianna D'Ezio, "Sociability and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Venice: European Travellers and Venetian Women's Casinos," in *Sociability and Cosmopolitanism: Social Bonds on the Fringes of the Enlightenment*, ed. Scott Breuninger and David Burrows (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 47-58.

could be placed in Rome, while Venice banned its elite from fraternising with foreign ambassadors, meaning that they were unable to introduce visitors to society. As Sweet observes, ambassadors often had a crucial role in facilitating sociability. Those with a flare for hospitality, like Mann, Keith, and Sir William Hamilton, were influential in making stays pleasant.³⁶ Despite these nuances, letters and diaries outlined a strong desire to engage with contemporary northern and central European society, characterising particular societies, courts and metropolises as hospitable centres of excellence for sociability, and as arbitrators of power in ways that the south lacked. Following a pleasant stay in Milan, Yorke reflected ‘After Milan we must I believe bid adieu to agreeable societies & no longer expect to receive so many civilities as we have been accustomed to meet with at Vienna and in the rest of Germany: this is one of the few towns in Italy that are on that footing & we are frequently invited to dinner in the first houses of the place.’³⁷ Even when Italian societies were welcoming, they were compared to the northern European ideal.

Travelling through the northern and central European metropolises and courts exposed Tourists to a whole spectrum of social centres and cultures. In particular, at various points throughout the century, the ‘metropolis’ of Paris, Vienna and Turin were viewed as particularly fashionable locations that combined a royal or imperial court with sophisticated cosmopolitanism, elite society *and* educational opportunities. These multiple attractions frequently resulted in lengthy stays of several months to a year. Throughout the eighteenth century, Paris was held in high regard. In 1776, Lewisham’s tutor, David Stevenson was still able to declare, ‘I cannot hesitate to pronounce it the first & only school to be found in this Country’.³⁸ Yet until at least the 1750s, Turin vied with Paris as the fashionable, influential centre of courtly politeness. While technically an Italian city, it often appeared to be viewed as more northern in nature. It had a King, Charles Emmanuell III, with an international political reputation, a welcoming court, and the *Accademia Reale* was one of Europe’s premier noble educational institutes.³⁹ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, dedicated nearly a year in 1739 to the *Accademia Reale*. He and his tutor, Joseph Spence, enthusiastically

³⁶ Sweet, *Cities*, 138-40, 207. Yorke observed that for all his kindness, John Strange, the British Ambassador to Venice, was useless ‘with regard to presenting us to the Society of the place, for the being a foreign minister is here a total exclusion.’ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 204, 3rd June 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Harwicke.

³⁷ BL, Add MS 36259, 24th August 1779, Yorke’s Journal.

³⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 4th January 1776, David Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth.

³⁹ Christopher Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690-1720* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 236; ‘Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all’Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento, di,’ in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l’Italia (secoli XVI-XIX)*, ed. Marco Bellabarba and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010), 1021-51.

described Turin as the one of Europe's finest cities.⁴⁰ Likewise, in 1738, Patrick St Claire, the tutor to William Windham's father, advised that Windham should stay at least a fortnight in the King of Sardinia's court, 'wch is now the politest in Europe.'⁴¹ Even in the 1770s, Lewisham stayed ten days, Yorke gave a very favourable report and Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, insisted Herbert attended the *Accademia Reale* as a crucial part of his education.⁴²

From the 1750s onwards, Paris and Turin were increasingly eclipsed by Vienna.⁴³ In 1754, Dartmouth owned he was a little disillusioned by Paris' sociability. Having expected 'cheerfullness & vivacity', he instead found 'it is not at present the fashion to speak much'.⁴⁴ In contrast, he and North had found Vienna a lively place with multiple opportunities for learning and 'pleasure'. As North enthused, 'We receive great civilities & politeness from all hands'.⁴⁵ Likewise, other Tourists in the 1750s found Vienna 'on an easy footing'.⁴⁶ Pembroke was 'so extremely well received here, yt I could not leave this at that time.'⁴⁷ The image of Vienna as welcoming strengthened throughout the 1760s and 1770s, until Lewisham eagerly anticipated his arrival: 'We have every reason to think that our stay in that metropolis will be very agreeable – English are in general very well received, the society is considerable, and Sir R: M: Keith our Ambassador [sic.] a most excellent man.'⁴⁸ His expectations were exceeded. Four months later he wrote 'It is really amazing how well we are received here - the houses of all the first nobility are open to us.'⁴⁹ As he left, Yorke lamented 'I assure you that excepting my own home in the midst of my friends & family, I cannot conceive a more agreeable

⁴⁰ Joseph Spence, *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 223-35.

⁴¹ NRO, WKC 6/24, 26th October 1738, Patrick St Claire, [location unknown] to Ashe Windham.

⁴² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 3rd October 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Lady Dartmouth; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 342, 8th May 1779, Yorke, Turin, to Hardwicke; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, London, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke.

⁴³ Conway, *Continental Europe*, 211.

⁴⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32734 f. 144-45, 16th February 1754, Dartmouth, Paris, to Newcastle.

⁴⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 32729 f. 128-29, 30th August 1752, North, Vienna, to Newcastle.

⁴⁶ LMA, Acc. 510/245, 16th September 1755, Whitehead, Vienna, to Lord Jersey.

⁴⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 32731, f. 127-28, January 1753, Pembroke, Vienna, to Newcastle.

⁴⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 4th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth.

⁴⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 12th December 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

situation.⁵⁰ It was not only admired by young men; parents and guardians considered Vienna to be the ideal location for socialising and social formation.⁵¹

In considering why the Tour's social itinerary shifted throughout the century, a couple of reasons can be suggested. As already noted, ambassadors played an important role. Regularly cited as an incredible host and attentive mentor, Keith, for example, played an important part in Vienna's rising status.⁵² Equally, sites with educational attractions were extremely attractive. Turin and Paris' academies were a powerful factor in their enduring popularity, while Vienna was judged 'the best part of Europe for serious learning'.⁵³ There were other factors. High value was placed on the extraordinarily open sociability of the Viennese nobility, which combined open houses with a sense of exclusivity.⁵⁴ In 1778, Yorke exclaimed: 'I do not believe there is a town in Europe where the Society is so universally agreeable or where one has so many opportunities of passing ones time in the best company.'⁵⁵ Yorke's hosts included Vienna's premier aristocracy, such as Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg, whose social gatherings were attended by the Emperor, Franz Joseph I, Prince of Liechtenstein, Count Rudolf Wenzel Joseph Colloredo von Wallsee und Melz and Nikolaus I, Prince Esterházy. They opened their houses every evening, while some of the 'best houses' hosted weekly balls and assemblies. These included the French Ambassador and the Court, alongside couples like Count Carl Friedrich Hatzfeldt-Gleichen and his wife, Charlotte, and Ernst Guido, Count von Harrach and his wife, Maria Josepha. When von Harrach died, Yorke lamented the loss of their excellent, intimate dinners and the opportunity for smaller social gatherings.⁵⁶ Yorke regularly attended Countess Philippina Pergen, wife of the influential Hapsburg statesman, Count Joseph Pergen, and Maria Wilhelmine von Thun und Hohenstein's salons, describing Du Perghen as 'by far the

⁵⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 190, 18th May 1778, Yorke, Trieste, to Hardwicke.

⁵¹ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 59, 29th June 1777, Hardwicke, London, to Yorke; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Elizabeth Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, Whitehall, to Reverend William Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 28th March 1777, Lady Pembroke, Wilton House, to Coxe.

⁵² See for example BL, Add. Ms. 32730 f. 163-4, 25th October 1752, North, Milan, to Newcastle; BL, Add MS 36258, 14th December 1778, Yorke's Journal; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Lady Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 28th March 1777, Pembroke, Wilton House, to Coxe.

⁵³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Lady Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe.

⁵⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.

⁵⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 202, 2nd June 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke.

⁵⁶ BL, Add MS 36258, 30th January 1779, Yorke's Journal.

genteel person & of the best Ton of politeness in the whole Town.⁵⁷ He frequently dined with the Dutch ambassador and his wife, Count and Madame von Degenfeld, who also hosted the Protestant services.⁵⁸ Vienna was viewed as a sophisticated, cosmopolitan and elegant aristocratic society, with a number of male and female role models to admire. Importantly, this worldly sophistication was combined with moral virtue. Yorke delightedly reflected on the ladies' 'Beauty, wit & Bon Ton', while Lady Elizabeth Pembroke bluntly stated that she wanted Herbert to have his calf love in Vienna where the 'women of fashion' would engage in elegant flirtations and 'keep him at his proper distance'.⁵⁹

Equally, certain destinations like Turin, Vienna and Berlin rose in popularity after they were remodelled into modern cosmopolitan centres.⁶⁰ This cultural and aesthetic ascendancy was often linked to increased political power. For example, as the Austrian Hapsburgs became a great power in the first half of the eighteenth-century, Charles VI undertook an ambitious imperial rebuilding of Vienna.⁶¹ Savoy rose to prominence around the same time under Victor Amadeus II, while Prussia grew in power and fame under Frederick the Great throughout the mid-century.⁶² An increased interest in a political power often also manifested in a focus upon specific rulers, like Frederick the Great, Savoy's Victor Amadeus II and Charles Emmanuel III and Joseph II of Austria, who attracted attention as enlightened despots or military leaders. While there is some indication that Tourists may have been directed, or drawn, to visit these courts to cement political and diplomatic relations, there was also a strong practice of visiting courts like The Hague that represented older patterns of allegiance. Equally, great attention was given to attending rivals. For

⁵⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 59, 29th June 1777, Hardwicke, London, to Yorke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 135, 21st January 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 11th September 1777, 5th December 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁵⁸ All of the above was taken from analysis of BL, Add. Ms. 36258-9, 30th October 1777-11th May 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁵⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 202, 2nd June 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Lady Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe

⁶⁰ See for example Mathis Leibetseder's discussion of the refashioning of Potsdam and Berlin in "Travel and transformation: educational travelling and court culture in eighteenth-century Germany," in *Beyond the Grand Tour: northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behavior*, ed. Sarah Goldsmith, Rosemary Sweet and Gerrit Verhoeven (Ashgate, forthcoming). BL, Add. Ms. 32728 f. 163-64, 12th July 1752, North, Dresden, to Newcastle. North noted Berlin's 'exceedingly handsome' appearance.

⁶¹ Black, *British Abroad*, 59-60.

⁶² See for example, Storrs, *Rise of Savoy*, 1-5; Philip Dwyer, ed., *The Rise of Prussia 1700-1830* (Harlow, New York: Longman, 2000).

example, despite his disappointment as a Tourist, Dartmouth still felt it was important for Lewisham to visit Paris. The persistence of these social patterns suggest that Grand Tourists and their families were interested in maintaining established networks that reflected an overarching social status that transcended political interests but were also flexible enough to follow rising power and influence.

'Our whole time is spent in Company': The Social Rationale of the Grand Tour

Having briefly considered why Grand Tourists may have prioritised certain destinations, the following section unpacks the Grand Tour's overall social ambitions and rationale. In seeking to understand this preoccupation with social activity and success, scholars have typically and fleetingly viewed it as educational in nature.⁶³ Within her overall conceptualisation of the Grand Tour as an institution of politeness, Cohen's thoughtful analysis of the socio-educational role and systematic training given via academies and their core curriculum of 'accomplishments' has provided the fullest account yet of the Grand Tour's social education, but this does not explore the actual process and purpose of socialising.⁶⁴ The

⁶³ See for example Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: YUP, 2009), 17-18; George C. Brauer, *The Education of a Gentleman: theories of gentlemanly education in England, 1660-1775* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1959), 156-59; John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940* (Chichester, New York: John Wiley, 1996), 100; Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1660-1900* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 137-38; Conway, *England, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 201-03; Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: YUP, 1996), 8, 11; Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, ed., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishers, 1996), 13-14; Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: prince of painters in eighteenth-century Rome* (New Haven: YUP, 2007), 42-43; John Brewer, "Whose Grand Tour?," in Maria Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox, *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: YUP, 2013), 45; E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600: a study in the development of travel as a means of education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 95; George B. Parks, "Travel as Education" in *The Seventeenth Century: Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope*, ed. R. F. Jones (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), 265; Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Putnam, 1969), 15, 237; Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte, "Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism An Interdisciplinary Approach," in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. Berghoff et al (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 4-5; Nicholas Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (Stroud: Sutton Publishers, 2007), 139; William Edward Mead, *The Grand Tours in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 4, 106, 208, 216; Richard Lambert, *The Fortunate Traveller: A Short History of Touring and Travel for Pleasure* (London, New York: A. Melrose, 1950), 58.

⁶⁴ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 60-62; Cohen, "Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 322-23; Cohen, "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the

importance of academies has recently received increased consideration from scholars such as Richard Ansell, who has explored the actual experiences of Anglo-Irish Grand Tourists in these institutions, and Paola Bianchi, who had undertaken an effective analysis of Turin's *Accademia Reale*.⁶⁵ Yet, despite Sweet's acknowledgement that 'Sociability was always a critical element...in terms of the tour's educational value, it was essential in preparing the young man for an adult life of negotiating fashionable society', and Jason Kelly's description of the Tour as 'a laboratory for their organizational and social skills', less has been said about what Grand Tourists were expected to learn through the process of socialising and why social activity was given such a high priority.⁶⁶ In discussing the rationale behind the Grand Tour's social itinerary, this section contends that Grand Tourists learnt through a process of observation, emulation and participation, as they were exposed to a wide array of social settings and cultures. However, it also argues that this aspect of the Grand Tour was not just educational; it was also an international *début* and part of a wider social-political strategy that linked the British elite to their Continental counterparts.

The Grand Tour was undoubtedly understood by elite families as the ideal preparation and entry into the complex elite social world. In 1777, Hardwicke, like many other guardians, instructed Yorke to learn through a process of observation, emulation and participation:

You will (I believe) find a great sameness in the Lesser German Courts till you come to Berlin & Vienna...You will not fail to observe the Variations in the ways & fashions wch prevail at the different Courts; you will find those in Germany a good deal on the same Grounds, but with different shades. I take Italy & France to be very different.⁶⁷

This took place as Tourists met, mingled with and befriended individuals from these courts. This was reflected in the personalised nature of Yorke's observations. These could be examples to be wary of, like the 'extremely handsome & rather capricious' Wilhelmina Karolina, Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, and at The Hague, the boorish Bavarian Prince

Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England," in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Cohen (London: Addison Wesley, 1999), 53-55.

⁶⁵ See Paola Bianchi, "Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento, di," in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI-XIX)*, ed. Marco Bellabarba and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010), 1021-51; Richard Ansell, "Irish Protestant Travel to Europe, 1660-1727," (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2013), chap. 6, 222-48.

⁶⁶ Sweet, *Cities*, 23, 278; Kelly, *Dilettanti*, 17-18.

⁶⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 59, 29th June 1777, Hardwicke, London, to Yorke.

Radziwiłł, who could only speak Russian, Polish and Latin.⁶⁸ Alternatively, there were admired models to copy. Emperor Joseph II of Austria talked so ‘inimitably well’ that he became Yorke’s model for polite conversation, and the wife of the Austrian minister plenipotentiary to Brussels, the Princess Maria Franziska Josefa Starhemberg, was ‘one of the politesse [sic.] ladies I have seen’.⁶⁹

Terms such as ‘polite’ and ‘civil’ frequently appeared as approbation, suggesting that Grand Tourists often admired and emulated individuals who were characterised by their politeness and social ability. Yet other traits were also admired. For example Yorke deeply admired Karl Theodore, Elector of Palatine, for his ‘great politeness’, ‘cheerful & amiable’ nature’, but he also praised his enlightenment status as ‘a most accomplished Prince, a Protector of the Arts’.⁷⁰ Equally, General Martin Ernst von Schlieffen and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick were noted for their affability, but he admired their martial reputations as much as their polite ones.⁷¹ Hardwicke’s instructions also reveal that Grand Tourists were expected to encounter a variation in social topographies, ranging from the ‘very different’ to ‘different shades’. For example, republican and burgher university towns, like Leiden, Leipzig, Geneva and Lausanne, were valued for their education systems but families were wary of Tourists imbibing merchant, bourgeois or republican ideals. During the 1770s, Yorke wrote from Switzerland, ‘It is true that one meets with no Courts or Princes, but one find what is much more agreeable in my opinion, an excellent society, sensible & well-informed people, living happily & cheerfully amongst themselves’.⁷² Responding to similar comments from Lewisham, Dartmouth acknowledged the appeal but redirected his thinking to systems more similar to Britain.⁷³ In 1752, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox, was removed from a Genevan academy amidst fears he had been ‘Geneva’d’ through his emotional entanglement with a ‘low’ Geneva woman.⁷⁴ Observing that his ‘Style in his Letters’ had also

⁶⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 3, 3rd January 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.

⁶⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke.

⁷⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 74, 5th August 1777, Yorke, Carlsmuhe, to Hardwicke.

⁷¹ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 11th September 1777, Yorke’s Journal.

⁷² BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. [?], 28th May 1779, Yorke, Rolle, to Hardwicke.

⁷³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 30th September 1777, Dartmouth to Lewisham; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

⁷⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 428-9, 12th June 1752, Henry Fox, London, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 88-89, 24th June 1752, Newcastle, Hanover, to Fox.

changed for the worse, his guardians felt that he had 'learnt too much there, already', suggesting concern that he was becoming influenced by republican principles. His guardians sought a location more suitable for 'a Man of Quality', discussing the merits of Hanover and other German courts alongside Paris.⁷⁵ Equally, Thomas Pelham, 1st Earl of Chichester, was warned in 1747 to 'stay no longer in Burgher Towns than to see their Curiositys. Expense and Acquaintance shou'd be made at Courts, where you can't fail of being well receiv'd'.⁷⁶

Evidently there were certain societies that elite families preferred their sons to learn from, and families ultimately directed their sons towards social and political cultures related to their own. Aristocratic European societies shared many cultural values and tourists' descriptions reflected this as a familiar round of social activities repeatedly appeared: court presentations, visiting, balls, *ridottos*, assemblies, salons, formal and intimate dinners, walks, riding, hunting, theatre, opera etc. Yet, while operating from a common baseline of sociability, even these societies contained considerable 'Variations' in social convention and expectation. For example, Dresden's formal etiquette differed from Ansbach's relaxed, rustic atmosphere and from Mannheim and Hesse-Cassel's Enlightenment culture, while Berlin and Potsdam were commonly recognised as societies where politeness was subsumed beneath martial efficiency.⁷⁷ Yorke held mixed feelings about Potsdam, contending that:

the Parade...would inspire with military ideas those who were the least inclined to them...But...it would be difficult for anyone to live happily there who has not renounced to [sic.] amusements of every kind as well as to the pleasures of society, as it would be necessary to live in a kind of solitude & in a perpetual Restraint.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 220-3, 9th June 1752, Fox, London, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 428-9, 12th June 1752, Fox, London, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 88-89, 24th June 1752, Newcastle to Fox.

⁷⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 33087 f. 6-7, 16th February 1747, J. Pelham, London to Thomas Pelham, 1st Earl of Chichester.

⁷⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 101, 23rd October 1777, Yorke, Dresden, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 74, 5th August 1777, Yorke, Carlsmuhe, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 32728 f. 163-4, 12th July 1752, North, Dresden, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 32730 f. 116-7, 15th October 1752, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson. See David Bell, *The first total war: Napoleon's Europe and the birth of warfare as we know it* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2007), 37.

⁷⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 101, 23rd October 1777, Yorke, Dresden, to Hardwicke.

At the same time, Turin was recognised both as the ideal of politeness and for its strong courtly and chivalric social codes and militarised elite.⁷⁹ Both destinations were frequently visited and admired by Grand Tourists.

Scale also made a difference to the nature and tone of a social experience. Hesse-Cassel, Mannheim, Wolfenbüttel, Brunswick, Brandenburg and Ansbach were predominantly country courts. Visits were characterised by close contact with rulers. At Hesse-Cassel, the Landgrave, William VIII, invited Villiers and Nuneham to Hanau, his private country residence, and he personally took them around his cabinet of curiosities.⁸⁰ Richmond hunted, dined and played chess (losing seven times) with Karl Theodore, Elector of Palatine, at Mannheim.⁸¹ Intimate country pastimes, like hunting, small-scale dances and music, in private interiors like orangeries and salons, formed the main entertainment.⁸² Having dined at the elector's summer residence, Schwetzingen, and the Countess Palatine's residence, Aggersheim, Yorke danced in Aggersheim's salon to Turkish music playing in the garden.⁸³

In contrast, Yorke observed that 'In such great Courts as Vienna one knows less of the Princes than in the small courts of Germany which indeed are the only places where a stranger becomes acquainted with them'.⁸⁴ The Hague, Brussels, Berlin and Dresden were smaller urban centres with prominent courts. Describing Dresden as 'a sort of little London', North and Dartmouth's letters noted that direct access to rulers was often limited to presentations, while their families remained relatively accessible.⁸⁵ This was often accompanied by increases in public entertainments, like balls, *ridottos* and theatres, and a

⁷⁹ Spence, *Letters*, 234; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 156, 4th September 1764, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd; Storrs, *Rise of Savoy*, 235-37.

⁸⁰ LMA, Acc. 510/239, 5th October 1754, Villiers, Cassel, to Lady Jersey.

⁸¹ BL, Add. Ms. 32733 f. 230, 9th November 1753, Richmond, Leyden, to Newcastle.

⁸² BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 434-5, 26th June 1752, Dartmouth, Wolfenbüttel, to Newcastle describes a concert; LMA, Acc. 510/243, 6th July 1755, Villiers, Hanover, to Lady Jersey describes dancing in the orangery and gardens of Herrenhause.

⁸³ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 74, 5th August 1777, Yorke, Carlsmuhe, to Hardwicke.

⁸⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 202, 2nd June 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke.

⁸⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 62114 K ff 69, 9th March 1752, Dartmouth, Leipzig, to Rev. Edward Stillingfleet; BL, Add. Ms. 32728 f. 163-4, 12th July 1752, North, Dresden, to Newcastle; See also BL, Add. M. 32730 f. 116-7, 15th October 1752, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle; LMA, Acc. 510/251, 7th September 1756, Whitehead, The Hague, to Jersey; LMA, Acc. 510/252, 10th September 1756, Villiers, The Hague, to Lady Jersey; LMA, Acc. 510/250, 7th August 1756, Villiers, Brussels, to Lady Jersey; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 18th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 62, 29th June 1777, Yorke, Spa, to Hardwicke.

broader society, including ambassadors and nobility. In cosmopolitan centres, the social intimacy of the courts was lost but the best company was no longer perceived to be royalty but the elite *beau monde*.⁸⁶ As Greig had explored, “*beau monde*” was used between the 1690s-1840s to refer to an urban, elusive and exclusive world of fashion, which was also known as “the ton” and “*haute nobless*”. Those who were part of the *beau monde* had attained an ‘invisible standard’ involving pedigree, connections, language appearance and much more.⁸⁷ As Dartmouth reflected from Paris in 1754, he and North had got ‘among the best company’, but that was not Versailles. The nobility at Paris ‘amuse themselves better, as they have greater variety both of company & publick diversions’.⁸⁸ Similarly, Whitehead wrote from Vienna in 1755 that Keith had not yet presented Villiers and Nuneham at court but they had ‘been introduced to most of the people of fashion.’⁸⁹ Each of these places, through scale or differences in social culture, presented the Grand Tourist with different experiences of socialising to observe, learn from and participate in. As will be discussed in the following section, this not only taught key lessons in adaptability and variety, but also had considerable ramifications for the formation and expression of masculine identity.

Contemporaries consciously conceived of the Grand Tour as a method of social formation that took the form of a series of social challenges to be tackled and overcome. As noted, Lewisham was galvanised to make greater inroads into fashionable Parisian society. As he developed social prowess and confidence, Dartmouth pushed him to face more complex challenges, namely to rectify an embarrassing mistake that resulted in his tutor’s exclusion from elite circles. Dartmouth believed that Lewisham now had the grace and social standing to vouch for Stevenson.⁹⁰ On his ‘Dutch Tour’ and ‘Round of the German Courts’, Lewisham found that each segment exposed him to new challenges.⁹¹ At Mannheim he found his contact absent and the Elector Palentine at his summer residence, and failed to be presented. However, Colonel Fawcett, a minister at Hanover, instructed him on ‘how to act in similar circumstances for the future’, thus Stevenson hoped Dartmouth would ‘hear of no more

⁸⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 178, 3rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd, uses this term; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 26th January 1777, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth, uses the term “*haute noblesse*”.

⁸⁷ Greig, *Beau Monde*, 3; See her appendix, “Uses and meaning of Beau Monde: A Supplementary Essay,” 243-58 for further details.

⁸⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 32734 f. 144-5, 16th February 1754, Dartmouth, Paris, to Newcastle.

⁸⁹ LMA, Acc. 510/245, 16th September 1755, Whitehead, Vienna, to Lord Jersey.

⁹⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 3rd January 1776, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

⁹¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 30th July 1776, Lewisham, Hanover, to Lady Dartmouth.

awkwardness during our Tour.⁹² Clearly, it was a steep learning curve. Upon Lewisham's arrival at Naples, Sir William Hamilton outlined a conundrum designed to test his social discernment. Having 'dash'd him at once into the thick of the Neapolitan Nobility', Hamilton also offered the option of his own social circle, a 'true Society' 'very well known throughout Europe' and comprising of 'Germans Russians Dutch Poles &c of high distinction & of good education' with some 'Italians of learning & Education'.⁹³ Having moved through the various social spheres of the north, Hamilton had faith in Lewisham's matured social judgement, believing that 'we shall soon see him take refuge...in our Cotterie'.⁹⁴

The Grand Tour evidently was believed to build up one's social judgement and ability, and throughout Lewisham's Tour, Dartmouth received reports on his social progress.⁹⁵ For example Keith explicitly discussed his programme of socialising and 'Social Accomplishment' for Lewisham's stay in Vienna.⁹⁶ The number of reports sent to Dartmouth during Lewisham's Tour reveals that while Grand Tourists watched, judged and admired their European counterparts, elite society observed them in return. The British and Continental elite world was highly invested in this dimension of the Grand Tour as leaders of politics and fashion followed Grand Tourists' social progress, and the courts and ambassadors invested time, expense and effort in receiving them. Dartmouth and North's own Grand Tour had been an undeniable social success. Amongst their triumphs, they caught George II and Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle's, attention in Hanover. Newcastle discussed them extensively, describing them as:

Two different Beauties here of the soft, & of the rough kind...My Ld D is y prettiest, most agreeable, best behav'd, Comical little Creature, that ever I knew: Ld North the oddest, most entertaining, best hearted man that one shall meet with any where⁹⁷

They were not the only Tourists to be discussed by Newcastle and his correspondents, and not everyone was so enthusiastically received. The Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Huntington, Stormont, Pembroke and Essex, Lords Walpole and March, the eldest son of Sir

⁹² SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 2nd August 1776, David Stevenson, Hanover, to Dartmouth.

⁹³ SRO, D(W)1778/III/365, 17th February 1778, Sir William Hamilton, Naples, to Dartmouth.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/895, 28th June 1776, Sir Joseph Yorke, The Hague, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/896, 30th July 1775, Colonel Fawcett, Hanover, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/858, 21st September 1776, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/III/365, 17th February 1778, Hamilton, Naples, to Dartmouth.

⁹⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/858, 21st September 1776, Keith, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

⁹⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 32727 f. 214-5, May 1752, Newcastle, Hanover, to Lord Ashburnham.

William Young and a Mr Buckingham, 'a Gentleman of Kent' all came under scrutiny with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The Earl of Albermarle, ambassador in Paris, lukewarmly described Buckingham as 'a very odd one' while glowingly referring to Dartmouth and North as 'of a different kind.'⁹⁸ Viewed through this lens, the Grand Tour was more than Kelly's description of a test run with all its implications of safety.⁹⁹ It was a highly public, protracted international début with the challenge of being favourably received in each society. The involvement of Europe's social and political leaders in the testing and formation of a new generation demonstrates a conscious, collective validating of the Grand Tour's social aims and activities that was geared toward young elite men who were establishing a public reputation. As will be discussed later, this reputation was not just about social ability, it also encompassed, amongst other things, one's masculine status and identity.

The formative and initiatory dimensions of the Grand Tour's social itinerary was fundamentally important. However, to visualise it just within these boundaries reduces the scope of its role within wider elite networking and underplays the extent to which Tourists were moving in adult society. It was an immersion into the realities of the socio-political European world with all the weight, responsibilities and consequences of an adult encounter. The connections and reputations established could have long-lasting ramifications. Upon their return to England, for example, North and Dartmouth's political careers were furthered by Newcastle.¹⁰⁰ Equally, Kelly's study of the Society of the Dilettanti demonstrates the long-lasting nature of its networks.¹⁰¹ While an illustrious example, the longevity of this connection was not unusual.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 32723 f. 46, 28th September 1750, S. A. Richmond, London, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 32723 f. 63, 30th September 1750, Newcastle, Hanover, to the Duchess of Richmond; BL, Add. Ms. 32724: f. 18, 13th January 1750, Lord Albemarle, Paris, to Newcastle; BL Add. Ms. 32728 f. 350, 22nd July 1752, Newcastle, Hanover, to Lady Pembroke; BL Add. Ms. 32729 f. 91-92, [undated] Newcastle, Hanover, to his brother; BL Add. Ms. 32730 f. 116-7, 15th October 1752, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle; BL. Add. Ms. 32730 f. 256-7, 11th October 1752, Earl of Rochford, Turin, to Sir Han Younge; BL, Add. Ms. 32733 f. 381, 6th December 1753, Newcastle, London, to Albermarle; BL, Add. Ms. 32733 f. 429-30, 12th December 1753, Albermarle, Paris, to Newcastle.

⁹⁹ Kelly, *Dilettanti*, 17-18.

¹⁰⁰ See for example Peter D. G. Thomas, "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20304, (accessed 28 May 2015).

¹⁰¹ See Kelly, *Dilettanti*.

¹⁰² For example, a group of Grand Tourists and tutors calling themselves the Common Room remained in close contact throughout their adult lives, as they brought 'the Common Room from Geneva to London'. In their early career, they sought to exert a collective influence over London's cultural taste, by sponsoring new artists, musicians and scientists. In later life, they

Grand Tourists' social efforts sought to contribute to social-political networks. The Grand Tour was deeply embedded in contemporary aristocratic culture and formed an important part of societal networks and strategies of power. In recent decades, scholars such as Elaine Chalus and Greig have recognised the interweaving of society and politics in eighteenth-century England. Seeking to delineate the role of women in British politics, Chalus contends that "The parliamentary political world...remained highly personal and familial, the prerogative of a relatively small elite. The importance that contemporaries attached to the personal dimension of politics is emphasized by...such nebulous concepts as interest, influence, and "connection".¹⁰³ Equally, she highlights the extent to which "'Society" itself was charged with politics', as 'A political current ran through events at the court, the theatre, the opera, balls, and assemblies; even everyday encounters in the streets, parks, or public gardens, or activities like visiting, dinners, and cards could be politicized.'¹⁰⁴ Building upon this, Greig has reiterated that London's exclusive *beau monde* was driven by the maintenance of power and politics.¹⁰⁵ Sociability, politics and power were of complementary importance as political allegiances, kinship networks and martial associations were cultivated, reaffirmed and displayed in a highly visible, yet fiercely exclusive show.¹⁰⁶ The hectic rounds of visits, excursions and balls were the lattice used to reweave these connections, networks and strategic alliances.¹⁰⁷

As Greig very briefly acknowledges, 'Europe too was presumed to be a magnet for the fashionable world...Exposure to continental courts, culture and a network of European grandees was actively encouraged.'¹⁰⁸ As discussed earlier, the rise and fall of specific destinations can be linked to their political standing on the European stage. The conjoined importance of socialising, networking, and political power was mirrored in the social exchanges between Grand Tourists and the Continental elite, which revolved around the same politically imbued social activities. As such, the Grand Tour was not simply assisting

gave each other preferment in promotions and careers and acted as will executors and trustees. See Appendix 3.

¹⁰³ Elaine Chalus, "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 43:3 (2000): 674. See also her *Elite Women in English Political Life, c. 1754-1790* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), chap. 2-3.

¹⁰⁴ Chalus, "Elite Women," 675-79, 687.

¹⁰⁵ Greig, *Beau Monde*, 235.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4, 7, 16-17, 20, 66, 165.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 97-98, 164, 166, 235-36.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

young elite men to greater degrees of social prowess. It was a crucial means of displaying and maintaining influential networks between British and Continental elites.¹⁰⁹ As Stephen Conway notes, the elite Grand Tourist regarded the opportunity for sociability as essential; it allowed for 'direct and personal contact' that revealed common affinities with their Continental counterparts.¹¹⁰

A successful Grand Tour was a powerful public advertisement of a British family's connections and status within the international elite world. In 1754, Villiers wrote to his mother from the court of Hesse-Cassel that:

I do not think it was the worst for our having no minister here, For I am entirely of Papa's Opinion that one should have recommendations enough to stand upon one's own Legs at every Court, or else you seldom are able to mix with the Company of the Place.¹¹¹

Villiers' boast essentially claimed that the Jersey family was so well connected they could enter fashionable elite Continental society off the back of their own extensive connections. The list of circles open to a Grand Tourist, the number of letters of introductions they obtained, attentions they received and the ease of their passage were all public markers of exclusivity and connections. Certain Continental societies, like the country courts of Hesse-Cassel and Mannheim or the most exclusive circles in Paris, were extremely difficult to access. Even extremely well connected Grand Tourists struggled with mistimed visits or demands for proof of their gentility. Ambassadors sometimes assisted but Grand Tourists often relied upon their own connections. For example, the royal family at Hesse-Cassel personally knew Villier's parents and had mutual 'Friends in England'.¹¹² At Mannheim, Yorke found the British ambassador was away and that the Elector was not receiving. The arrival of Charles Christian, Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, a connection of his uncle, Sir Joseph Yorke, saved the day. Weilburg was intimately connected with the court and ensured that Yorke received a personal invitation.¹¹³ Sometimes these important connections were formed during travels.

¹⁰⁹ See Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000). Similar points made by French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 140; Bell, *first total war*, 36.

¹¹⁰ Conway, *Continental Europe*, 210-13.

¹¹¹ LMA, Acc. 510/239, 5th October 1754, Jersey, Cassel, to Lady Jersey.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 74, 5th August 1777, Yorke, Carlsmuche, to Hardwicke.

For example, having only met her the month before, Pembroke was convinced he owed his warm reception at Berlin to the Duchess of Brunswick writing about him.¹¹⁴

The experience of gentry Grand Tourists provides an important insight. John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, undertook his Grand Tour in 1763-65 with the express ambition of improving his social connections. Writing from Lausanne, where he spent almost a year at an academy, he reflected that:

For those who are ornamented with Wealth are received immediately into the World & easily admired, & others who have not that advantage shou'd endeavour to improve themselves & acquire such talents as will introduce them favourably & push them forward in the world.¹¹⁵

Knowing he was at a disadvantage, he enjoyed Lausanne where it was easier to move in society.¹¹⁶ In contrast, as he only had a letter of recommendation to the British Plenipotentiary in Paris, he was unable to meet anyone but the English.¹¹⁷ Both he and Edward Gibbon found their social credentials to be rather unstable abroad. Gibbon was distressed when told in Rome that his Lausanne banker had recalled his credit. Lamenting that 'my character is ruined in every great town in Italy', Gibbon feared he would be unable to enter society as people suspected him of being an adventurer.¹¹⁸ In Vienna, Holroyd similarly found himself with no letters of credit or introduction, 'a circumstances the most uncomfortable for a traveller' that had 'a name little known' and no acquaintance. He wrote urgently to friends and family to try any contacts they had, as he would be unable to proceed into the German courts without them.¹¹⁹ For ambitious gentry such as these, social activities were fraught as they struggled to gain recommendations from their more restricted social circles and to command the attention of ambassadors.

For aristocratic Grand Tourists, however, the Tour's social dimension was often encompassed within their existing networks. Thus, it was an opportunity to reaffirm and expand networks on a trans-generational basis, as father was followed by son. For example,

¹¹⁴ BL, Add. M. 32730 f. 116-7, 15th October 1752, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle.

¹¹⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 138, 9th January 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 140, 2nd February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker.

¹¹⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 85, 19th March 1765, Edward Gibbons, Rome, to Edward Gibbon; BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 87, 22nd April 1765, Gibbon, Venice, to Dorothea Gibbon nee Patton.

¹¹⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 178, 3rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Baker.

Villiers and Nuneham's 1750s Grand Tour came twenty years after their fathers'. Dartmouth, North and Pembroke all travelled in the 1750s; Lewisham, Herbert, and their schoolfellow, Yorke, all travelled around twenty years later in the 1770s.¹²⁰ In each case, the son's social itinerary was directly shaped by his father's, as he re-established connections with his father's social network.

Nuneham dined with Count Calenbergs, who sent his compliments to his father, Lord Harcourt, and talked of his great 'disposition for the Army', while Herbert had his face twisted 'bout for $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour' by the famous Parisian hostess, Amélie de Boufflers, Duchess de Lauzun, before she recognised him as 'the petit George'.¹²¹ In Paris, Lewisham reported the Count de Viry, the Sardinian Ambassador 'desired to be introduced to me' as 'an old friend' of Dartmouth's and at Hanover, 'met with several of your old acquaintances', including 'the count de Killmanssegge, madame de Montickhausen' and even a servant who 'informed us that he served you in the same capacity'.¹²² At Brunswick, the Duchess 'was very happy to see the son of Monsieur Dartmoote', and at Vienna, Lewisham exclaimed 'I meet a great deal of your old friends here' before listing 'Sottby, an officer in Charles' regiment, M: de Hason the Saxon minister Mad:e de Borkhausen, the Collorédo &c &c'.¹²³ The success of Dartmouth's Tour directly influenced the warmth of Lewisham's reception. Keith wrote, '[I've] introduced them to the Ministers & People of Fashion in Town, who were prepared to receive them with Distinction both for your Ldships sake & their own.'¹²⁴ Likewise, Yorke attributed his warm reception at Turin to the First Minister's connections to his uncles:¹²⁵

[Perron] reassured me that he should be happy to testify the sense he retained of the civilities received from my family in England & from Sir Joseph at the Hague...This gave us an opportunity of seeing the first company of the place collected together¹²⁶

¹²⁰ See Appendices 6-7, 10-12 for further details. SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 3rd October 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Lady Dartmouth. Lewisham reported that he met up with Francis North, North's second son, in Lausanne.

¹²¹ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-22, 13th August 1756, Nuneham, Brussels, to his sister; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 1st May 1780, Herbert's Journal.

¹²² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10th December 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth; 11th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth.

¹²³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 11th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10th December 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

¹²⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/858, 21st September 1776, Keith, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

¹²⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 59, 29th June 1777, Hardwicke, London, to Yorke.

¹²⁶ BL, Add MS 36259, 6th May 1779, Yorke's Journal.

Hardwicke affirmed this, commenting that ‘Ct Perron I had the Pleasure to know here, He is a Sensible Agreeable Man, & I find has not forgot his old Acquaintances.’¹²⁷ He similarly believed Prince Charles at the Court of Brussels would received Yorke with civility, as ‘I had the honour to be introduced to him in 1749 – a great many Years ago.’¹²⁸

While old connections were reaffirmed, new relationships were also established. For example, in 1754 Richmond was extremely touched by his friendship with the Duc de Belle Isle, the powerful French General and statesman, and his son, de Gisors. Belle Isle’s friendship had ensured that Richmond ‘got allways with the best company & saw many things which otherways I should not have done’, including French Flanders’ military sites. Upon hearing that de Gisors was visiting England, Richmond wrote to Newcastle, his guardian, asking that his stay be made as agreeable as possible, concluding that he ‘reciev’d so many marks of politeness from that family that my gratitude has no bounds, & I am miserable not to be now in England to go about with him myself & show him everything.’¹²⁹ Evidently, Richmond viewed their relationship to be of more enduring significance than the length of his stay in France.

When Your Grace knows Mr de Gison I am sure you will join with me in saying that tis a great pity he is a Frenchman, I mean that he is to serve against England; for he is one of the most well bred sensible men I have ever seen in France & without any airs, but his behaviour will speak best for himself.¹³⁰

De Gisors and Richmond had a great deal in common. Three years apart in age, they were at the same life stage, with de Gisors departing for his own Grand Tour. They shared ideals of sociability and hospitality, and martial and masculine ambitions. They both had fathers with considerable military reputations and both desired to follow in their footsteps. Written in the lead up to the Seven Years War, Richmond’s letter is a striking example of the strong commonality between British and Continental aristocrats. Such friendships could transcend but not overcome national tensions. Belle Isle’s hospitality came after he spent a year in British captivity during the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) and de Gisors was to be killed in 1758 at the Battle of Krefeld, between French and Prussian-Hanoverian forces.

Identifying the importance of networks allows us to also identify the familiarity, affection and exchange between British and Continental elite societies. As Conway, Robin

¹²⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 347, 28th May 1779, Hardwicke, London, to Yorke.

¹²⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 59, 29th June 1777, Hardwicke, London, to Yorke.

¹²⁹ BL, Add, Ms. 2734 f. 81, 25th January 1754, Richmond, Leyden, to Newcastle.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Eagles and David Bell have observed, national and European identities were not mutually exclusive but existed alongside one another. Far from perceiving Continental Europe as an alien “other”, Tourists embraced their place within a pan-European ‘high elite culture’.¹³¹ In 1776, Lady Frances Dartmouth wrote to Lewisham enquiring as to whether he was ‘fatter or leaner a German or an Englishman, two characters I apprehend not so unlike, as an Englishman, & one of any other Country.’¹³² In an earlier letter, Lewisham referred to his progress in French, exclaiming ‘I am a much better Frenchman than I think myself’.¹³³ While Lady Dartmouth’s letter recognised commonality, Lewisham’s signalled the extent to which Grand Tourists were expected to imbibe the best aspects of the Continent in a bid for a British yet cosmopolitan identity.

At the same time, these Grand Tourists were certainly capable of engaging with the negative stereotyping of foreigners so commonly noted by historians. Despite his friendships, Richmond, for example, protested against the plan to place his younger brother in Paris, claiming ‘he is very young to be in a French & Roman Catholick Country’.¹³⁴ Likewise, William Coxe, Herbert’s tutor, wrote to Lady Pembroke, ‘I am not at all surprised, that his Lordship is not over inclined to like the French. Your Ladyship who knows the solidity of his understandings, will easily perceive the reason. He sees at once that all their compliments mean nothing, and that when they seem your greatest friends, they care little about you.’¹³⁵ Yet, Coxe thought ‘he may carry this a little too far’.¹³⁶ It is perhaps worth noting that these expressions of dislike were often directed at a disembodied, impersonal whole. When faced with individuals, such as Belle Isle or de Gisor, familiarity and friendship asserted itself. When placed at a greater distance, feelings of national aversion and generalised dislike took over.

The pressure placed on Grand Tourists to prioritise and succeed in their socialising was only partially due to its educational virtues. The Grand Tour was a *début* in which an elite young man simultaneously sought to prove his social and masculine standing, and affirm

¹³¹ Conway, *Continental Europe*, 192-93, 213; Bell, *The first total war*, 28, 36; See also Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1787); Eagles, *Francophilia*; R. Babel & W. Paravicini, ed., *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. Bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005) makes similar observations in its discussions of the German *Kavaliersreisen* to Italy.

¹³² SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 29th November 1776, Lady Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

¹³³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 4th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth.

¹³⁴BL, Add. Ms. 32725, f. 223, 8th October 1751, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle.

¹³⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 24th January 1776, Coxe, Colmar, to Lady Pembroke.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

and expand his family's socio-political connections. It was an opportunity to meet the Continental leaders that they would eventually make treaties, fight and trade with. As European scholarship has explored, similar aims can be traced in the European equivalents of the British Grand Tour. For example, Bianchi's investigation into Turin's *Accademia Reale*'s alumni has traced a high percentage of Hapsburg nobility and other German nobility, and she argues it reflected an entwined, international aristocratic network across Europe that created diplomatic, military and family ties between, for example, Turin and Vienna.¹³⁷ Equally, Eva Chodějovská and Zdeněk Hojda's analysis of Bohemian nobility traces their shifting itinerary to family kinship and social networks, cliental bonds at kindred courts and shifts in political alliances.¹³⁸ As Chalus has noted, the 'operation of a highly personal, influence-based form of politics that took place outside of parliament in social situations' was amorphous, anecdotal and stubbornly unquantifiable.¹³⁹ The political influence of the Grand Tour is likewise difficult to trace but it is intriguing to speculate upon how it may have potentially impacted upon European power plays through contributing towards an exclusive trans-European network of socio-political elite.

Masculinity and Sociability

The tremendous pressure resting upon the success of Grand Tourist's social agendas must be considered in relation to the Grand Tour's wider aims of masculine formation. As a successful masculine identity rested upon a successful social and/or homosocial performance, and upon the affirmation and acceptance of his peers, impressing in all social situations was a must. Given the myriad of social pressures, it is unsurprising to find that they altered their social behaviour in order to impress in each new location. For example, in the early 1750s, Pembroke, Dartmouth and North encountered social situations that forced them to embrace different etiquettes. In 1751, Dartmouth and North were startled by the Leipzig practice of toasting, which involved kissing all the ladies at table. As Dartmouth sat next to the host, he 'had no time to deliberate, but was obliged to follow his example; not without

¹³⁷ Bianchi, "La caccia nell'educazione del gentiluomo. Il caso sabauda (sec. XVI-XVIII)," in *La caccia nello Stato sabauda I. Caccia e cultura (secc. XVI-XVIII)*, ed. Bianchi and Pietro Passerin d'Entrèves (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2010), 19-37; Bianchi, "Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento, di," in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI-XIX)*, ed. Marco Bellabarba and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010), 135, 144-48, 150.

¹³⁸ Eva Chodějovská and Zdeněk Hojda, "Abroad, or still at home? Young noblemen from the Czech lands and the Empire in the XVII and XVIII centuries," in *Beyond the Grand Tour*.

¹³⁹ Chalus, "Elite Women," 672.

some reluctance;...it was sad clammy work.’¹⁴⁰ In 1752, Pembroke was deeply offended by his reception at Potsdam as Frederick the Great ‘passed very briskly by, & took no notice of us’.¹⁴¹ This transgressed Pembroke’s social codes and honour ideals to the extent that he resolved to leave.¹⁴² Motivated by the desire for social acceptance Dartmouth, North and Pembroke made considerable efforts to adapt their social practice. While disapprovingly concluding that ‘I never wish to see the custom prevail in England’, Dartmouth and North nevertheless temporarily altered their social behaviour in order to avoid offending their Leipzig hosts.¹⁴³ Equally, when recalled by an apologetic aide who explained that the King had ignored him because he disliked receiving people in a military setting, Pembroke let the insult pass. The aide played an important role in helping Pembroke navigate a social etiquette characterised by military brusqueness. Upon formally meeting the King, he glowingly wrote that ‘I never mett with such Civilities before; Not even those of Brunswick exceeded them’.¹⁴⁴ Pembroke deeply admired the King’s military reputation. Desirous of a military career himself and of making a good impression, these concerns led him to suspend his personal code of etiquette. To a certain extent, this behaviour could be seen as the embodiment of polite sociability as Tourists adapted their behaviour to please others. However, this adaptability often resulted in physical, masculine and impolite behaviours that either meant politeness had a broader meaning than scholars acknowledge or that social versatility was an elite trait that went beyond politeness.

Even within a single location, Tourists encountered and moved between multiple social spheres that had different standards of behaviour. They mixed with local elite society, ambassadors representing multiple European countries, and their fellow British abroad. Within these distinct but overlapping groups, they encountered older and younger men and women. Yorke’s journal in Vienna gives a detailed insight into these overlapping spheres. At Keith’s alone, Yorke supped with a youthful all-male, all-English crowd, dined with a small homosocial group of six older men, and with a cosmopolitan mixed sex group of different ages and nationalities.¹⁴⁵ He regularly spent time with ‘elderly sensible people’ like the von Harrachs.¹⁴⁶ In Vienna around the same time, Lewisham wrote about the beautiful Viennese

¹⁴⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 62114 K, 13th August 1751, Dartmouth, Leipzig, to Stillingfleet.

¹⁴¹ BL, Add. M. 32730 f. 116-7, 15th October 1752, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ BL, Add. Ms. 62114 K, 13th August 1751, Dartmouth, Leipzig, to Stillingfleet.

¹⁴⁴ BL, Add. M. 32730 f. 116-7, 15th October 1752, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle.

¹⁴⁵ BL, Add MS 36258, 3rd February, 29th December 1778, 23rd January 1779, Yorke’s Journal.

¹⁴⁶ BL, Add MS 36258, 7th January, 17th January 1779, Yorke’s Journal.

'misses', describing how 'we certainly have won their hearts. They would have had but little dancing (poor souls!) if it had not been for us.'¹⁴⁷ He also had his young homosocial group, described by Stevenson as 'for the most part decent young men' of 'irreproachable' conduct.¹⁴⁸ Lewisham himself felt it was impossible to find 'young men more sensible, more chearfull [sic.] or more sans pretensions', and that Vienna was loathed to see them go:

Even Prince Kaunitz the first minister who was chiefly Interested in bringing about the alliance with France declares us to be la nation favorite – he was pleased to declare the other day at his table that he never knew so good a set of English as those who are now here, & that tho' we are seventeen in number, there is not a single sôtise, a single instance of misbehaviour to be laid to the charge of any one of us –¹⁴⁹

The 'chere colonie' were recognised as a distinct social body that nevertheless interacted well with the rest of society.¹⁵⁰ Other Tourists consistently referred to similar groups, which often included young elite Continental men also on their equivalent of a Grand Tour.

As these examples begin to demonstrate, the Grand Tour exposed the elite young male to a variety of social standards. Constantly shifting between country and urban, polite and courtly, cosmopolitan and martial, aristocratic and republican, male and mixed, young and old social groups, each group made different demands on their social abilities and performances. Tourists were expected to succeed in all and therefore had to be able to adapt their sociable behaviours. This section argues that, rather than teaching its participants to adhere to one culture of sociability, the Grand Tour's social curriculum primarily taught its participants social adaptability and judgement; skills that would enable them to move easily between and respond appropriately to numerous social settings. Building upon this, this section outlines the ramifications this has upon scholarly understanding of the nature of eighteenth-century sociability.

The playful correspondence and diaries of the Common Room club – a homosocial friendship group established by English, Scottish and German Grand Tourists and tutors in Geneva in the early 1740s – reveals a wide variety of social behaviours dependent on their social context. Peter Clark briefly identifies the Common Room as a part of club culture.¹⁵¹ As

¹⁴⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 18th February 1777, Lewisham, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

¹⁴⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 20th December 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

¹⁴⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 12th December 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

¹⁵⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 18th February 1777, Lewisham, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

¹⁵¹ As laid out in Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 225-26, 228, 229, 244, 245-47, 250, 258.

Richard Pococke outlined, they took 'Some Common rooms in one [house] –... they meet after dinner, to drink tea in the afternoon, & spend their evens at a Common expense.'¹⁵² They drank, dined, toasted regularly and used other club structures like voting, fining and keeping a logbook. Within homosocial society, they undertook 'amicable or literary discourses', theatre, physical pursuits, and a variety of high-spirited, unconventional and frequently impolite behaviour.¹⁵³ William Windham, for example, rounded 'himself into a hoop in his elbow chair', and won admiration by simultaneously reading French and partaking in two separate conversations in Italian and English.¹⁵⁴ Attracted to 'singular peculiarity', they used nicknames, farted, belched, drank and played practical jokes.¹⁵⁵ Robert Price advised them in a mock-parental tone, 'do not follow your own lewd Imaginations too much. Lordy, Stitch the pretty women. You may perhaps learn something of them while you are trying to bring it about; but avoid the Beasts their Husbands.'¹⁵⁶ As this indicates, they also indulged in sexual commentary, including gossip about fellow Tourists, one of whom was so lovelorn, that an exasperated Price exclaimed they needed 'to cut his Cock off & give it to the Cat', and a recently-made Genevan widow, who would be best comforted by a gift of 'a great, Brawny, Broadshoulder'd Irishman'.¹⁵⁷

Yet the Common Room also successfully conformed to other social standards. They were part of Geneva's more intellectual, Enlightenment circles, attending the university and engaging their professors in conversation, social calls and experiments.¹⁵⁸ At least one of

¹⁵² BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 4th-15th June 1741, Richard Pococke's Travel Journals.

¹⁵³ See the Common Room's correspondence with one another in NRO, WKC 7/46/9-19); BL, Add. Ms. 22998, Pococke's Travel Journals; Coxe, *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet...* (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1811); R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: the story of a house* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 145.

¹⁵⁴ Coxe, *Literary Life*, 162-64.

¹⁵⁵ Coxe, *Literary Life*, 74; For examples of nicknames and references to belching and farting see, NRO, WKC 7/46/13-4, 17th March 1741, Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier, Strasbourg, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/19, 19th April 1741, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods.

¹⁵⁶ NRO, WKC 7/46/11, 9th November 1741, Robert Price, Paris, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/9, 19th December 1741, Price, London, to the Bloods.

¹⁵⁷ NRO, WKC 7/46/11, 9th November 1741, Price, Paris, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/9, 19th December 1741, Price, London, to the Bloods; Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 132 observes that Irishmen were often identified in pornography and erotica as having the biggest penises in Britain and the greatest sexual vigour.

¹⁵⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 2nd-13th June 1741, Richard Pococke's Travel Journals.

their tutors, John Williamson (a frequent farting and belching offender) was an excellent mathematician and a member of ‘the Beaux Esprits’. Comprising of ‘the Rector, the two Mathematical Professors, who are the greatest Mathematicians in Europe; & 5 or 6 others’, this was a classic example of Enlightenment sociability.¹⁵⁹ The Common Room also entered successfully into Geneva’s straight-laced polite society. Richard Aldworth and Windham both contracted engagements, and departed members punctuated letters with greetings to a wide range of Genevan families. They put on highly popular plays, attended by the Magistrates, almost all ‘persons of distinction’, British travellers and the foreigners at the Academy, which included the Princes of Anhalt.¹⁶⁰ While unconventional, this demonstrated a very successful engagement with international society.

The complexities and shifting, conflicting standards of the Grand Tour’s social world sketched here directly mirrored the complex, shifting and conflicting social standards of the elite adult social world. Discussions of eighteenth-century sociability have often cast certain social cultures as subversive. For example, as polite sociability, with its mixed activities and softening female influence, has been identified as the pinnacle of social behaviour, homosocial, impolite, rowdy, and libertine social cultures have often been downplayed as subversive. These social spheres have a contentious historiographical reputation, yet recent scholarship has repeatedly highlighted their legitimacy in eighteenth-century British culture. For example, while homosocial society frequently did not maintain polite sociability, it was fundamentally important in the affirmation of masculinity and provided a crucial arena for social bonding and the transaction of business, politics and information exchange.¹⁶¹ As discussed in the Introduction, the behaviour of male-only and impolite spheres was often validated by wider society. Vic Gatrell has argued that, ‘polite opinion has long tolerated the great manly business’, as a man’s taste for sex, drinking and coarse jesting did not negate his

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Coxe, *Literary Life*, 75, 78-79.

¹⁶¹ See for example John Tosh, *Manliness and masculinities in nineteenth-century Britain: essays on gender, family, and empire* (Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 70; Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, London: YUP, 1999), chap. 6, 128; Padhraig Higgins, “‘Let Us Play the Men’: Masculinity and the Citizen-Soldier in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland,” in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: men of arms*, ed. Catriona Kennedy and Matthew McCormack (Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 180, 182, 184; Rosalind Carr, “The Gentleman and the Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland,” *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 28:2, (2008), 105-06, 110; Karen Harvey, “Ritual Encounters: Punch parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 214:1 (2012): 200-01; Clark, *British Clubs*.

politeness.¹⁶² For example, many elite women ‘understood, condoned, and supported the social rituals of alcohol consumption that formed some of the essential components of eighteenth-century elite male identity’ and celebrated their men’s victories in brawls and battles at school, university and in London.¹⁶³

These scholarly conclusions suggest the importance of distinguishing between codes of social behaviour and codes of acceptance. As Greig highlights, fashionable society had a mercurial, unwritten but fundamental code of acceptance.¹⁶⁴ Her examination of elite women excluded from the *beau monde* indicates that it was not the ‘simple fact of adultery’ that breached social codes of acceptance, but rather the overly public display in the wrong social spheres.¹⁶⁵ Society was far more permissive for men but they could still transgress even if they did not receive the same degree of punishment.¹⁶⁶ In his case study of the libertine behaviour of the Society of the Dilettanti and the Medmenham Monks, Kelly argues the 1734/5 Calve’s Head incident, an evening’s drinking that culminated in antagonising a plebeian crowd and causing £100 in damage to the tavern in the resulting riot, was met with indulgence because it was thoroughly enjoyed within the closed ranks of elite social circles, but not confirmed or discussed beyond this.¹⁶⁷ While this was enjoyed within the correct social settings, Lord Sandwich’s 1763 House of Lords’ condemnation of licentious poems by John Wilkes and the Medmenham Monks received a very different reception. Sandwich had been a part of the Medmenham Monks’ activities but elite society was far more shocked by his transgressive behaviour in publically acknowledging these acts in an inappropriate social setting, than by his libertine activities.¹⁶⁸ Seeking to understand the unwritten rules of elite social boundaries, both Kelly and Gatrell have highlighted the concept of a ‘private realm within the public world’.¹⁶⁹ Sandwich transgressed a fundamental elite societal ‘code of

¹⁶² Vic Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), 316.

¹⁶³ French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 125-27; Gatrell, *City of laughter*, 316.

¹⁶⁴ Greig, *Beau Monde*, 193-94, 210.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 202, 206.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 209, 212, 215.

¹⁶⁷ Kelly, “Riots, Revelries, and Rumour: Libertinism and Masculine Association in Enlightenment London,” *Journal of British Studies*, 45:4 (October 2006): 774-75; See also Helen Berry, “Rethinking Politeness In Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King’s Coffee House And The Significance Of ‘Flash Talk,”” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 65-81

¹⁶⁸ Kelly, “Riots,” 788-89.

¹⁶⁹ Kelly, *Dilettanti*, 252; Gatrell, *City of laughter*, 178.

conduct, which did not make private activities a matter of political debate, as long as private activities did not corrupt public conduct'.¹⁷⁰ This elite silence and refusal to validate rumours beyond their private circles, I would argue, did not signify shame or hidden illicitness, but rather formed a strategy through which elite society emphasised its position as self-referential, exclusive and aloof from the rest of British society.

The eighteenth-century elite social world encompassed a plurality of 'sociabilities'. Some of these contained conflicting codes of behaviour and conduct, yet providing the individual did not transgress codes of acceptance, through undertaking the wrong social behaviour in the wrong social sphere, elite society did not see these discrepancies as invalidating opposing expression of sociability. It was expected that men would move between social groups and that their behaviour would fluctuate accordingly, and Grand Tourists admired men who were able to do so. When weighing up between Vienna's new and old French ambassador, Yorke reported to Hardwicke that the new ambassador, 'instead of adapting himself to the manners of others, is desirous of giving the Ton wherever he goes.'¹⁷¹ In his view, the ideal aristocratic man demonstrated a command of each social situation, moving with ease between them, while retaining the instantly recognisable habitus of a gentleman and the code of honour and values that ran across all elite fields. Moving constantly between different modes and codes of sociability, the Grand Tour's social itinerary taught participants crucial skills in adaptability and social versatility. It equally taught them to exercise social discernment and to identify where the final boundary lay. The resultant changes in behaviour were proof of their prowess in these skills. As long as an individual retained the social skill and discernment to keep these different spheres of social behaviour separate, he could fully partake in all without invalidating his identity and standing in any. This behaviour was not just tolerated. The social lessons encompassed in the Grand Tour reveal that the masculine skills of social adaptability and judgement were highly valued.

As Yorke's critique of the French ambassadors suggests, this was not an easy task and failure stemmed from an inability to adapt or distinguish acceptable behaviours. For example, the Common Room's letters referenced those who fell short of their social standards, particularly 'that Wonderful Knight', Sir Bouchier Wrey, who became the Bloods' 'behavioural "other"'.¹⁷² Wrey consistently lied about his social status and broke multiple

¹⁷⁰ Kelly, "Riots," 790.

¹⁷¹ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 143, 11th February 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.

¹⁷² NRO, WKC 7/46/12, 24th October 1741, Price, Lyons, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/11, 9th November 1741, Price, Paris, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/13-4, 17th March 1741, Tate

codes of etiquette in order to inflate his importance. For example, upon being asked to dine with two former Bloods (the Common Room club's term for their members), the 'German Counts', William, Count of Schaumburg-Lippe, and his brother George, 'he took upon Him to be master'.¹⁷³ Wrey's transgressions turned him into an international figure of ridicule as he was mocked by British, German and Dutch society. In 1753, Richmond visited Mannheim with North and Dartmouth. His furious letter outlines his struggle to adapt to the Court's rigid social etiquette.¹⁷⁴ Mannheim's protocol demanded proof of status and banned men of lesser status, like Richmond's tutors, from dining at the Elector's table or, in some cases, at Court at all. Richmond's anger was compounded by the presence of a suspected Jacobite, who was highly regarded by the Court.¹⁷⁵ Unlike North and Dartmouth, Richmond reacted against the perceived insults and struggled to treat his host with due civility. While praising the Elector as 'excessively polite and civil', Richmond focused his hostility on Mr de Wacklemdonk, the Grand Chamberlain, who, unlike the aide encountered by Pembroke in Berlin, failed to assist the young Duke through the different social expectations of Mannheim.¹⁷⁶ Defiantly unapologetic, Richmond's letter revealed his lingering unease at the event which represented an unacknowledged failure to reconcile differing social practices and resulted in an experience of deep discomfort and embarrassment for him, those present and his guardian.

Examining the social dynamics of the Grand Tour helps to reassess the formation and nature of elite masculine identity. If the Grand Tour deliberately exposed its young men to multiple forms of sociability with the expectation that they would learn to flourish in each, this would similarly indicate the dual intention of exposing the Grand Tourist to a variety of masculine cultures and identities, as each of these social spheres and settings held their own ideals and standards of masculinity. This affirms Shepard's suggestion that men engaged with multiple masculine identities, moving fluidly between them depending on their setting and circumstance.¹⁷⁷

and Dampier, Strasbourg, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/19, 19th April 1741, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods; French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 110.

¹⁷³ NRO, WKC 7/46/19, 19th April 1741, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods.

¹⁷⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32733 f. 230, 9th November 1753, Richmond, Leyden, to Newcastle.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 291.

Society played an important role in establishing the ideal standards and expressions of masculinity. On the Grand Tour, young elite men were exposed to and admired an array of elite men characterised by a variety of masculine traits, such as the polite, courtly, martial, and libertine. Different social contexts demanded different masculine behaviours, performances and expressions from Grand Tourists in order to validate their status within the group. In a mixed gender and generational setting, a successful masculine performance might be entertaining conversation and decorous manners, with young people it might be dancing and the ability to vivaciously but decorously flirt. In an all-male society, it might be giving good toasts and excelling in sports. As French and Rothery suggest, this was part of an instinctive process that eighteenth-century elite men were born into, developed and interacted with - a value system that presented profound ordering principles. Building on Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* theory and the work of Fernand Braudel, French and Rothery argue that these were deeply internalised within individuals and societal structures and that social and cultural factors, such as different social relationships or conduct literature, codified and dictated how these principles and virtues should be expressed.¹⁷⁸ Equally, identities require the acknowledgement, affirmation and validation of others; therefore social interactions and relationships were a key forum for masculinity.¹⁷⁹ Families were an extremely powerful agent in the confirmation of individual's masculine identities, but men also had to prove their masculinity to numerous individuals and groups in wider British and Continental society as they moved from the family sphere into the adult public arena.¹⁸⁰ As John Tosh observes, homosociability, all-male groups and peer approval played an important role in confirming masculine status.¹⁸¹ Philip Carter's examination of James Boswell's shifting masculine personas reveals the extent to which he looked to other men for inspiration and approval.¹⁸² As this thesis will show, young elite men consistently moved between these different social audiences and sought to have their masculine and social standing affirmed in each throughout their Grand Tours. Combining admiration, emulation and a desire for approval, the social dynamics surrounding masculinity were powerful and at times conflicting forces.

¹⁷⁸ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 11-12, 236. See also Harvey and Shepard, "What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 274-80.

¹⁷⁹ See for example, Tosh, *Manliness*, 44.

¹⁸⁰ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 15-16, 37; French and Rothery, "Upon Your Entry to the World': Masculine values and the threshold of adulthood among landed elites in England 1680-1800," *Social History* 33:4 (2008): 404.

¹⁸¹ Tosh, *Manliness*, 70-71.

¹⁸² Philip Carter, "James Boswell's manliness," in *English Masculinities*, 111-30.

For individual men, social interaction enabled them to discern these collective dynamics of approval and rejection, as well as to identify and emulate virtues and behaviours that they desired. Socialising provided them with a forum to prove these virtues, via the activities that accompanied social interaction. These ranged from letter writing, conversation, drinking and fashion, to physical activities such as hunting, dancing, singing and fighting. Each of these was an opportunity to construct a masculine identity through the written word, speech and bodily activity. Sociability facilitated a considerable degree of masculine exchange and formation, particularly as Tourists frequently sought to network and bond with Continental men encountered in homosocial and mixed social spheres.

Senseless Danger, Necessary Evil or Pleasurable Pastime?: A Case Study of Moral Hazard on the Grand Tour

Between the desire to establish a good reputation and the desire to please and impress family, ambassadors, the rulers and social leaders of multiple courts and societies, and one's friends and peers, the pressures to play the Grand Tour's *jeux de société* was considerable. This pressure compelled Grand Tourists to religiously record notable names and social occasions, to make efforts to socialise when tired, shy or uncomfortable, and to adopt and discard different social behaviours upon demand. It powerfully shaped their perception of masculine ideals and, as this final section will begin to unpack, was an influential factor in their perception of and engagement with danger. Having used this chapter to establish the importance and influence of the Grand Tour's social agendas and ambitions, this section gives a glimpse into the dynamic relationship between danger, social factors and masculinity through case studies of moral dangers. As this section will argue, individual attitudes to moral danger were strongly related to and constructed by social groups, such as family and peers, who collectively discerned what was dangerous and whether that danger was to be embraced or avoided. As this section will show, these groups did not always reach the same conclusion on these matters.

In arguing that the Grand Tour was a hazardous minefield of moral dangers, scholars have typically labelled activities such as gambling, drinking and sex as harmful moral hazards. In covertly or openly engaging in them, Grand Tourists such as James Boswell failed to maintain the high moral standards set by their parents, and undertook actions that resulted in wasted fortune, tense filial relationships, bastard children, venereal disease and, sometimes, death.¹⁸³ Some scholars have also noted that, despite these transgressions, Grand

¹⁸³ Black, *British Abroad*, chap. 9; Ian Littlewood, *Sultry climates: travel & sex* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002), 35-37.

Tourists were rarely punished and that parents could also be surprisingly permissive. Attempting to account for these discrepancies, scholars have concluded that this immorality was secretly accepted by elite male society, as the Tour 'served the useful purpose of letting people sow their wild oats abroad', away from polite society.¹⁸⁴ Alongside presuming that the Grand Tourists did not interact with polite society while abroad and that this behaviour ceased upon their return to Britain, these scholarly arguments make two further presumptions.

Firstly, they often link predilections for sex, drinking and gambling to young homosocial groups. Such groups could certainly have perceived these activities as pleasurable pursuits to be embraced, rather than harmful dangers to be avoided. For example, in 1777, in a letter to Lewisham, Thomas Pelham, 2nd Earl of Chichester, approached sexualised activities, like admiring and discussing woman's bodies and even the consequences of fathering a bastard, as a source of pleasure and humour.¹⁸⁵ However, historians have consistently dismissed the social and moral views of young men as illicit. Yet, as argued earlier, the importance of homosocial influences cannot be easily dismissed. In their discussion of young gentry men at school, university and in apprenticeships, French and Rothery have begun to complicate this by concluding that illicit behaviour blended into acceptable forms of masculine sociability amongst young men. Amongst peer groups, alternative illicit readings of codes of masculine behaviour validated interpersonal violence, sexual licence, alcoholic excess, gambling and rowdy sociability as 'honourable' self-defence, 'courageous' risk-taking and a 'stoical' indifference to the consequences.¹⁸⁶ Forming a peer-identified code of approval, with certain aspects, like drinking and interpersonal violence, sometimes approved by parents, and taking place in the *demi-monde* of brothels, backrooms, hells, and pleasure gardens, French and Rothery contend that peer-identified codes of approval should be regarded as a 'sub-set' of legitimate values. Yet they ultimately conclude that because these codes were denied the full approval of legitimate authority figures, particularly in relation to sexual behaviour, they were a 'subversive' or 'alternative' value system.¹⁸⁷ This highlights the importance given by scholars to authority figures in defining 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' attitudes towards morality and danger.

¹⁸⁴ Black, *British Abroad*, 204, 217, 225; Littlewood, *Sultry Climates*, 15.

¹⁸⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/III/363, 22nd December 1777, Thomas Pelham, 2nd Earl of Chichester, Vienna, to Lewisham.

¹⁸⁶ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 124-25, 127, 128, 130-31.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 130-31.

In contrasting the ‘illegitimate’ moral perspectives of young men against the ‘legitimate’ perspectives of families, a second assumption is made that families and authority figures held a uniform view of sex, gambling and drinking as negative hazards. This not only presumes that elite society had a homogenous moral perception, but also often discerns this moral code from published literature that reflected the morality of middling sorts.¹⁸⁸ Yet, as Margaret Hunt observes, ‘Middling moralists obsessively identified traits that were alleged to be aristocratic’, focusing on luxury, a love of the foreign and moral laxity as conjoined.¹⁸⁹ Eighteenth-century elite society did not maintain a unanimous viewpoint on moral danger and assessing the aristocracy and gentry according to the standards of middling morality risks making their behaviour incomprehensible as they were not conceptualised in the same way. Henry Fox and his wife, for example, made a contract to allow extramarital affairs, yet believed their love to be unsullied.¹⁹⁰ To fully understand how the elite viewed the Grand Tour in terms of moral hazards, this complexity must be acknowledged. In terms of moral standards, the relatively close-knit elite world encompassed a wide spectrum ranging from the evangelical to the libertine.

Grand Tourists were clearly expected to adhere to the moral standards of their parents and guardians, but what these standards advocated remains a very different question. The Dartmouth family, for example, represented the stereotypical scholarly view of perceptions of moral hazards. Dartmouth and his wife were powerfully united in their evangelical beliefs and were linked to the Methodist movement’s leaders.¹⁹¹ These religious beliefs influenced every aspect of the family, even impacting on Lewisham’s souvenir choices as he brought toy soldiers for his younger siblings ‘at the Moravian Establishment at Leist’.¹⁹² This strong religious dimension cannot be separated from their moral outlook and arguably brought them closer to middling concepts of morality.

Their correspondence conformed to stereotypical discussions of moral danger and travel as they strove to mould their sons in moral virtue. They regularly sent advice on

¹⁸⁸ Littlewood, *Sultry Climates*, 4, 11-12, 14, 18-19, 21; Black, *British Abroad*, 203.

¹⁸⁹ Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1689-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 71; Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800: authorship, gender, and national identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 45, 61, 81.

¹⁹⁰ Gatrell, *City of laughter*, 316.

¹⁹¹ Peter Marshall, “Legge, William, second earl of Dartmouth (1731–1801),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16360 (accessed 26 June 2012).

¹⁹² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 4th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth.

becoming ‘thoroughly acquainted with your own disposition, propensities & failings’ and embracing God’s redeeming goodness.¹⁹³ This adhered to evangelical teaching on the corruptible nature of humanity and the need for continuous self-analysis.¹⁹⁴ In his first letter to Lewisham in Paris, Dartmouth explicitly labelled moral hazards as ‘dangerous’, ‘senseless’ and ‘indecent’, provoking emotional reactions of ‘fear’, ‘shame’ and ‘confusion’.¹⁹⁵ Casting himself as a moral guardian who guided Lewisham through such ‘Trials’, Stevenson used terms like ‘Hazards’, ‘Risk’, and ‘Danger’, describing his ‘uneasiness’, ‘dread’ and ‘apprehension of Danger’.¹⁹⁶

Paris, Vienna and Geneva saw the escalation of these concerns. Yet the danger came not from the foreign society but the ‘low Debauchery & Vulgar Behaviour’ of their ‘own Countrymen’.¹⁹⁷ Lewisham wrote in disgust that, ‘the most eccentric & most openly abandoned people in the French metropolis are our countrymen’, who only keep the company of ‘each other and of French w-----s’.¹⁹⁸ Their initial remedy was to spend as little time as possible with such corrupting influences and to turn towards Continental society.¹⁹⁹ While ‘the Charms of Dissipation’ in Paris, the carnival of Vienna and the friendly republican virtues of Switzerland could ‘dazzle a young English man unaccustomed to them’, with correct preparation and guidance, ‘The Advantages are so much greater than the Hazards’ as

¹⁹³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 18th December 1775, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham; SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 3rd February 1777, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

¹⁹⁴ G. M Ditchfield, “Methodism and the Evangelical Revival,” in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, H. T. Dickinson, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 253.

¹⁹⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 14th August 1775, Dartmouth, Sandwell, to Lewisham.

¹⁹⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 28th August 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 20th September 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 4th January 1776, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 20th December 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 1st February 1777, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 1st July 1777, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

¹⁹⁷ D(W)1778/V/884, 30th August 1775, Stevenson, Paris, Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 1st July 1777, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 20th September 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 16th August 1775, Lewisham, Upon the Loire, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/873, 26th August 1775, William Legge, Tours, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/852, 14th August 1775, Dartmouth, Sandwell, to Lewisham.

¹⁹⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 16th August 1775, Lewisham, Upon the Loire, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 28th January 1776, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

¹⁹⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 8th August 1775, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 20th September 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth.

even Paris became 'a much safer Place than London.'²⁰⁰ Such attitudes differed substantially from the published discourse on the Grand Tour's moral hazards, which advocated a retreat from Continental influences. It also differed from middling sort travel writers, like Tobias Smollett, who stressed the strength of their British moral virtues and their steadfast rejection of the perceived immorality of the Continent and Continental habits.²⁰¹ Stevenson and the Dartmouths' moral warnings did not include a retreat from elite and foreign society, but rather focused upon the development of a moral and social compass that enabled Lewisham to engage fully with society and avoid potential moral pitfalls. Under the right circumstances, Continental society played an important role in reinforcing positive moral and social values to the extent that by the time he reached Vienna, Lewisham freely interacted with his fellow Grand Tourists without parental alarm. Thus, even when perceptions of moral hazards were aligned, responses from different social strata could differ.

In contrast to the Dartmouth family, Holroyd's lively letters to his uncle and aunts, the Rev. John Baker, Mrs Baker and Mrs. Atkinson, strongly indicate that loose morals were openly discussed and approved within his family.²⁰² Holroyd described flirtations, venereal disease and prostitutes.²⁰³ Socialising with the political exile John Wilkes, receiving daily lessons on morality from him, and musing that 'There is some reason to think that Vice approaches...as near perfection as Human Affairs are capable of', he at the very least flirted with radical and libertine principals.²⁰⁴ Holroyd also described his rowdy homosocial activities in Rome, salaciously describing Carnival revelries and various fights.²⁰⁵ Determined to remove the 'insipid' label of well behaved, this culminated with a birthday dinner that became a drunken 'walk at night abt the town' in search of prostitutes. When locals refused to

²⁰⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 20th September 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 4th January 1776, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth.

²⁰¹ Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 61, 143. For a classic example of rejecting the Continent, see Richard Hurd, *Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel...*(Dublin, 1764).

²⁰² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 138, 9th January 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 162, 5th December 1764, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Baker.

²⁰³ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10th November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 136, 19th December 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 138, 9th January 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson.

²⁰⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 138, 9th January 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 172, 7th May 1765, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 166, 7th February 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Atkinson.

²⁰⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 166, 7th February 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker.

direct them, a 'bloody battle ensued'. Two Romans were stabbed, one of whom died, and several Tourists left Rome immediately. Holroyd was careful to note, 'I was invited but was at Terni during the action', but laconically reported, after hearing of the man's death, 'the Affair is, what is called made up'.²⁰⁶

Holroyd's openness suggests that his family accepted his behaviour. In describing his hunts for Swiss brothels, he reported to his uncle that they were not as good as London's prostitutes, and that 'I must acknowledge that we fail in that one point, you probably will say that is everything'.²⁰⁷ His aunts also shared his morals. Observing that the Italian ladies of fashion were not 'safe goods', he wrote to Mrs Baker, 'If you was a rich lady I shou'd apply to you for an allowance to keep an Opera Girl'.²⁰⁸ Likewise, he wished Mrs Atkinson 'had an opportunity of drinking a bottle of wine with [Wilkes], they wou'd be very hapy together.'²⁰⁹

As noted earlier, despite a considerable degree of flexibility, the eighteenth-century elite world was not totally permissive. Holroyd's letters demonstrated a keen awareness of certain legal and political boundaries that were dangerous to cross, as his stated absence from the fight in Rome indicates. Equally, he publically celebrated George III's birthday in order to prove himself a 'staunch friend of the Government & that I may not be suspected to be a contempt or reviler of Kings on account of my late connection [with Wilkes]'.²¹⁰ He also conformed to the conventions of other moral codes and societies when appropriate. In Lausanne, he conformed to its strict standards of propriety and vividly enjoyed his interaction with the Springs, a group of beautiful society girls, even if he did eventually complain they 'are shockingly modest'.²¹¹

The Holroyd family were not unusual. Various Grand Tourists had authority figures explicitly affirm, encourage and even order loose moral conduct. His father, Henry Fox, famously took Charles James Fox to Paris to lose his virginity to Madame de Quallens at

²⁰⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 166, 7th February 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 170, 7th April 1765, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Baker.

²⁰⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 136, 19th December 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, Baker.

²⁰⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 138, 9th January 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 156, 4th September 1764, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd.

²⁰⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker.

²¹⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 172, 7th May 1765, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd.

²¹¹ BL, Add. M. 34887 f. 149, 12th April 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker.

fourteen.²¹² Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, whose posthumous *Letters to His Son* were seen to be the embodiment of politeness, was pleased to find that ‘The Princess Bourghese was so kind as to put [my son] upon his haunches, by putting him frequently upon her own’.²¹³ These families did not view sex, prostitution and wild behaviour as inherently dangerous. They were a source of pleasure and, perhaps, in line with libertine philosophies, a means of asserting elite freedom from the constraints of lesser society.²¹⁴ Within this context, the Continent held few perils, but substantial opportunity.

Authority figures evidently played an important role in establishing boundaries and perceptions of danger. In the context of families like the Pembrokes, this was complex as, aided and abetted by two tutors, father and mother held conflicting moral standards. Like Fox and Holroyd’s families, Pembroke had strong libertine propensities.²¹⁵ Keith joked with Herbert that Pembroke’s reputation had left a legacy of Italian women wishing to inspect Herbert’s ‘*le jeune Pembroke*’.²¹⁶ Pembroke encouraged Herbert ‘to see the Satyr f-g the Goat’, hoped he and his tutor had ‘encountered’ Italian women despite language barriers, and recommended aristocratic, if elderly, women likely to indulge him:²¹⁷

Ly Rivers, I hear, is at Nice to pass the winter. Pray don’t fail to see her there, & I wish you would also invade her; for she dreams of nothing, but invasion, & it is pity she should not have her bellyful. She is yet a fine creature, through rather past her labor now. She is, to be sure, oldish, & deaf; but there will allways be a fine wreak at least – even a hundred years hence, & it is la meilleure pâte de femme possible.²¹⁸

²¹² L. G. Mitchell, “Fox, Charles James (1749–1806),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/10024, (accessed 29 May 2015).

²¹³ Chesterfield quoted in Black, *The British Abroad*, 211.

²¹⁴ Peter Cryle and Lisa O’Connell ed., *Libertine Enlightenment: Sex, Liberty and Licence in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 2-3; French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 13.

²¹⁵ J. E. O. Screen, “Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke and seventh earl of Montgomery (1734–1794),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13034, (accessed 29 May 2015).

²¹⁶ WSRO, Ms. 2057/F4/26, 12th August 1779, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert.

²¹⁷ Pembroke quoted in Sweet, *Cities*, 57; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 21st June 1779, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert.

²¹⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 30th September 1779, Pembroke, Ely, to Herbert.

Pembroke was supported by William Floyd who ended one letter with ‘There are a great many pretty Maids & Mistresses too in these parts. Take care of your precious parts, & keep them for home use.’²¹⁹

In direct contrast, Lady Pembroke, with the assistance of Coxe, sought to enforce a different moral code.²²⁰ Identifying Pembroke’s moral standards as ‘libertinism’, she desired Herbert to be ‘almost, (or if I may, I will say quite) an enthusiast for Virtue, which will support him at moments when the plausible language of libertinism may in some respects raise his doubts.’²²¹ Through Coxe, she instigated discussions of morality and religion; she also forcibly altered Herbert’s route, curriculum and company if she feared they could be morally harmful.²²²

The two opposing views of Lord and Lady Pembroke perfectly illustrate the differing perceptions of danger that could be held even within one family. While Pembroke perceived the Continent to provide fruitful opportunities to indulge in his moral code, Lady Pembroke saw multiple hazards to be negotiated. Both held equal authority over their son and sought to enforce that through emotive correspondence, tutors and competing social circles. For example, in Paris, Herbert was a regular member of the Duchesse de Lauzun’s salon and supper parties, but also spent time with the libertine Duc de Chartres and ‘the Club’.²²³ On one memorable occasion, he hunted and dined at Chartres’ ‘petite Maison’, ‘a pretty numerous, noisy Company, there being some Females of the Party. After Dinner we amused ourselves in flinging one another into the Water, at last by stripping naked & hunting the Hare through Wood, Water, etc, etc.’²²⁴ Four days later, he received a note ‘full of Reprimands from the Duchess of Lauzun, who because she and others had not seen me for some Days, imagined I was gott into bad Company.’²²⁵ Herbert’s Tour reveals a family caught painfully between two elite moral codes simultaneously upheld within a tense and complex family

²¹⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/28, 15th December 1779, John Floyd, Stamford, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/28, 22nd March 1780, Floyd, Pembroke House, to Herbert.

²²⁰ See, for support of Lady Pembroke, WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 17th March 1776, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke.

²²¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 20th April [1779], Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 16th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 10th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe.

²²² WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Lady Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe.

²²³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 9th May 1780, Herbert’s Journal.

²²⁴ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 19th May 1780, Herbert’s Journal.

²²⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 23rd May 1780, Herbert’s Journal.

dynamic and both supported by wider elite society. It reveals the fractions within the elite community and highlights the extent to which the discernment of moral danger was extraordinarily fluid in nature.

As Herbert's experiences in Paris also suggest, the perception of moral danger varied between different social groups. While mixed social groups might demand a higher standard of social priority, homosocial groups might expect a greater degree of moral freedom. Irrespective of its 'legitimacy', homosocial peer groups acted as a persistent, powerful force on the formation and culture of male identities. However, the behaviour of groups like the Common Room often received knowing approbation from older men such as their tutors and Pococke, who described them as his 'dear ladds' and as 'very sober, men of parts & application, & some of them really great Geniuses'.²²⁶ Even the trusted and well-respected Keith joked with Herbert about his father's indiscretions.

The elite world consisted of individuals and families who held different moral codes but constantly interacted. For example, Holroyd eventually married into Dartmouth's stepbrother, North's family. Despite his family's stern moral position, Lewisham socialised with the Duc de Chartres in Paris, and attended Harrow with Herbert and Yorke. These young men met up several times during their overlapping Grand Tours. While families might have legitimated very different moral standards, they acknowledged and interacted closely with one another. Correspondingly, even those whose rigid moral code led them to perceive dangers on the Grand Tour adopted a certain degree of worldly flexibility, as Yorke and his family's response to the issue of gambling reveals. The exchanges between Lewisham and the Dartmouths are equally revealing. His parents purported to have a high confidence in Lewisham's moral conduct.²²⁷ Lewisham delighted them when he wrote from Vienna of his resolution to marry, live a 'Domestic' 'life of application' avoiding clubs and play, and contribute to the country's governance and improvement.²²⁸ Lewisham had already written of his refusal to play cards in Paris. This was couched as a robust act of defiance as he claimed that even the Princes of Blood could not 'make' him play.²²⁹ His letter from Vienna was

²²⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 26th-6th June 1741 and 15th-26th June 1741, Pococke's Journal.

²²⁷ See for example, SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 14th August 1775, Dartmouth, Sandwell, to Lewisham. With the exception of Pelham's letter, the tenor of Lewisham's correspondence with his peers seems to suggest this confidence was merited. See SRO, D(W)1778/V/892, 20th December 1775, J. Gooch, Christ Church College, to Lewisham; SRO, D(W)1778/V/878, 22nd April 1775, Jacob Reynardson, London, to Lewisham; SRO, D(W)1778/V/893, 1st January 1776, Jacob Reynardson, Holywell, to Lewisham; SRO, D(W)1778/III/363, 22nd December 1777, Thomas Pelham, second earl of Chichester, Vienna, to Lewisham.

²²⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10th November 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

²²⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 28th January 1776, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

similarly resistant.²³⁰ Encouraged by James Harris, the ambassador in Berlin, he laid out plans for a new club that would ‘stand in opposition to every other Club hitherto formed’ by explicitly upholding overt Christian principles as ‘a means of excluding a great deal of nonsense & absurdity.’²³¹ He hoped it would be highly popular but was concerned he would be placing himself ‘in an individual light’, suggesting a naïve awareness of his scheme’s limitations.²³²

Dartmouth cheered ‘How happy I am to hear you declare against Clubs & play! The former are the bane of domestic society, the latter of all Society, & happiness’.²³³ Yet his advice was tempered. Carefully worded to encourage his son, he wrote that he and Lady Dartmouth:

smiled at your plan of a club of yr own, it was a smile of approbation, because it shewed your good intention; if the smile might partly arise from doubt of the practicability, we soon found that you were not unapprised of that difficulty & admired your knowledge of the world.²³⁴

Like Yorke, Dartmouth’s response demonstrated a mingling of staunch morals balanced with a clear insight into the nature and dynamics of the elite world. Admitting that ‘it is very difficult to enjoy the benefits, without being exposed to inconveniences, he nevertheless felt that clubs had a convenience and purpose.’²³⁵ Clubs were an important setting for homosocial bonding, networking and, essentially, advancement.

Lewisham’s subsequent letters began an intriguing process of reconciling his moral standards to contemporary society. While he continued to dislike gambling, he resolved to oppose it, ‘if by nothing else, at least by my example’ – a rather more tempered stance than his earlier one.²³⁶ Equally, he began to assure his parents that he was ‘no enemy’ to ‘dissipation’:

²³⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10th November 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 16th December 1776, Dartmouth, [location unknown], to Lewisham.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 18th February 1777, Lewisham, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

I own I have a certain pleasure in Balls, assemblies, & all the Lusio Saeus[?] of life – not however so immoderate a one as to exclude more usefull occupations on the contrary I am persuaded that the former in moderation tempers & gives activity to the latter: it is one of those fillips[?], which nature stands in need of.²³⁷

Concluding to his mother, ‘I do not know whether you are of the same way of thinking...If I am wrong set me right, your advice seconded by a little experience of my own would be the most powerfull motive to make me change them for I hope that I steer as clear of prejudice & obstinacy as I can’.²³⁸ Lewisham’s question outlines a recurring confusion over how to properly reconcile his upbringing with the realities of the elite world and his own desires and enjoyment, under the guidance of his parents.²³⁹

The case study of moral hazards illustrates the complexity of the eighteenth-century elite world in terms of its understandings of sociability, masculinity and danger. The flexibility shown by the Dartmouth and Yorke families in response to moral dangers demonstrates how far families and individuals would go in order to ensure social acceptance and the furthering of socio-political contacts. This overarching impetus, alongside other crucial social dynamics, like the pressures placed upon young men seeking to gain acceptance and affirmation from other men, be they peers or admired Continental models, powerfully affected and formed attitudes to and engagement with danger and risk. As these examples begin to show, the elite cultural attitude to danger was not necessarily one of avoidance. Danger could form a source of pleasure or trial, but it could also be used and risked in the hope of substantial gain. As will be explored in subsequent chapters, danger frequently acted as a platform for certain masculine performances to be enacted, applauded and validated.

Conclusion

This chapter has established a number of key themes surrounding the Grand Tour and masculine formation that will be returned to throughout this thesis. The Grand Tour was an important coming of age ritual, where masculine identities were formed and proved within the context of wider society. In demonstrating the importance and dominance of the social agenda in the northern and central European branches of the Grand Tour’s itinerary, this chapter has shown how the Grand Tour was driven by sociability, social dynamics and an

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

overarching desire and pressure to be socially successful. Stemming from societal and family pressure to further underlying socio-political aims, a more intimate desire to impress and befriend the numerous individuals they observed and admired, and an impetus to establish a good public reputation, the Grand Tourists poured considerable time, effort and money into their social endeavours.

Moving through different social locations and spheres, the Grand Tour taught vital skills in sociability, adaptability and judgement. In acknowledging how the Grand Tour deliberately exposed its participants to a wide variety of social cultures, this chapter has outlined how this allows us to appreciate the fluid nature of elite social culture and masculine identity. As the rest of thesis will outline, through their social encounters on the Continent, Grand Tourists were exposed to different manifestations of elite masculinity. The following chapters will turn to consider the Grand Tourist's interactions with danger. Like Chapter One, they will uncover previously ignored itineraries, such as the martial and sporting. They will also draw upon the conclusions of this chapter in suggesting that the conjoined concerns of masculinity and sociability operated powerfully upon Grand Tourists and their attitudes and perceptions towards physical performance and danger. Young elite men were conscious of an unspoken understanding that one's peers were important in validating one's masculine and social standing. The following chapter explores the complex social dynamics at play in relation to homosocial friendships on the Grand Tour, contending that these relationships were central to the formation and consolidation of elite masculine identity in a manner that frequently encompassed risk.

Chapter 2. War and the Grand Tour

During his Grand Tour of c. 1777-78, Sir Francis Basset grasped the opportunity to observe active military operations by visiting the army 'in the field'. His visit was also social in nature. He was 'much acquainted' with Prince Leopold of Brunswick, a Prussian General in the War of Bavarian Succession (1778-79), and had come to enjoy a period of masculine sociability. One morning in 1778, while breakfasting at a mill, they were interrupted by five thousand Austrian Cossacks. Outnumbered, the Prussian army prepared to fight and were joined by Basset, who refused to leave despite Leopold urging him 'to go off while there was time to escape'. Placing himself in the ranks, Basset witnessed the dangers of war as 'Many were killed; the brains of a serjeant struck Him.' Fortunately the day was saved by a Prussian cavalry charge which broke the Austrian ranks and allowed the Prussian army to take two thousand prisoners.¹

Basset's Tour involved a highly intimate and dangerous experience of war. This substantially impacted upon his construction and assertion of elite masculinity to the extent that he was still recalling the anecdote over thirty years later. Accounts like this suggest that war, the military and their associated dangers had a central role within the eighteenth-century Grand Tour's culture and curriculum. The 'traditional divide between military and cultural history' in relation to masculine identities has been effectively challenged from a new military history perspective. Scholars like Catriona Kennedy and Gavin Daly have emphasised how military masculinities contained a dual identity of officer *and* gentleman, while Mathew McCormack has argued that the military, with its traditional association with the masculine elements of bravery, camaraderie, discipline and violence, should be an obvious topic of investigation for historians of masculinity.² This chapter challenges this divide from the other perspective by considering the role the martial played in aristocratic and gentry masculinity.

¹ Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington. Vol. X (July 1809 – December 1810)* ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: YUP, 1982), 3753.

² Catriona Kennedy, "John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British Army Officer during the Napoleonic Wars," in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830*, ed. Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 131-32; Gavin Daly, "Liberators and Tourists: British Soldiers in Madrid during the Peninsular War," in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: men of arms*, ed. Kennedy and Matthew McCormack (Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 125-26; David Bell, *The first total war: Napoleon's Europe and the birth of warfare as we know it* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2007), 23-24 also argues against this divide. McCormack, *Embodying the militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 2.

Recent research from tourism studies has highlighted the longevity and importance of war-related tourism, noting that war has attracted travellers for reasons of politics, novelty and enjoyment of risk.³ Scholars working on the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1802, 1803-15) have drawn attention to the role of military and revolutionary tourism, A. V. Seaton arguing that the intense interest surrounding the Battle of Waterloo formed the first 'tourist mega-attraction' centred on battlefields and death.⁴ Equally, the active nature of military tourism in the sixteenth and seventeenth century has also been noted. Most recently, John Towner has emphasised the strong touristic interest in military affairs from the 1500s to late 1600s, as well as the 'frisson of excitement' expressed by travellers during the French Revolutionary Wars. Yet when he analyses the eighteenth-century Grand Tour, Towner simply asserts that war 'was merely to be avoided'.⁵

Towner's assessment reasserts a traditional argument that contends that war stimulated post-conflict enthusiasm for travel and led to increased domestic travel, but that it was essentially an unwanted disruption in the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.⁶ This view rests on two scholarly assumptions. Firstly, an anachronistic application of the concept of total war, which assumes that any conflict rendered travel impossible and meant that British citizens abroad would be treated as hostile combatants. Military, diplomatic and cultural historians have since complicated this. The ever-present nature of eighteenth-century conflict and the fact that citizens held an uncertain legal status until the Napoleonic Wars meant that civilian travellers were not usually viewed as hostile enemies.⁷ While this conclusion has

³ Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, "Tourism and War: An Ill Wind?" in *Tourism and War*, ed. Butler and Suntikul (London: Routledge, 2013), 1-35.

⁴ A. V. Seaton, "War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:1 (1998), 130-58. See for example, Kennedy, "From the Ballroom to the Battlefield: British Women and Waterloo," in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820*, ed. Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 137-56.

⁵ John Towner, "The English tourist and war, 1500-1800," in *Tourism and War*, 50-1, 53, 58.

⁶ For the original assertion of this argument, see W. E. Mead, *The Grand Tours in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914) *viv*, 1, 103, 142; C. P. Brand's *Italy and the English Romantics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1957), 1-3, 8-9, 23; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European tourism, literature and the ways to culture* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 3, 6.

⁷ Bell, *First Total War*, 5; H. V. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 1, 3; Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688-1783*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 26; Stephen Conway, *War, State and Society in Mid-Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 1. See National Archives, SP 78/223, Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, France, May- August 1740, and SP 78/229, Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, France, April 1744-May 1747, for an interesting exchange between diplomats and ministers on the status of British nationals abroad during times of war.

been slow to filter into overarching narratives of travel history, scholars such as Rosemary Sweet and Brian Dolan have observed that travel continued throughout periods of war and even into the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, while Black asserts that the 'relationship between war and tourism was a complex and ambivalent one'.⁸ Towner similarly suggests through his analysis of Joseph Spence, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, Thomas Grey and Horace Walpole that contemporaries held a 'relaxed view' and simply altered their routes to avoid conflict.⁹

The second scholarly assumption presumes that 'the leisure classes were more interested in fine arts and manners' than in war and military matters.¹⁰ As briefly discussed in the Introduction, this is symptomatic of a wider scholarship that has consistently advocated that polite elite masculinity was 'civilised' and therefore non-violent or unmartial. J. G. A. Pocock has influentially argued that as national interest became increasingly defined by commercial and imperial enterprise and as the military, administrative and financial revolutions under William III removed the individual from direct participation in the state, elite leadership was no longer needed.¹¹ Correspondingly, 'Virtue was no longer direct and personal, valorous and honourable'.¹² Virtue, freedom and civic liberty was, according to Pocock, increasingly defined as freedom to pursue wealth, leisure, enlightenment and rights, which essentially became linked to a freedom *from* the obligation to bear arms.¹³

Subsequent scholars have affirmed this view, arguing that the military aspects of classical, Renaissance and courtly discourses was removed to fit a new modern commercial world and polite discourse.¹⁴ For example, David Fordyce's *Dialogues concerning education* (1745), a pedagogical tract structured around an imaginary English academy intent on

⁸ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 10-12; Brian Dolan, *Exploring European frontiers: British travellers in the age of Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1992), 166.

⁹ Towner, "Tourist and war," 51, 53.

¹⁰ Towner, "Tourist and war," 50-51, 53.

¹¹ J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: Volume 1, The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 100-09.

¹² *Ibid.*, 106.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 106-07.

¹⁴ See for example Laurence Klein, "Liberty, manners and politeness in early 18th Century England," *The Historical Journal* 32:3 (1989): 583-84; Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 27-28.

cultivating Enlightenment-led publicly-minded men, held up Sparta and Republican Rome as idealised models of virtue but explicitly devalued physical and martial exercises.¹⁵ War and other physical forms of combat were replaced with debating. This was a new forum where the virtues of courage, skill and endurance were displayed and honour won, and which, when done properly, induced a level of physical exhaustion comparable to wrestling.¹⁶ The ideals of classical republican citizens endured in political and cultural ideologies of masculinity, as did the ideal virtues of stoic manhood.¹⁷ But classical heroes like Achilles, Hector, and Ulysses were either rejected as abhorrent examples of cruelty or reconfigured into more appropriate forms.¹⁸ Vicesimus Knox, for example, reimagined Hector as a devoted father in a domestic setting.¹⁹

This chapter reassesses this argument, contending that warfare and martial culture played a central role in the Grand Tour and wider masculine identities and performances. The first section identifies the time dedicated to experiencing war and military culture, through academies, martial curricula and visits to military sites. Placing these curricula within the context of early modern and seventeenth-century precedents, this section argues that military sites and activities were simultaneously approached as touristic, social and educational attractions. While the educational and touristic (e.g. the opportunity to view and be entertained by spectacle) elements of travel bifurcated in the nineteenth century, this chapter suggests that in the context of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour they remained entangled.²⁰

¹⁵ David Fordyce, *Dialogues concerning education...* Vol. 1. (London: 1745), 29-30.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32, 67-8.

¹⁷ See for example McCormack, "Introduction," in *Public Men: masculinity and politics in modern Britain*, ed. McCormack (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 27; Francis Dodsworth, "Masculinity as Governance: police, public service and the embodiment of authority, c. 1700-1850," in *Public Men*, 34-35; William Stafford, "Gentlemanly masculinities as represented by the late Georgian Gentleman's Magazine," *History* 93:309 (2008), 59; Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), 25, 70, 102-04, 129; Cohen, "'Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 313.

¹⁸ Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art, 1750-1810* (New Haven, London: YUP, 2005), 6-8. See also Paul A. Rahe, "Antiquity Surpassed: The Repudiation of Classic Republicanism," in *Republicanism, liberty, and commercial society, 1649-1776*, ed. David Wootton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 239.

¹⁹ Carter, *Men*, 108-10.

²⁰ See Buzard, *Beaten Track* for discussions of how the two concepts separated in the nineteenth century.

The second section identifies the attitudes held by Grand Tourists and wider elite society in relation to the martial. It argues that martial virtues, abilities and bodies formed markers of successful elite masculine performance as martial leadership continued to be seen as a key elite responsibility. Correspondingly, the Grand Tour was seen as a serious opportunity to prepare for military leadership. In suggesting that the martial virtues of honour, courage and stoicism remained important in the construction and performance of elite masculinity, this section contends that the experience and confrontation of martial danger remained an important testing point which Tourists either had to willingly hazard or carefully negotiate.

The third section argues that Europe's martial societies and masculinities played an important role in encouraging the development of martial masculinities and virtues in British Grand Tourists. Through observing famous military men and armies, Tourists were inspired to emulation. Equally, friendships with individuals from martial cultures placed them in a culture which demanded military and physical masculine performances. This section examines how these expectations operated upon individual Grand Tourists, arguing that the experience of military danger remained a vital forum for proving one's masculine virtues.

The Martial Itinerary: Tourism, Sociability and Education

To paraphrase Karen Harvey, we find the polite gentleman in the eighteenth century because we look for him.²¹ Equally, we often do not find other masculinities because we choose not to search for them. This is undoubtedly the case when considering the martial aspects of eighteenth-century elite masculine identity and the Grand Tour. The Grand Tour contained a lively military itinerary that included elements that were touristic and educational, historic and contemporary, safe and highly dangerous. Like its social itinerary, it was at its most vivid outside of Italy, frequently focused upon northern and central Europe, and is prominent in archival sources.

The tendency of Grand Tourists to interpret the Italian landscape through classical texts has frequently been commented upon. However, the European landscape and townscape was also imagined in terms of its contemporary military history. Armouries and arsenals held the relics and trophies of military heroes. For example, in Vienna in 1778, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, was delighted to see the armour that Gustavus Adolphus was killed in, while John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, tried on Charles the Bold's armour

²¹ Karen Harvey, "The history of masculinity, circa 1650–1800," *The Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (2005): 311.

in Zurich's arsenal in 1763.²² Towns and cities were read in light of the conflicts they had endured. Following the Seven Years War, Dresden and Prague became famous for the destruction caused by the Prussian bombardment. Visiting four years after Dresden's bombardment and eight years after the siege of Prague, Holroyd observed that Prague's environs were still scarred.²³ One beautiful palace reminded him of a plum pudding because of 'the Prussian taste in placing their cannon balls...with all that beautiful irregularity'.²⁴ Dresden produced no laughter, as he 'was never so shocked & disgusted by the effects of the royal amusement War'.²⁵ Dresden resembled 'minced pyes [more] than Plum Pudding', and Holroyd disapprovingly noted that 'some Calamities of War are unavoidable, but a Goth can make distinguishing additions.'²⁶ Visiting over ten years after Holroyd, Yorke similarly 'walked about [Dresden]...to see the marks of the Bombardment the K. of Prussia treated the Town with'.²⁷ Both Tourists indicated that the marks of destruction on Dresden stood as a lasting criticism of the Prussian army's dishonourable conduct in destroying an urban space. While the French's extensive bombardment of Turin in 1706 during the War of Spanish Succession (1709-14) was the target of similar disapproval, Tourists and tutors used this and the subsequent repair work to praise Turin as an example of baroque town planning.²⁸ Comments on Turin's architecture led to Spence's reflections upon the conflict, the valour of Turin's resistance, the 'art of [Victor Amadeus II]' who decoyed the French into 'a wild goose chase', and the gallant Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose timely arrival 'obtained a complete victory'.²⁹

This interpretive lens extended beyond urban topographies. Specific sections of countryside were demarcated as battlefields, including Minden (1759), Aix la Chapelle (significant both as a battlefield and for the 1748 treaty), and Lobositz (1756). Equally, swathes of European landscape, such as "Germany" or the "Dutch Republic", were read

²² BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 163, 31st March 1778, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, Vienna, to Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10th November 1763, John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Mr Baker.

²³ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 10th, 17th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.

²⁸ "7th November 1739, Joseph Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence," in Joseph Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 227.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

predominantly in this light. Charles Legge, the younger brother of George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, felt Germany was so famous for its conflicts that his itinerary should be devoted to seeing 'most of the fields of battle, in that Part of Germany where we have been', while Holroyd reinterpreted the countryside between Vienna and Dresden as where 'the most remarkable Battles have been fought during the last two wars.'³⁰ Travelling with an Austrian officer, he ensured that he had a resource that allowed him to effectively interpret the landscape before him.³¹ Several tourists equipped themselves with military companions, human guides or printed plans as they visited battlefields or other sites. Yorke, for example, went over 'the Ground of the Battle of Prague in May 1756' with Major O'Sullivan, and a few days earlier had compared the terrain of the battle of Lobositz 'with the Plan we found it very exact.'³²

Just as Addison's *Travels* prompted the reader as to the relevant classical texts connected to the Italian landscape, these visits, guides and plans served as memory prompts that supplemented a greater store of knowledge. Identifiable reading habits, parental recommendations and book purchases placed a substantial emphasis upon European history and affairs. For example, in between studying political history at Leiden and 'modern history' in Vienna, Yorke read a book covering the 'history of the last war in Germany which...contains a number of Plans & Charts with descriptions of the different Battles & operations'.³³ The knowledge from books was combined with knowledge gleaned from having lived through the conflicts or through family, friends and tutors who took part in them. For example, Yorke's tour of the fortress of Susa and the town of Tortona, which was 'taken in the y. 1744 by Don Philip', was enhanced by his tutor, Colonel Wettstein, who was garrisoned there during the action.³⁴ Grand Tourists wanted to understand the political state of Europe. Alongside expanding their knowledge of the recent past, they kept abreast of the outcome of contemporary politics. False reports (like the 1741 reports on Cartagena or the 1779 'bombardment' of Plymouth'), for example, caused emotional reactions of triumph, horror or

³⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30th July 1776, Charles Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3rd Earl of Dartmouth; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 178, 3rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd.

³¹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 178, 3rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd.

³² BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 9th September, 25th, 27th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.

³³ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 45, 25th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke. See also BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 5, 10th January 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 29, 28th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 109, 21st November 1777, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 168, 15th April 1779, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.

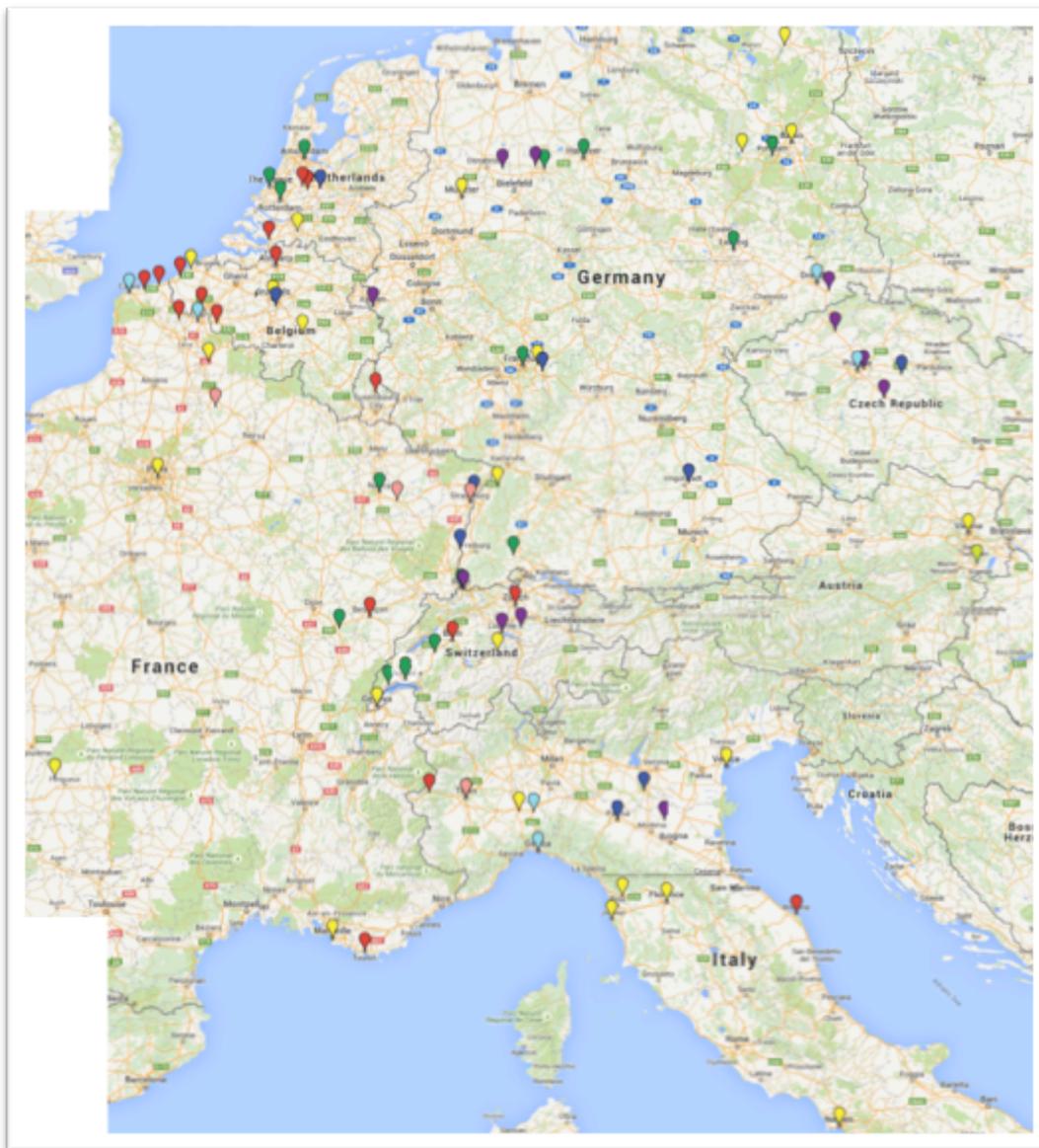
³⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 13th May, 9th September 1779, Yorke's Journal.

shame.³⁵ They had a voracious appetite for political and military affairs as letters were full of updates and demands for information. Even during times of peace it was unusual to find letters with absolutely no reference to politics and military activity. The process of reading land and townscapes in light of recent conflicts reflected this deep investment in Europe's immediate history and current politics.

As a part of this, they also took an active interest in Europe's current military state, busily viewing fortresses, defences, garrisons, arsenals and naval ports, assessing troops and reviews, meeting contemporary military commanders and visiting active camps, marches and battles. The itinerary of Lewisham and his brothers' Grand Tour in 1775-78 provides some insight into the levels of military activity that could take place. Lewisham's Tour began with a spontaneous attendance at a military review in Calais. En route to Paris, he toured Lille, 'the strongest fortress in France, & which was the object of our circuit'. He also saw arsenals, fortifications and garrisons at Douai, Saint-Omer, Lyons and various towns along the Loire. At Paris, his brother William was replaced by Charles, who was destined for the army. All three took riding, fencing and dancing lessons – the military ramifications of which will be discussed later in this chapter - and unsuccessfully attempted to view Brest's military ports. In the Dutch Republic, Lewisham and Charles saw the fortresses of Bergen-op-zoom and Breda. In Germany, they detoured to see the field of Minden, as well as other battlefields, and inspect the 'imaginative Fortification' in Hanau. They inspected the army in Brandenburg, with Charles writing an enthusiastic report to his parents of its strengths, numbers and structure, and attended several reviews of the Prussian army in Potsdam and the Austrian army in Prague.³⁶

³⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 12th September 1779, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke's Journal; "18th July 1741, Horace Walpole, Genoa, to Sir Horace Mann" and "23rd July 1741, Mann, Florence, to Walpole," in Horace Walpole, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, vol. 17 (New Haven: YUP, 1954), 92-93, 96.

³⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 20th July 1775, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, Paris, to Dartmouth; 31st July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth; 12th August 1775, Lewisham, Lyon, to Dartmouth; 16th August 1775, Lewisham, Upon the Loire, to Dartmouth; 29th March 1776, Lewisham, Rennes, to Dartmouth; 22nd December 1776, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth; 27th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth; 30th July 1776, Lewisham, Hanover, to Lady Dartmouth; 11th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; 4th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 26th November 1775, David Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30th July 1776, Charles Legge, Hanover, to Dartmouth; 14th August 1776, Charles Legge, New Brandenburg, to Dartmouth.



	Viewing static military sites, such as fortresses, fortifications, arsenals, defences and citadels
	Viewing troops, via attending military reviews, or inspecting garrisons and regiments
	Touring historical battlefields
	Sites where Grand Tourists combined viewing static military sites with viewing troops
	Sites where Grand Tourists combined viewing static military sites with viewing troops and observing damages caused by previous sieges and conflicts
	Viewing live camps, marches, musters and battles
	Military Schools visited/attended by Grand Tourists

Fig. 5. Map and key of sites where Grand Tourists engaged with military activity, c. 1730-80³⁷

³⁷ Please see Appendix 14 for a database of these sites, activities and Grand Tourists.

As Fig. 5. shows, Lewisham, William and Charles' itinerary and enthusiasm was not unusual. While Grand Tourists engaged with a wide variety of military activities and sites across Europe, the map shows a density of interest surrounding the French fortifications looking towards the English coast, alongside the famous fortifications of the Netherlands, the historical battlefields in Switzerland, the more recent battlefields in Germany, and an interest in the relatively accessible frontier lines between France, Germany and Switzerland. This military itinerary was stimulated by several influences. Firstly, as discussed above, it was a politically driven interest in the state of affairs in Europe, which was directly linked to their anticipated position within society and politics as Britain's future leaders. Secondly, it was stimulated by a touristic fascination with spectacle, which set a clear precedent for later practices of military tourism. Interpretive tools, like guides and plans, were very much in evidence, as was souvenir-collecting. Lewisham, for example, took a bullet and button from Minden as 'Curiosities'.³⁸ Descriptions of marches and reviews were often couched in the language of spectacle and entertainment. As early as 1707, Dr James Hay, tutor to James Compton, later 5th Earl of Compton described what was possibly the Duke of Marlborough's army mobilising for battle as 'this delightful sight'.³⁹ Likewise, Lewisham, Charles and David Stevenson's accounts of the 1776 Prague and Potsdam reviews emphasised 'the pleasure of seeing'.⁴⁰ Charles described a theatrical experience that elicited strong emotional responses. Influenced by sentimental discourses, Charles described how the atmosphere shifted from 'all Gaiety & pleasure' to melancholy sympathy, as the Hapsburg Emperor commemorated a Prussian general. This communicated 'a Bind of Sympathy... thro' the whole Field', which sent 'all the Spectators' 'Crying home'.⁴¹

Thirdly, these factors were combined with social considerations. As in Britain, military exercises and reviews were important events in society's calendar.⁴² Yorke emphasised how 'Everybody is running to see the Exercises' at The Hague, irrespective of

³⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30th July 1776, Charles Legge, Hanover, to Dartmouth.

³⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 38507 f. 15-16, 15th August 1707, Dr James Hay, Brussels, to George Compton, the 4th Earl of Northampton.

⁴⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 11th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 4th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 18th August 1776, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 19th September 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

⁴¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

⁴² See for example Scott Hughes Myerly's discussion of the craze for military reviews and spectacle in the Napoleonic Wars in *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars Through the Crimea* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 139-65.

their military understanding.⁴³ Equally, access to restricted military sites became opportunities to boast of one's social connections. During the escalation of sensitivities at the start of the Seven Years War, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond found that the Marshall Belle Isle's friendship allowed him to see 'many things which otherways I should not have done' in French Flanders, where by Belle Isle's orders 'I was show'd everything Fortifications mines & in short all I wanted to see'. Yorke, meanwhile, was able to see Vienna's arsenal, even during a period of war, because of Sir Robert Keith.⁴⁴ These sites were not always easily accessible to the public. Lewisham was, as noted earlier, banned from Brest. Holroyd similarly found that Paris' arsenal could not be seen without an order.⁴⁵ On the other hand, his visit to Minden was enhanced by Count de la Lippe's hospitality, who 'sent his aid de Camp & two others who had been at The Battle of Minden to attend me & explain particulars, I found his Horses also in readiness to be mounted when I came to the field of Battle'.⁴⁶ Richmond, Yorke and Holroyd boasted of their social success and connections through the hospitality they received in connection to military tourism.

Finally, the Grand Tourist's engagement with military tourism formed a substantial part of the Grand Tour education. Tourists approached the observational aspect of their military curriculum seriously. They used their time viewing armouries, fortresses and reviews to measure a country's current military strength, to exercise their skills in weighing up men and to be inspired by the example of famous military commanders. For example, George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey, observed during his tour of Berlin's armoury that it was almost empty, as Frederick the Great was using all he had in the Seven Years War.⁴⁷ Charles Legge exercised his judgement after the Prague and Potsdam reviews, writing:

I was particularly pleased to see the Austrians as it enables me to make the Comparison between the Austrians, Prussians and our own the Austrians are certainly well disciplined & fight as if they were attached to their Master the Prussians thro' Fear & the English for Old England but for parade Troops the English certainly bear the belle.⁴⁸

⁴³ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 43, 16th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 45, 25th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.

⁴⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32734 f. 81, 25th January 1754, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Leyden, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 28th March 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁴⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 11th July 1763, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.

⁴⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 187, 10th January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Holroyd.

⁴⁷ LMA, Acc. 510/254, George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey's Journal, 39.

⁴⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

While Legge's assessment was unoriginal and strongly prejudiced, it was seriously done. Equally, Grand Tourists approached historic battlefields as an opportunity to learn more about the art and reality of war, often closely examining the field and comparing how the various tactics and manoeuvres of the battle played out. Yorke often sought to get an overview of the terrain, riding, for example, to the Mountain of Chiska in order to see the battlefield of Prague from above.⁴⁹ He typically indicated that he and his companions were already aware of the movements of the battle, and sought to trace those movements on to the landscape, using either the verbal account of guides or the visual and written information of maps and plans. For example, riding past the field of Pima, he noted where the King of Prussia had camped and where he had taken the Austrian army prisoner.⁵⁰ He also made practical notes on where the terrain had surprised him, such as an historic battlefield in Switzerland which 'seems a most horrid' place for fighting' on account of its steep terrain.⁵¹ Evidently, 'seeing the Country, & the Ground of the Operation of the two armies' formed an important part of Yorke's visualisation of battles.⁵²

Despite the use of sentimental or emotive language elsewhere in their travel writings, Grand Tourists did not typically write about battlefields in this style. This was in contrast to the emotionally charged accounts of Waterloo, or accounts from earlier in the century by non-military travellers, such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Travelling over the field of Carlowitz (1699) in 1717, she wrote:

The marks of that Glorious bloody day are yet recent, the field being strew'd with the Skulls and Carcasses of unbury'd Men, Horses and Camels. I could not look without horror on such numbers of mangled humane bodys, and reflect [sic.] on the Injustice of War, that makes murder [sic.] not only necessary but meritorious.⁵³

While Wortley Montagu's account was dominated by horror-fuelled reflections, Grand Tourists consistently sought to present professional reflections that drew the past into the present. This was achieved through the presence of military officers, in the capacity of guides

⁴⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 27th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.

⁵⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 24th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.

⁵¹ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 22nd June 1779, Yorke's Journal.

⁵² BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 24th, 25th, 27th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.

⁵³ Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 1., 305.

or tutors, who had often fought in the battles themselves.⁵⁴ Reviews could also mingle the recent past with the present. The Potsdam review attended by Lewisham and Charles re-enacted the Battle of Prague in 1757, 'as it ought to have been defended'.⁵⁵ Based on actual events, it used the same terrain as well as men who had fought in the original battle.⁵⁶ This complex shifting between past and present, memory and reality, was important. As will be discussed, the Prague review was simultaneously a lesson, a conscious commemoration and glorification of recent military history, and reveals the active role of established military men in handing down their martial values and experiences to younger generations.

Past battles were actively used as educational tools and became examples to learn from. This process ensured that Tourists viewed terrains, reviews and fortresses not with a detached or sentimental historicised understanding, but with the knowledge that military conflict and leadership could become a reality for them. The Legges' tutor, Stevenson, and a family friend, Colonel Fawcett, both believed that Charles would benefit from observing the Prague and Potsdam reviews. The experience would feed his 'Thirst after military knowledge' through seeing 'some of the finest, & best-disciplin'd Troops in the Universe'.⁵⁷ Equally, Herbert and his tutors were firmly instructed that as 'the Ld: Herbert had now an Infantry Commission, He is to get into the Cavalry, & be a Horse Officer. Attend therefore particularly to Manoeuvres of Troops on Horseback'.⁵⁸ Wherever possible, they were expected to 'Attend Parades, Exercises, & Artillery Parcs'.⁵⁹ Mingling entertainment, spectacle and lessons, viewing fortresses and military reviews clearly held a touristic, social and educational appeal.

Having begged George II to give him a Cornet in his father's old regiment during his own Grand Tour, Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, tailored his son's 1775-80 Grand

⁵⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 9th September 1778, Yorke's Journal; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 178, 3rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 187, 10th January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Holroyd.

⁵⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 18th August 1776, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 19th September 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/896, 30th July 1776, Colonel Fawcett, Hanover, to Dartmouth.

⁵⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/278, 1776, "Instructions".

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Tour to ensure he was fit 'for a military line of life.'⁶⁰ Alongside attending as many military events as possible, Herbert attended the military academy in Strasbourg and the *Accademia Reale* in Turin. An extensive memorandum and a two-week timetable written by his parents for his stay in Strasbourg gives a greater insight into the focus and curricula undertaken by eighteenth-century Grand Tourists at these academies (see Fig. 6.).

Occupation	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Occupation	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	
Geography	7		7		7		3	Geography	7		7		7		3	
Dancing	5				5		2	Dancing	5				5		2	
Tennis			5				2	Tennis			5				2	
Latin	9 6 10	9 6 11	9 6 10	9 6 11			3	Latin	9 6 10	9 6 11	9 6 11				3	
History	5 6 10	5 6 10	5 6 10	5 6 10			3	History	5 6 10	5 6 10	5 6 10	5 6 10			3	
Riding	10	10	x	10	x	10	x	4	Riding	10	10	x	10	x	10	x
Music	11		11		11		4	Music	11		11		11		4	
Fencing		11		11			2	Fencing		11		11			2	
Shooting & Mark	12			12			2	Shooting & Mark	12			12			2	
English or History	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	English or History	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	
German	3	3	3	3	3	3	6	German	3	3	3	3	3	3	6	
Drawing	5		4				2	Drawing	5		4				2	
Mathematics		5		5		3	3	Mathematics		5		5		3	3	
Parade						12	1	Parade						12	1	

Fig. 6. A two-week daily timetable, written by Herbert's parents in 1776, for his stay in Strasbourg⁶¹

Herbert's timetable at Strasbourg incorporated a wide range of subjects that reflected the widespread aims of elite education. Attended by a scholar and a military officer as tutors, he learnt Italian, German, Latin and Greek, Music, the 'Use of the Globes', Geography ('with Maps'), History, Astronomy, 'English Poets', Voltaire, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Law of Nature and Eden's Penal Law.⁶² His studies also contained a heavy focus upon physical activities and upon the theoretical and professional dimensions of the military. This rigorous curriculum included riding, fencing ('chiefly with the left hand'), dancing, tennis, 'Shoot with

⁶⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 32728 f. 350, 22nd July 1752, Newcastle, Hanover, to Lady Pembroke; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert; Matthew McCormack, "Dance and drill: polite accomplishments and military masculinities in Georgian Britain," *Cultural and Social History* 8:3 (2011), 325-26.

⁶¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/278, 1776, "Instructions".

⁶² *Ibid.*

Bulldog & Pistols with Floyd', and swimming.⁶³ It also involved 'mathematicks', drawing, fortifications and parade, alongside 'Raising Plans, observe Artillery &c, & all kinds of Figures & Accounts-keeping'.⁶⁴ At Turin, this continued, as Herbert took drawing and 'fortification of the Town (theory and practice)'.⁶⁵

As Kennedy has outlined, scholars have argued that most elite commissioned officers began their education when they joined their regiment. While Continental officers were becoming increasingly professionalised and undertaking a more scientific schooling in the arts of war, the British army continued to stress personal comportment and gentility as an officer was judged on 'who he was not what he had learnt or achieved'.⁶⁶ Herbert's Grand Tour curriculum suggests that scholars need to revise this understanding of the education of officers. In her analysis of the curriculum undertaken by officers at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, which was based upon the curricula taught at military academies in France and Germany, Ann Bermingham observes that it involved subjects that broached the technical 'know-how' necessary to commanding a professional army. These included fortifications, artillery, mathematics, geography, drawing, architecture, topography and perspectives, which developed skills in surveying and the making of military maps.⁶⁷ Herbert's curriculum closely matches this, demonstrating that the Grand Tour not only catered towards the formation of the military body, through dancing, fencing, riding and drill work, but also addressed the intellectual and technical skills necessary.

Herbert's curriculum not only highlights the presence of military matters in the more formal educational aspects of the Grand Tour, it also helps us to reconsider our understanding of the academies. The academy was central to the Grand Tour and the elite formation it offered. Created for elite young men, they were strongly influenced by national and transnational concepts of elite masculine education and formation. Tourists attended academies across Europe, but the academies in Paris and Turin's famous 'Ecole militaire...pour l'éducation de la jeune Noblesse', the *Accademia Reale*, were the most

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 23rd January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

⁶⁶ Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 46.

⁶⁷ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to draw: studies in the cultural history of a polite and useful art* (New Haven: YUP, 2000), 80, 83-84.

popular.⁶⁸ Scholars working on the British Grand Tour have frequently characterised the ethos of eighteenth-century academies as exclusively polite particularly as the activities they taught - riding, fencing and dancing⁶⁹ - tend to be identified as 'polite or gentlemanly accomplishments'.⁷⁰ This misinterprets and neglects important aspects of the academy and these skills. As Richard Ansell has observed, the academies included physical and intellectual pursuits, and politeness formed but one part of its aims.⁷¹ Throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, riding, fencing and dancing were also strongly associated with martial skill and culture. For example, in France and Britain, dancing was an embedded aspect of military training and culture.⁷² Georgian military and dancing masters emphasised

⁶⁸ Spence, *Letters*, 227n1.

⁶⁹ For example in the 1730s-40s, all three of Joseph Spence's charges undertook dancing, riding and fencing. Charles Sackville, Lord Middlesex spent five months at Dijon in 1731 (Spence, *Letters*, 38), John Trevor spend four months at Blois in 1737 (Spence, *Letters*, 205), and Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln spend eleven months at the *Academia Reale* in Turin in 1739 (Spence, *Letters*, 226, 230, 234, 437). Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray and Henry Seymour Conway were at an academy in Rheims, and Conway went on to attend an academy in Genoa ("20th July 1739, Horace Walpole, Rheims, to Richard West" in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 179-80; Appendix 2). In the 1740s, John Douglas was sent by his father to France in 1742 to learn 'French, & improve myself in Dancing & c.' (BL, Egerton 2181, John Douglas' Short Autobiography, 1776-1796). In 1748, he was bearleader to Lord Pultney, heir to the Earl of Bath, who had riding, fencing and dancing masters while he was at the University of Leipzig (BL, Eg. 2182, f. 12, 23rd November 1748, Lord Bath, Bath, to Douglas). In 1752, Richmond described his curriculum in Geneva, which began with 'Riding, Fencing' (BL, Add. Ms. 32726 f. 145, 18th February 1752, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle). His younger brother, destined for the army, was in an academy in Paris. (BL, Add. Ms. 32725, f. 223, 8th October 1751, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle). In the same year, North and Dartmouth described dancing and fencing in Vienna (BL, Add. Ms. 32729 f. 128-29, 30th August 1752, North, Vienna, to Newcastle). Even Edward Gibbon begged for dancing, riding and fencing tutors in 1755 in Lausanne (BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 5, 1st March 1755, Gibbons, Lausanne, to Gibbon). In the 1760s, Holroyd enthusiastically described riding and dancing as part of his daily routine (BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 124-25, 29th July 1763, Holroyd, Paris, to Rev Dr Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 136, 19th December 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker). In the 1770s, Lewisham's Grand Tour included several months at Tours, Paris and Vienna, and undertook fencing, dancing and riding in each. (SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 28th August 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 20th September 1775, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 22nd December [1775], Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth; 10th November 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth). Herbert's stay in Strasbourg and Turin included riding, fencing and dancing (WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/278, 1776, "Instructions"; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 23rd January 1780, Herbert's Journal).

⁷⁰ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 42, 44-45, 55-56; Cohen, "Manners," 322.

⁷¹ Richard Ansell, "Irish Protestant Travel to Europe, 1660-1727," (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2013), 223, 225, 231.

⁷² H el ene Guilcher and Jean-Michel Guilcher, "L'Enseignement Militaire de la Danse et les Traditions Populaires," *Arts et traditions populaires* 1:3 (1970): 273-328; McCormack, "Dance and drill: polite accomplishments and military masculinities in Georgian Britain," *Cultural and Social History* 8:3 (2011): 317, 323.

dance and drill's shared origins and aims of contributing towards an intense bodily cultivation that was 'specifically tasked with preparing men's bodies for war', as well as a means of attaining the graceful movements of politeness.⁷³ This was recognised by Tourists and their parents. For example, Pembroke was insistent that Herbert 'be really very constant, & attentive to riding, Fencing, & Dancing sans relache' during his stay at the *Accademia Reale* give 'some attention to person, & Grace, as Ld Chesterfield recommends' and thus complete his martial education.⁷⁴

Equally, Paola Bianchi's recent work on Turin's *Accademia Reale* in the eighteenth century has argued that academies can best be defined as "Ritterakademien", a knightly or chivalric academy that emerged from older chivalric and Renaissance educational traditions and drew upon combined Germanic, French and Italian influences.⁷⁵ The *Accademia Reale* was part of a wider surge of like-minded academies throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many were founded in France and Germany by leading princes and aristocrats. They provided wide-ranging curricula that equipped the nobleman for the normal span of aristocratic careers, which were consistently understood to include the military.⁷⁶ Like other academies, the *Accademia Reale* offered training in court ritual, diplomatic and military skills.⁷⁷ Its direct connections to a court of military and diplomatic importance created a unique opportunity to enter into the upper echelons of aristocratic society and observe these skills in action. This directly echoed older practices of placing young males with courtly households.⁷⁸ When it was first opened in 1678, its curriculum prioritised physical and military exercises (dancing, vaulting, horse riding, simulation of battles and attacks on

⁷³ McCormack, "Dance and Drill," 320-22, 324, 326.

⁷⁴ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

⁷⁵ Paola Bianchi, "La caccia nell'educazione del gentiluomo. Il caso sabauda (sec. XVI-XVIII)," in *La caccia nello Stato sabauda I. Caccia e cultura (secc. XVI-XVIII)*, ed. Bianchi and Pietro Passerin d'Entrèves (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2010), 19; Bianchi, "Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento, di," in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI-XIX)*, ed. Marco Bellabarba and Jan Paul Niederkorn (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010), 135-36, 140, 152-53.

⁷⁶ J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (London: Fontana, 1985), 144-45, 148; Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early-Modern Europe, 1495-1715* (London: Routledge, 1992), 42, 256; Bianchi, "Una Palestra," 137-38; Mark Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat: the education of court nobility, 1580-1715* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 127, 123-24, 132-34, 139.

⁷⁷ Bianchi, "Una palestra," 135, 145.

⁷⁸ Bianchi, "Una Palestra," 135-36, 140, 145, 152-53; Bianchi, "La caccia," 19.

strongholds), alongside mathematics, Italian, French, geography and history.⁷⁹ Its training was effective. Many of its alumni became important military commanders, diplomats, politicians and courtiers across Europe.⁸⁰ The British were part of this. For example, Lincoln spent October 1739 to September 1740 at the *Accademia Reale* and enjoyed his time there so much that he requested he might extend his stay so ‘that I might make some real progress in my exercises’.⁸¹ Lincoln’s extended stay enabled him to imbibe and refine a sense of martial honour, while his uncle, Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle’s permission gave a tacit indication that this blend of courtly, chivalric and martial learning was considered necessary, fashionable and polite.

The Grand Tour’s military education offered a spectrum of involvement that ranged from classroom and academy learning, which attended to martial theory and skill, and visiting safe or stable military sites, such as fortresses, arsenals, reviews and historical battlefields, to the opportunity to observe live unsafe sites, such as active camps and battle, which led Tourists close to actual conflict and could culminate in active participation in battle. In 1707, Compton’s engagement with Marlborough’s army meant he and his friends were nearly caught up in a skirmish.⁸² Equally, in 1734, Richard Pococke reported that various Grand Tourists, such as Sir Hugh Smithson and Sir Harry Lydall, visited the French army near Mantua during the War of Polish Succession (1733-38). Pococke also noted that Simon Harcourt, 1st Earl Harcourt, had deliberately remained in Parma in order to witness the Battle of Parma from the ramparts.⁸³ In 1743, Richard Aldworth spent several days with the army of Austrian commander Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine. Hosted by Baron Franz von der Trenck, commander of the Austrian paramilitary Pandurs unit, and the Dutch commander, Prince Karl August Friedrich of Waldeck and Pyrmont, Aldworth was very conscious that the army was extremely close to the enemy:

We wanted to approach the Place where they had thrown over a Bridge to the Island but they swore if we did, the French that we saw just on the other Side of the River, w’d certainly shoot at us, on which we very prudently kept back⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Bianchi, “Una palestra,” 140-41; Bianchi, “La caccia,” 29-30.

⁸⁰ Bianchi, “Una palestra,” 146-48.

⁸¹ “25th November 1739, Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle,” in Spence, *Letters*, 226, 230.

⁸² BL, Add. Ms. 38507 f. 15-16, 15th August 1707, Hay, Brussels, to Northampton.

⁸³ BL, Add. Ms. 22987 f. 87, 12th June 1734, Pococke, Milan, to Mrs Pococke.

⁸⁴ Berkshire RO, Ms. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville’s Grand Tour Journal, 1743-44.

This practice of visiting armies active in the field and of watching conflicts continued throughout the century, as the example of Basset demonstrates, and eventually evolved into the military and revolutionary tourism of the 1790s and early nineteenth century.

These Tourists deliberately risked the danger of physical harm and being caught up in the conflict. In Basset's case, this risk became a reality. Basset was not a unique case. A number of eighteenth-century Grand Tourists travelled with the explicit intention of fighting. This practice was known as gentleman or military volunteering. A 1702 *Military Dictionary* defined "Volunteer" as 'gentlemen, who without having any certain post or employment in the forces under command, put themselves upon warlike expeditions and run into dangers only to gain honour and preferment.'⁸⁵ Discussions as to when and where Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock and later 1st Duke of Portland, should volunteer dominated his Grand Tour correspondence in 1701-03.⁸⁶ In 1704, Lord Huntingdon was similarly undecided as to whether or not to engage while visiting Hanover.⁸⁷ In the 1740s, Newcastle begged Lincoln, 'I hope you will not be so mad (pardon the expression) as to think of making a campaign'.⁸⁸ Around the same time, William Windham's behaviour and purchase of a Hussar uniform led to an enduring rumour that he might have volunteered with the Austrian army.⁸⁹ In contrast to these unsubstantiated rumours, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's notoriously problematic son volunteered in 1742, as did Windham's friend, George Townshend, 1st Marquis Townshend.⁹⁰ Townshend's Tour (1742-45) had a very specific military focus. He was 'presented by his father at St. James' Court as he was to serve the Campaign in Germany as a Volunteer'. He then fought at the Battle of Dettingen, 'visited the Austrian Army on the Rhine' and went to Switzerland, Besançon and Paris.⁹¹ All three locations had distinct military attractions. Paris had various military academies, Switzerland used a civic militia model of

⁸⁵ *A Military Dictionary Explaining all Difficult Terms in Martial Discipline, Fortifications and Gunnery...by an Officer* (London, 1702), quoted in Roger Manning, *Swordsmen: the martial ethos in the three kingdoms* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 104.

⁸⁶ See for example, King's Meadow Manuscripts and Special Collections, the University of Nottingham, Ms. Pw A 1057, 17th March 1701, Paul de Rapin de Thoyras, [unknown location], to Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland.

⁸⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 40862 V. I, 9th September [1704], Metcalf Robinson, Geneva, to [his father].

⁸⁸ "16th March 1740/41, Newcastle, London, to Lincoln," in Spence, *Letters*, 366.

⁸⁹ John Shackleton, "William Windham II (1717-1761) in the Uniform of a Hussar" (jpeg image of portrait, Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1742-1767).

⁹⁰ Wortley Montagu, *Complete Letters*, vol. 2., 273.

⁹¹ National Army Museum, Ms. 6806-41-1-2, George Townsend's Autobiographical Account of his Life, 1, 5.

defence and Besançon had an excellent example of Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban's most recent citadel fortifications. 'War was declared against England – He then went to the Hague where He projected the raising of a Regiment of two Battalions of Irish for the Service of the States'.⁹² Much to his disgust, this idea failed and he returned to England. As Townshend's Grand Tour suggests, military volunteering was deemed an educational activity. Attending live camps and battles was an opportunity to observe the military in practice, while participating was a more extreme opportunity to refine military skills. In 1754, Richmond wrote to Newcastle, asking if he could attend Admiral Keppel's military expedition to America as a volunteer. Richmond believed that it would be a great opportunity to see service and to learn more about the military profession, stating 'I am persuaded it would also be very instructive'.⁹³

The martial aspects of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour owed a great deal to the pedagogical theory and military practices of the seventeenth-century Grand Tour, which encompassed the use of academies and the practice of military volunteering. This in turn was inherited from mingled courtly elite educational practices and cultures and the pervasive influence of the Renaissance. Reaching the height of its influence in the sixteenth century, Renaissance humanism promoted civic life and virtues via the application of classical antiquity in almost every field, and powerfully impacted the theory and practice of elite education.⁹⁴ Within this, Renaissance humanist educators advocated martial education.⁹⁵ Pierpaolo Vergerio, whose *On noble customs and liberal studies of youth* (1402-03) was one of the most widely read and influential educational works in Renaissance Europe, argued that bodily exercise, especially training for war, was essential for good citizenship.⁹⁶ Youths should learn the art of a wide range of weapons, and:

be ready for combat hand to hand or in troops, in the headlong charge or in skirmish. We cannot forestall the realities of war, its sudden emergencies, or its vivid terrors, but by training and practice we can at least provide such preparation as the case admits.⁹⁷

⁹² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹³ BL, Add. Ms. 32737 f. 181, 19th October 1754, Richmond, Vienna, to Lord Albemarle.

⁹⁴ Gerhard Oestreich, Brigitta Oestreich and Helmut Georg Koenigsberger (ed), *Neostoicism and the early modern state* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 1.

⁹⁵ Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and London: YUP, 2000), 2, 28-29.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁹⁷ Pierpaolo Vergerio, *De ingenious moribus* (Rome, 1475?), quoted in Anglo, *Martial Arts*, 29.

Advice frequently advocated that training move onto the actual battlefield. For example, Pietro Aretino advised a young nobleman in 1549 that, 'I consider it of little importance or none that Your Excellency has set yourself to studying treatises and compendiums upon the art of war. A man of your talents and your valour should rather have some great captain for his instructor...You should study and consider things military in actual warfare and not in the classroom.'⁹⁸

Seventeenth-century conduct literature, such as the works of Henry Peacham, James Howell and Jean Gailhard, continued to operate from this basic premise. Gailhard contended that 'tis well for every one to know how to defend his King and Country, how to repulse a Foreign Enemy, or how to disturb others at home, when our Princes think fit so to do', as 'Kingdoms be not ever gotten or preserved by the Sword, yet without it they cannot be maintained'.⁹⁹ Correspondingly, these authors often highlighted the Grand Tour as the best institution through which martial skills and experience could be honed. By 1650, Howell's *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell* included martial exercises, observation and participation in his Grand Tour curriculum. Exercises, ideally to be undertaken in Paris, here identified as a centre of martial masculinity, involved attending an academy and being 'taught to Ride, to Fence, to manage Arms, to Dance, Vault, and ply the Mathematiques'.¹⁰⁰ He echoed Aretino's advice, recommending the Netherlands and the court of Brussels as 'the very Cockpit of Christendom, the Schoole of Armes, and the Rendevous of all adventurous Spirits, and Cadets, which makes most Nations of Europe beholden to them for Soldiers', arguing that a visit to a military court and any armies in motion was 'time well spent'.¹⁰¹ Writing in 1678, Gailhard's ideal Grand Tour curriculum included fencing and riding as 'a necessary Exercise, upon the skill of which often depends a mans life, either in a single, or more general fight' and suitable for those 'who have a martial spirit'.¹⁰² Martial and physical exercise, such as running, wrestling, leaping, 'Vaulting, Trailing the Pike, spreading Colors, handling the Halbard, or the two handed Sword', also featured prominently as 'of a great use in War, because they fit the body for hardship'.¹⁰³ Gailhard also suggested that Grand Tourists should

⁹⁸ Quoted in Hale, *War and Society*, 145.

⁹⁹ Jean Gailhard, *The compleat gentleman...* (London, 1678), 86, 139.

¹⁰⁰ James Howell, *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell...* (London, 1650), 26-8.

¹⁰¹ Howell, *Forren Travell*, 87-88.

¹⁰² Gailhard, *compleat gentleman*, 46, 50.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

always inquire into an area's terrain and the physical hardiness of the men. This knowledge would be useful if one had to command or fight armies composed of similar men.¹⁰⁴

As Roger Manning and John Stoye have observed, this advice was mirrored by actual practice. Between 1650-1700 over half of all British peers saw military action. In 1700 alone, a total of 211 out of 408 titled peers either volunteered or were part of the military.¹⁰⁵ The seventeenth-century Grand Tour played a substantial role in facilitating opportunities to volunteer. Grand Tourists undertook martial training in France and travelled to the Netherlands in order to visit, or volunteer to fight with, the Dutch and Spanish armies.¹⁰⁶ Even the less martially minded were expected to participate, however briefly. For example, John Evelyn was 'receiv'd a Voluntéere' for around ten days in August 1641.¹⁰⁷ As Manning argues, volunteering allowed young men to gain their first experience of battle, siege and camp, to imbibe values, tactics and culture from experienced commanders, and to undertake 'a necessary rite of passage to seek out danger and verify their honour both on the battlefield and the field of honour.'¹⁰⁸ It was an elite social convention that gave full initiation into manhood. Even those who only attended the battlefield temporarily displayed bravery under fire, demonstrating and validating their courage and honour in acts of martial bravery.¹⁰⁹ British practices reflected wider European practice. Both the *Kavalierstour*, the German equivalent of the Grand Tour, and the French version included the chance to partake as an *aventurier* in military conflicts.¹¹⁰

The martial dimension of the Renaissance found further expression in the neo-stoic movement, begun by the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius' 1574 translations of Epictetus and

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁰⁵ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁶ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 8; John Stoye, *English travellers abroad, 1604-1667* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 110, 112-6, 128, 133; See also Michael G. Brennan (ed), *The Origins of the Grand Tour* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2004), 25, 67.

¹⁰⁷ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. De Beer (London: OUP, 1959), vol. 2., 175, 526.

¹⁰⁸ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 8-9, 36, 105; Stoye, *English travellers*, 12, 39-40, 177, 187-92.

¹⁰⁹ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 105; David R. Lawrence, "Reappraising the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Soldier: Recent Historiography on Early Modern English Military Culture," *History Compass*, 9:1 (2011): 19, 21-22.

¹¹⁰ Tallett, *War and Society*, 43; Ronald Asch, *Nobilities in Transition, 1550-1700: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2003), 57.

Tacticus. This resulted in the “Netherlands Movement”, which rapidly spread across Europe. Led by Lipsius’ student, Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, it emphasised disciplined national activity, constancy, devotion to duty and emotional self-control. Integrally connected to Prince Maurice’s military reforms, it drew upon classical examples, advocating a severe, controlled and stoical manliness.¹¹¹ The movement resulted in the Netherlands’ army becoming one of the leading military forces in Europe and formed a key ‘school of war’ to be visited by early modern Grand Tourists. It also exerted an enduring influence upon European nobility and military. For example, Manning argues that throughout the seventeenth century the French *nobles d’épée* continued to centre their culture, values, morals and professional ethics upon neostoicism.¹¹² They in turn influenced the seventeenth-century British aristocracy who increasingly turned to the French on matters of masculinity, education and military.¹¹³ Throughout the seventeenth century, British conduct literature continued to reflect an education, culture and masculinity that highly valued the martial, Renaissance learning and courtly manners. As Gent B. B., writing in 1678, argued, ‘Letters and Arms should not only accord, but be inseparably conjoyn’d.’¹¹⁴ In the eighteenth century, the continuation of the martial neo-stoic influence was most visible in Prussian aristocratic culture and military practice.¹¹⁵ Yet at the same time, scholars examining French aristocracy have emphasised the mingling of military honour and social grace.¹¹⁶ For example, Bell uses Armand-Louis de Gontaut, the Duc de Lauzun, as an effective illustration of how French aristocrats simultaneously inhabited the royal court, the urban centres of fashion and Enlightenment, and the military campaign.¹¹⁷ If seventeenth and eighteenth-century aristocratic French society is perceived to have had a strong influence on its British equivalent, this martial dimension needs to be taken into account, particularly as the perceived tension between refined and martial behaviour can be overstated.

¹¹¹ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 76, 120; Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, 29, 35, 79.

¹¹² Manning, *Swordsmen*, 31, 76-77, 120

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹¹⁴ Gent B. B., *The young gentlemen way to honour...* (London, 1678), 21, 77-78, 106.

¹¹⁵ Edgar Melton, “The Prussian Junkers, 1600-1786,” in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Volume Two: Northern, Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. H.M. Scott (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 86-87. Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, 86-87, 125-26; Anglo, *Martial Arts*, 28-29; Manning, *Swordsmen*, 31, 76-77, 120; Motley, *French Aristocrat*, 124-25

¹¹⁶ Motley, *French Aristocrat*, 10; Julian Swann, “The French Nobility, 1715-1789,” in *European Nobilities*, 167-68.

¹¹⁷ Bell, *First Total War*, 21-24.

To return to the Grand Tour's military curriculum, this section has highlighted the prevalence of military education, through the formal training provided at academies. This emphasised a physicality that went beyond elegant polite movements to more martial exertions and an engagement with the more theoretical and technical aspects of the military. Military education was also conducted through observing, attending and sometimes participating in military sites and activities. There was a strong continuity between early modern and eighteenth-century practices. Within this, there evidently was a degree of change. Most significantly, in the seventeenth century, observing and volunteering formed two parts of a cohesive whole. As the eighteenth century progressed, volunteering appeared to become a far less typical part of the Grand Tour. Most of the Grand Tourists examined here laid considerable emphasis upon visiting military sites and receiving other forms of military education, but did not volunteer. Certainty, it did not form a rite of initiation to the extent that Manning argues for the early modern period. However, it must be noted that very little research has been done on the eighteenth-century practice of volunteering. Manning has suggested that as the army became more structured and professionalised, volunteering became more difficult to accommodate, but also hypothesises that the practice was far more common in the first half of the eighteenth century than scholars have supposed.¹¹⁸ For example, Townshend was presented to the king as a volunteer but typically defined his rank as 'additional aide de camp'.¹¹⁹ Thus more volunteers may have existed but under different terminology.

As the next two sections will explore, while participation in the dangers of battle was no longer a standardised requirement, there remained an enduring perception that the military was a fundamentally important aspect of elite masculine culture and identity. Because of that, the line between observation and participation remained extremely fragile as the Grand Tour encompassed the possibility for full encounters with military danger.

'Military Mad': British Elite Martial Masculinities

The Grand Tour's military curriculum indicates a need to reassess the importance of the martial in British elite cultures of masculinity and identity. As Henry French and Mark Rothery observe, masculine virtues, values and expectations were rarely verbalised by families and have to be discerned from related discourses and correspondence.¹²⁰ The

¹¹⁸ Manning, *Swordsmen*, 107.

¹¹⁹ NAM, Ms. 6806-41-1-3, "MS list of Townshend's Commissions, 1745-73".

¹²⁰ Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1660-1900* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 236, 238.

following section explores Grand Tourists' attitudes toward the military within the context of the expectations and pressures from families and wider elite society. It argues that elite society perceived military leadership as part of their rights and responsibilities, and saw the Grand Tour as a means of preparing for these responsibilities. It also observes that military skills, ability, ambitions and bodies continued to be praised within families and amongst wider society. Grand Tourists clearly internalised these signals as they themselves exhibited considerable enthusiasm for martial activities, identities and bodies, while expressing an innate belief in their martial virtues and bearing. This section concludes that military masculinity and the martial virtues of honour, courage and stoicism remained important in the construction and performance of elite masculinity. Through this, it contends that the experience and confrontation of martial hazard remained an important testing point which Tourists had to either willingly embrace or carefully negotiate.

Military scholarship suggests that it should not be overly surprising to find that the Grand Tour had a military curriculum. Despite Pocock's assertion that the professionalisation of the military meant the decline of elite involvement, the British aristocracy maintained high levels of military service throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, dominating the leadership of the armed forces and militia.¹²¹ The Grand Tourists considered in this thesis are no exception to this. A considerable number of the Grand Tourists considered in this thesis had military involvement. Of the twenty-six Grand Tourists listed in the Appendices, sixteen went on to have martial leadership roles: seven with the regular armed forces, nine with the militia and one with both.¹²² This was linked to an enduring elite belief that military leadership was an inherent part of their responsibilities and identity, and that the martial formed an inherent part of their abilities and virtues, bestowed upon them via their noble birth and cultivated by an elite lifestyle. This belief was verbalised in the literature surrounding the militia movements.¹²³ For example, in 1794, the government exhorted men to volunteer but presumed 'It is naturally to be supposed that Gentlemen of Weight or Property in different Parts of the Kingdom will separately stand forward', while Windham's *Plan of Discipline, Composed for the Use of the Militia of the Country of Norfolk* (1759), a militia training guide, contended that 'the country gentleman, with much less time and application, than many of them bestow upon their sports and trifling amusements, will, if

¹²¹ For a typical example, see J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 408-10; John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 118-20; Kennedy, "John Bull into Battle," 130.

¹²² See Appendices 1-5, 8-13.

¹²³ McCormack, "Liberty and Discipline: Militia Training Literature in Mid-Georgian England," in *Soldiering in Britain*, 159, 171.

applied to military affairs, enable them to become excellent militia officers'.¹²⁴ Windham, who undertook a Grand Tour in 1738-41, was serious in his belief that a gentleman's life, education and nature naturally prepared him for military command.

Grand Tourists were no exception as the martial formed an integral aspect of their self-identity as aristocrats and gentlemen. Irrespective of whether they saw battle, they understood military duties as an inherent part of their elite adult responsibilities in the same way that they expected to undertake political and parliamentary duties. A number of Grand Tourists demonstrated this implicit expectation in their voluble desire to serve during the 1770s, as tensions with America, France and Spain escalated. Herbert, his tutor, Floyd, and Lewisham's brother, Charles, impatiently expressed their desire to return to their regiments in case war began.¹²⁵ All three were already committed to a military career, but Yorke, whose more natural inclination was towards scholarship, also expressed his commitment to fight:

Whenever your Lordship fixes at Wimple I shall be proud of being your aid de Camp, and of being of much use as is my power, in everything that you wish to be done. If you think proper to honour me with a Company in the Militia I shall be happy to obey your Lordship & will endeavour to acquit myself as well as I can. I find that a number of my acquaintances are now with the different corps of militia, & meant by this time be a great proficient in Tactics.¹²⁶

Yorke's desire to serve, and his indication that this was an expected course of action to be taken by a young nobleman, as 'a number of his acquaintances' were doing the same thing, outlines the extent to which martial responsibility was ingrained in young elite men.

His belief that, having been on the Grand Tour, he would be 'proficient' in military leadership reflected a wider confidence in the Grand Tour as a serious and effective martial education. Townshend, for example, felt that his volunteering and observational activities had prepared him to raise his own regiment in Amsterdam, as did Lord Chesterfield who backed his scheme.¹²⁷ Equally, when Richmond expressed his desire to join the military, he listed the qualifications he felt were necessary and noted that 'Riding, Fencing, Drawing, &

¹²⁴ Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement 1794-1814* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 160; William Windham, *Plan of Discipline, Composed for the Use of the Militia of the Country of Norfolk* (1759), quoted in McCormack, "Liberty and Discipline," in *Soldiering*, 159, 171

¹²⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 20th December 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 24th September 1779, Pembroke, [unknown location], to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 28th March 1777, Lady Pembroke, Wilton House, to Coxe.

¹²⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 357, 23rd July 1779, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke.

¹²⁷ NAM, Ms. 6806-41-1-2, Townshend's account.

Mathematicks, I now learn, & will particularly apply to Landscapes, Gunnery & Fortification.' All of this, he implied, was already available at his Genevan academy.¹²⁸

Noting the lack of British military academies until the nineteenth century, McCormack argues that families tailored the eighteenth-century Grand Tour for sons destined for the military.¹²⁹ I agree, particularly as families sometimes piggybacked younger sons on the Grand Tours of heirs. In the case of Charles and Lewisham, Charles' time on the Grand Tour was clearly intended to prepare him for the army. However, while McCormack approaches the Grand Tour as an institution that could become more military when required, I would contend that a military education was an important aspect of general elite male education. Younger sons were more commonly destined for military careers, but it is significant that Lewisham received the same education as Charles and was seeing military sites and receiving a military education before he arrived. Martial skill and knowledge was evidently considered as important for an heir as for a third son, and the Grand Tour's education a sufficient basis for a military career.

The Grand Tour's martial curriculum and correspondence strongly suggests the martial aspect of elite male identity was handed down as an integral aspect of elite masculine culture that formed one part of a whole, and martial capacity and virtue remained a marker of successful elite masculinity within the elite community throughout the century. In 1734, Pococke judged that Harcourt, who had watched the Battle of Parma, had all the makings of a 'great figure in the world'. He not only had 'good nature & good sense without any vice' but was also 'much inclined to the sword', understanding 'as much of the art of war as any man in England that has no experience of it tho' but two or three & twenty'.¹³⁰ Harcourt's military reputation was later praised by Count Calenberg who told Harcourt's son, George Simon Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, that he still believed that 'no one ever had so great a disposition for the Army'.¹³¹ The act of praising fathers to sons internally reinforced the highly valued nature of martial skill and suggests that enthusiasm for martial values and prowess was handed down within families. For example, Newcastle's correspondence in the 1750s indicates that families were extremely proud when sons expressed military ambitions. Richmond, for instance, had a proper sense of what he owed 'his dear father...and the most

¹²⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 32726 f. 145, 18th February 1752, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle.

¹²⁹ McCormack, "Dance and Drill," 324-26.

¹³⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 19939 f. 17, 12th June 1734, Pococke, Milan, to Mrs Pococke.

¹³¹ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-22, 13th August 1756, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, Brussels, to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt.

determined Resolution to follow His great Example.’¹³² This referred to a wider variety of attributes, but included his military reputation.¹³³ When he explicitly stated his military ambitions, he was affirmed by an unnamed ‘Royal Duke’, who told him ‘my Father had told him he intended my being in the army’.¹³⁴ Newcastle also told him that the King was very glad he wished to follow his father’s example.¹³⁵ Again, when reporting that Pembroke had confided his ‘Desire of Coming into the Army’, Newcastle praised the notion and linked it to the precedent of Pembroke’s father.¹³⁶ Herbert was in turn encouraged to follow a military career. Amongst particular families, military occupations and ideals of martial prowess were evidently handed down in the model of the French *noblesse d’épée*. Indeed, this similarity partially explains De Gisors and Richmond’s friendship as both were expected to follow their fathers’ military reputations, as discussed in Chapter One.¹³⁷ These attitudes indicate that in certain circles, the overlap between French and British aristocratic martial culture could be extremely strong.

Correspondingly, certain Grand Tourists, such as Herbert, Holroyd, Charles Legge, Richmond and others, were enthusiastically committed to their martial identity. Holroyd, for example, wrote buoyantly that his companions thought him ‘military mad’.¹³⁸ His experiences in Prussia, where he ‘imbibe[d] Discipline with great Gulps’, led him to declare ‘I am become more desperately military than most things existing’.¹³⁹ His enthusiasm permeated his everyday language. His new Swiss servant was an ‘aid de campe’, his stay in Rome led to imaginative descriptions of how he would billet an army there, and he mischievously planned to have his Tour portrait taken with himself in regimentals with an army dispersing a legion of devils in the background.¹⁴⁰

¹³² BL, Add. Ms. 32723 f. 31, 26th September 1750, Newcastle, Hanover, to the Duchess of Richmond.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32726 f. 145, 18th February 1752, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle.

¹³⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 32726 f. 193, Newcastle, Newcastle House, to Richmond.

¹³⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 32728 f. 350, 22nd July 1753, Newcastle, Hanover, to Lady Pembroke.

¹³⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 2734 f. 81, 25th January 1754, Richmond, Leyden, to Newcastle.

¹³⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 122-13, 9th May 1763, Holroyd, St Quintin, to Baker.

¹³⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 185, 23rd December 1765, Holroyd, Hanover, to Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.

¹⁴⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 154, 13th August 1764, Holroyd, Genoa, to Mrs Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 164, 6th January 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Holroyd; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker.

However, it is important to acknowledge the nuances of identity as not every Grand Tourist was mad about the military. Nevertheless, even those who were actively disinclined towards the martial still carried an awareness of military culture and its overall importance in elite culture. For example, Nuneham, a dedicated 'Man of Feeling' who wrote in 1755 that he could not view the war with France 'without horror', viewed numerous military sites and had a palpable pride in his father's internationally acknowledged martial reputation.¹⁴¹ Equally, Walpole, who rejected a martial identity, scathingly dismissed a young Irishman who 'learnt fortifications, which he does not understand at all'. Describing a conversation between the young man, himself and Henry Seymour Conway, he highlighted their superior knowledge of military terminology.¹⁴²

Walpole's disgust at the man's combined military ignorance and social failings indicates that he used both as markers of elite status. Equally, military knowledge and skill were one of the many elements that made a rounded eighteenth-century gentleman. As this suggests, the presence of the martial did not drive out the polite or aesthetic. As McCormack and Kennedy have argued, the military was passionately engaged with concepts of politeness and sentimentality.¹⁴³ Holroyd certainly was 'military mad', but he was also filled with a 'Passion & Fury' to see Italy, while Pembroke was genuinely passionate in encouraging his son to engage with both the aesthetic delights of Italy *and* his military exercises.¹⁴⁴ As Herbert's very varied curriculum suggests, the Pembrokes wished to produce a son who was, in Lady Pembroke's words, 'perfect', and destined to become 'a Parliament man', to marry 'some Miss, as beautiful as ye please, & as rich as Croesus' and to take his rightful place as a leader in aristocratic society and politics.¹⁴⁵ In many ways, the martial position within elite education and identity is best summarised by Pompeo Batoni's 1768-72 portrait of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn with his two companion-tutors, Thomas Apperley and Captain Edward Hamilton.

¹⁴¹ See LMA Acc 510/254, George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey's Journal for list of military sites.

¹⁴² "20th July 1739, Horace Walpole, Rheims, to Richard West" in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 179-80.

¹⁴³ McCormack, *Embodying*, 118; Kennedy, *Narratives*, 46-47.

¹⁴⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 152, 17th July 1764, Holroyd, Chamberry, to Mrs Atkinson.

¹⁴⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 10th October 1779, Lady Pembroke, Brighton, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 30th September 1779, Pembroke, Ely, to Herbert.



Fig. 7. Pompeo Batoni, "Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1749-1789), Thomas Apperley (1734-1819) and Captain Edward Hamilton," (National Museum Wales, 1768-72)

The Grand Tour portrait sought to encapsulate the attainment of masculine maturity in a very tangible manner. Therefore, what Tourists included was significant. Edgar Bowron and Peter Kerber observe that 'The friends appear to be drawing attention to one another's cultural interests and taste', indicating a 'common love of virtue'.¹⁴⁶ They hold and gesture to a remarkable quantity of objects, including a flute, crayon holder, a drawing after Raphael's *Justice* and a volume of Dante. The background includes a sculpture, symbolising painting, while the classical interior hints at a setting in Rome. However, the martial is inextricably entwined with all these symbols. The composition itself echoes portraits of military commanders and their staff around command tables, while the military figure of Edward Hamilton is unapologetically placed in unity with figures of youth, learning, classicism and the arts, symbolising the military as a cohesive part of an elite gentleman's world, identity and education.¹⁴⁷ Williams-Wynn's portrait was one of a number that incorporated military symbols, ranging from contemporary uniforms to historicised armour.

¹⁴⁶ Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: prince of painters in eighteenth-century Rome* (New Haven: YUP, 2007), 71-72.

¹⁴⁷ My thanks to the participants, particularly Richard Johns, of the "Visual Cultures of War" workshop, organised by Elodie Duché at the Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies, University of York, 1st May 2015. Their discussion and analysis of this picture was of great assistance.

Alongside participating in military curricula and expressing a willingness to serve, the martial aspect of elite masculine identity expressed itself in other ways, namely through one's perceptions and expectations surrounding the body and the possibility of encountering battle. The Grand Tour took place during a period of biological change, as participants literally grew into their adult bodies. Tourists and families were highly conscious of this. When Herbert turned seventeen, his father celebrated by sending him a razor 'to mow his first chin crop'.¹⁴⁸ Two years later and about to return home, his mother sent him an emotional letter, exclaiming 'but perhaps you are grown a violent looking creature & I shall hardly know you, & not know how to behave to you.'¹⁴⁹ Lady Pembroke's tremulous reflections imagined a virile, physically strong presence unrecognisable from the boy she remembered. According to Robert Price, a member of the Common Room, his physique had matured so much that these parental fears were actually realised. Referencing Ulysses, Price wrote a comic account of his homecoming to his fellow Common Room members. Arriving late at night, he had a long conversation with his father through the door to convince him he was his son. 'But upon opening the door a little, & seeing a great dirty broadshoulder'd fellow in a great coach with a Couloused handkerchief about his neck, he was going to shut it again'.¹⁵⁰ Fortunately for Price, his father saw the luggage and was reassured.

Price was clearly pleased with his matured physique but these discussions could be tinged with a palpable anxiety that the Grand Tourist might not attain a suitable male body. Villier's tutor, William Whitehead, warned his parents, 'Colonel Yorke thinks him very much grown, but I still desire your Lordship & Lady Jersey not to expect much on that head.'¹⁵¹ While Villiers' body might be too short, Hamilton reported that, despite his many virtues, Lewisham's 'outside is a little too fat'.¹⁵² Such comments indicate that the Grand Tourist's physique was the critical preserve of wider society. In considering what was an "ideal" male body, it is interesting to note that Price again referred to 'a great, Brawny, Broadshoulder'd Irishman' as the ideal man to please a Genevan widow.¹⁵³ This broad shouldered, tall and muscular physique was also admired in Continental and military men. Scott Hughes Myerly observes that the nineteenth-century military prioritised tall, attractive and broad-chested men and used their uniforms to enhance their physique, while McCormack notes that

¹⁴⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 6th June 1778, Pembroke, London, to Rev. William Coxe.

¹⁴⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 2nd June 1780, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

¹⁵⁰ NRO, WKC 7/46/8, 404x2, 19th December 1741, Robert Price, London, to The Bloods.

¹⁵¹ LMA, Acc. 510/251, 7th September 1756, William Whitehead, The Hague, to Lord Jersey.

¹⁵² SRO, D(W)1778/III/365, 17th February 1778, Sir William Hamilton, Naples, to Dartmouth.

¹⁵³ NRO, WKC 7/46/8, 404x2, 19th December 1741, Price, London, to The Bloods.

eighteenth-century commanders such as Frederick the Great were similarly obsessed with obtaining tall recruits.¹⁵⁴ When visiting Prince Charles' army in 1743, Aldworth, another member of the Common Room, met the commander of the Austrian Pandurs, Baron Trenck. Aldworth wrote that his men 'have more fierceness than any Men or Beasts I ever saw' and that Trenck himself was an imposing specimen: 'He is Six Foot & 2 Inches...well made, & in the Face more like Ball than ever I saw two Men in my life, except that he wears his own Light colour'd Hair.'¹⁵⁵ In comparing Trenck to Ball, a friend, Aldworth made an attempt to associate this impressive masculine body with someone he knew. Equally, Villiers, painfully aware of his '5f.4inch' stature, unconvincingly protested 'that is really what may be called a middling stature', while ruefully lamenting that 'I cannot boast of being a Teutonic Size' or 'aspire to the six feet Germans, Nay I sometimes have the misfortune of sitting next to a Gentleman, an officer in the Dutch Service, who is I am sure very near seven feet, English measure.'¹⁵⁶ Again, the almost heroic physique he envied belonged to a gentleman and an officer, demonstrating how elite masculine ideals mingled the martial, polite and rugged.

These body-related observations suggest that Grand Tourists not only felt they had to undertake certain activities, attain military knowledge and manifest martial values, but that they believed their martial abilities and identities were also entwined with their bodies. Holroyd, for example, was delighted to try on Charles the Bold's armour. Commenting that it fitted perfectly, he celebrated the imprinting of the martial on the body by associating his physique with a famous martial figure.¹⁵⁷ Upon his entry into France in 1780, Herbert elaborated a far more complex discourse surrounding his body, martial ability and bearing. Dramatically recording that he was now amongst the enemy, Herbert was not wearing his military uniform. This decision was less about danger and more about following his father's emphatic instructions on social nicety.¹⁵⁸ Herbert's grudging compliance indicated his attachment to visible military markers, and he chose to invest the situation with a certain degree of subterfuge. Herbert twice recorded that, even without his uniform, his martial identity was recognised by other officers. Travelling on a water diligence (the equivalent of a

¹⁵⁴ Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 16-18; McCormack, *Embodying*, 88-89.

¹⁵⁵ Berkshire RO, Ms. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour Journal, 1743-44.

¹⁵⁵ BL, Egerton 2181, John Douglas' Short Autobiography, 1776-96.

¹⁵⁶ LMA, Acc. 510/240, 30th November 1754, Villiers, Leipzig, to Lady Jersey.

¹⁵⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10th November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker.

¹⁵⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/6, 20th March 1780, Herbert's Journal; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 21st June 1779, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 30th September 1779, Pembroke, [unknown location], to Herbert;

water carriage) with eighteen other passengers, including five Swiss officers, Herbert claimed he was a mysterious figure as ‘many of [the passengers] have been plaguing their own Souls and mine to know what I am’.

I had as much as possible disguised my military appearance, I was in hopes of nobody’s discovering me to be of that trade, but still the Officers are firmly perswaded [sic.] I am, in either the Land or Sea Service. Three parts of the Day, the whole Body supposed me a Sea Officer in the French Service, and I took care to answer their questions so as neither to diswade [sic.] them or perwsade [sic.] them of the truth of their supposition.¹⁵⁹

The second incident occurred a week later at the Marseille fortress. Again, ‘They soon found out I was of their Trade though I with my dress, endeavoured to disguise it.’¹⁶⁰ Despite referring to the military as his trade, Herbert had not yet seen his regiment or active service.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, Herbert claimed that his ‘military appearance’ and nature was unmistakably written on his body, a claim validated by other military men. This points to a belief that this capacity was innate to his breeding and heritage.

McCormack has recently argued that the body was an extremely important part of masculine identity and should be a site for critical investigation.¹⁶² The findings of this section suggest this is very much the case. Alongside bodies, there is also evidence to suggest that martial danger and violence remained an important testing point of elite masculinity. If the cultivation of internal masculine virtues, such as honour, courage, stoicism, and endurance formed a part of elite formation, these virtues would also be externally tested. Therefore, if martial masculinity was part of the Grand Tour, then the experience of danger also formed an important context as the only scenario where such virtues could be truly tested and proven. Certainly scholars have noted the on-going role of violence in another context, as the number of duels continued to increase throughout the eighteenth century. Between 1800-14, *The Times* reported 235 duels involving British subjects.¹⁶³ Robert Shoemaker has struggled to reconcile this increase with the apparently civilising influence of politeness, arguing that a shift from swords to pistols and the mediatory role of the seconds were deliberate attempts

¹⁵⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/6, 24th March 1780, Herbert’s Journal.

¹⁶⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/6, 31st March 1780, Herbert’s Journal.

¹⁶¹ S. M. Farrell, “Herbert, George Augustus, eleventh earl of Pembroke and eighth earl of Montgomery (1759–1827),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13026, (accessed 29 May 2015).

¹⁶² McCormack, *Embodying*, 2, 6.

¹⁶³ Stephen Banks, *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: the duel and the English gentleman, 1750-1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 70.

to decrease bloodshed. This reflected a reduced tolerance of violence and an internalisation of honour that meant it was less necessary to publically defend one's reputation.¹⁶⁴ Yet Stephen Banks notes that 44-45% of the duels in 1800-14 resulted in death or injury, suggesting that these attempts were met with failure.¹⁶⁵ The on-going role of the duel as a means of mediating and defending masculine honour demonstrates the importance of externally proving internal masculine virtues in a dangerous context.

Whether they actually encountered battle or not, the experience and threat of physical danger through martial hazard remained idealised as a test of martial manhood, one to which, like duelling, they had to remain theoretically open. Some Grand Tourists, like Townshend, made efforts to encounter battle. Others, like Basset and Aldworth, left the possibility to chance in visiting sites where participation could become a reality, but without the explicitly stated intention of fighting. Equally, some actively avoided it. Yet I would argue that, in most cases, Grand Tourists were at the very least under pressure to appear open to the possibility of engaging with conflict. A failure to do so indicated a lack of associated masculine virtues and subsequently led to dishonour. As the following examples will show, Grand Tourists, tutors and families were therefore very careful in how they positioned themselves in relation to military hazards.

In 1701 and 1778-79, Woodstock and Herbert faced almost identical predicaments. In 1701, Woodstock began a Grand Tour just as the War of Spanish Succession escalated. His father was implacable in his determination to send him abroad, leaving Woodstock to express his acute fears that his absence would be misconstrued as cowardice, because he would not be able to fight. Remembering that during the previous war, several young men had been mocked because they had not served, Woodstock feared, 'es que si je m'absentais en pareil temps mon honneur en pourrait soupir en quelque manière.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Herbert and his tutor, Floyd, grew increasingly fretful during their protracted Grand Tour as rumours relating to the War of American Independence (1775-78) grew. Again, hamstrung by a father who refused to allow their return, they were concerned that their absence would be read as cowardice. Their concerns drew sharp rebukes from Pembroke who wrote:

¹⁶⁴ Robert Shoemaker, "The taming of the duel: Masculinity, honour and ritual violence in London, 1660-1800," *Historical Journal* 45:3 (2002): 525-45.

¹⁶⁵ Banks, *Polite Exchange*, 207.

¹⁶⁶ 'and if I abstain at a similar time, my honour would suffer in the same way.' King's Meadow Manuscripts and Special Collections, the University of Nottingham, Ms. Pw A 57/1-2, 29th March 1701, Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock, The Hague, to Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (trans. Angela Barber, 24th September 2009).

You are certainly mad, My Dear Flew [Floyd]. Can you suppose possibly, that without every proper information, & propriety, I should dream of keeping George abroad, or of desiring you to stay out one single moment longer than what is most strictly proper?...Depend upon it, you neither of you shall be compromised by me in Military Dresses, or in any other. You have really worked yourself up to a pitch of what does not exist here, even in any body's Brain.¹⁶⁷

Woodstock, Herbert, Floyd and Pembroke highlighted the principal fear that 'improper questions' would essentially compromise their honour, revealing an enduring expectation that a failure to face martial danger risked accusations of cowardice and a loss of masculine status.

Herbert and Woodstock were forcibly restrained from their desired martial performance. Those who did not wish to encounter military hazards had to very carefully disentangle themselves. Having seen little action during their stay in a camp in 1707, Compton and his companions 'heard the Enemy was march'd, and that our army was to march that night.¹⁶⁸ It was an opportunity not to be missed, and they accompanied the march for two days. Marching towards the enemy, this ran the risk of encountering battle. James Hay, the tutor, eventually called a halt. The next morning they heard that men and officers had been killed during the night in the woods and during the day in some minor skirmishes.¹⁶⁹ Having emphasised the persistent possibility of martial danger and their deliberate avoidance of it, Hay also carefully emphasised that the young gentlemen wanted to continue despite the danger. Whether they wished to fight is not clear, but Hay indicated their desire, conveyed through terms such as 'tempted', 'gladly gone on' and 'their want', was imbued with a natural courage. Their spirit was further emphasised through the 'wanton Curses' they flung at Hay, the authority figure who put his foot down.¹⁷⁰

Hay was determined not to 'risqué my Ld Compton's person', but it evidently remained important to convey that Compton still had the expected martial desire for a military encounter. Similarly, Lincoln's martially oriented education at Turin was oddly paralleled by Newcastle's earnest solicitation in 1741 that he would not volunteer, 'and lest

¹⁶⁷ "27th April 1778, Pembroke, London, to John Floyd," in *Henry, Elizabeth and George (1734-80) Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle*, ed. Lord Herbert (London: J. Cape, 1939), 115-16; See also WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 29th September 1779, Pembroke to Herbert.

¹⁶⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 38507 f. 15-16, 15th August 1707, Hay, Brussels, to Northampton.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

you should, I must earnestly press you to return to England as soon as you can.’¹⁷¹ Newcastle’s warning was, like Hay’s letter, framed by the expectation that a young, full-blooded male would naturally desire to fight. By condemning the idea before it was voiced, Newcastle effectively precluded Lincoln from actually making the offer, allowing him to rest secure in the presentation of his martial masculinity without having to actively demonstrate it. Newcastle’s wider reasons did not focus on the danger, but on Italy as an ‘improper’ location: ‘Nobody can tell what may be the consequences of a general war in Italy, and how improper in every respect it may be for an English nobleman to be there at that time.’¹⁷² These examples demonstrate elite men carefully positioning themselves against an expected norm. Each indicates an underlying reluctance to expose themselves to the dangers of conflict, but this was balanced against a reluctance to face the ramifications of a flat-out refusal to engage. The care taken in framing these seemingly willing responses indicates that masculine models of courage and honour in the context of martial danger continued to operate powerfully upon the self-presentation of elite young men, if not upon their actual actions.

This section has considered the pressures placed upon Grand Tourists to engage with the martial from a British context. The following section explores the role played by Continental elite martial culture in shaping their military identities.

‘some of the finest, & best-disciplin’d Troops in the Universe’: The Continental Influence

In 1776, Charles Legge described how the Prague review shifted from a full-scale military exercise to commemoration. Ordering a salute to be fired, the Austrian Emperor honoured Marshall Schweneir, the Prussian General who had been killed during the actual Battle of Prague. Charles’ account of Schweneir’s death recounted how, having already been exposed by his bravery to a dangerous situation, he asked the Prussian King where he should retreat. The King’s reply was Spandau, the town where state prisoners were held. Made desperate by the thought of such dishonour, Schweneir ‘snatched the standard from the Ensign & Said to his men, Follow me to Death or Spandau which they did & Every Man was killed in the action.’¹⁷³ Through this commemoration, the Emperor and the Austrian military and nobility celebrated a transnational code of chivalry that cut across the status of friend and foe. It elevated Schweneir’s performance of honour, courage and endurance as an

¹⁷¹ “16th March 1740/41, Newcastle, London, to Lincoln,” in Spence, *Letters*, 366.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

outstanding example of chivalric conduct, while criticising the King of Prussia's dishonourable conduct.¹⁷⁴

This message operated powerfully upon Charles, and was part of a succession of tales, individuals and events that influenced, shaped and inspired Grand Tourists' understanding of what made a successful elite male. A year after Charles, Yorke exclaimed that watching Austrian and Prussian troops 'would inspire with military ideas those who were the least inclined to them'.¹⁷⁵ While the previous section has highlighted the influence of British elite understandings of war and martial responsibility, this section outlines the importance of the Continent in enforcing and endorsing masculine culture, and acted as a benchmark against which Grand Tourists could measure their own performances. Through watching and engaging with Continental military culture, Grand Tourists were meant to imbibe martial virtues and standards. The international elite community played a vital role in helping Grand Tourists to accept and value a European code of elite masculinity that emphasised internal virtues of honour, courage and stoicism, but that also performed and proved these virtues through physical acts of danger.

This section will focus upon small-scale social interactions, exploring how their admiration, emulation and friendship with Continental martial aristocrats tangibly impacted upon their relationship with danger. As the above section has already discussed, Tourists were already expected to demonstrate a willingness to encounter military conflict even when they actually sought to avoid it. When placed within a homosocial context, with the explicit aim of impressing Continental men from martial and chivalric cultures, this pressure grew even more insistent. This final section contends that the dual concerns of sociability and masculinity operated powerfully upon the attitudes and perceptions held by Grand Tourists in relation to martial performance and danger.

The enduring association between the British elite and the military was reflective of wider European culture. Throughout the eighteenth century, European nobility remained closely connected to, and in control of, military service, to the extent that H. M. Scott and Christopher Storrs have argued that military service regained its earlier prominence as a fashionable aristocratic option.¹⁷⁶ By 1740, Prussia's army numbered over 80, 000, with

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 101, 23rd October 1777, Yorke, Dresden, to Hardwicke.

¹⁷⁶ H. M Scott and Christopher Storrs, "Introduction: The Consolidation of Noble power in Europe, c.1600-1800," in H.M. Scott (ed.), *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Volume One: Western and Southern Europe* (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 41-46; Tallett, *War and Society*, 100; Similar sentiments expressed in

almost every officer a nobleman. By 1806, around 90% of Prussian nobility were in the military.¹⁷⁷ While contemporaries considered Prussia's total state of militarisation unusual, it was situated within a wider German aristocratic tradition of military entrepreneurship and professionalism. As early as the early seventeenth century, Fynes Moryson reported that the German nobility valued courage, military virtue and lineage over learning.¹⁷⁸ This stereotype endured throughout the eighteenth century, as the Hessians, Saxons, Bavarians, and those from Brunswick were typified as skilled mercenaries and lovers of war.¹⁷⁹ German nobility and gentry frequently served in high-ranking positions under other European armies.¹⁸⁰ Even Austria, whose nobility were the least militarised, still placed a high value upon military service. Outsider nobility, who gained access to Austro-Bohemian nobility through their military service, largely led Austrian armies. Foreign generals such as Charles of Lorraine, Eugene of Savoy, Ernst Laudan, Francis Lacy and Maxmillian Browne gained considerable international fame in the eighteenth century.¹⁸¹

Northern Europe was no exception. In Sweden, the nobility made up 73% of officers, while 93% of the French elite followed an army career during the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715). During the 1789 elections to the Estates General, little had changed. More than four-fifths of the nobles chosen had military backgrounds.¹⁸² The *nobles d'épée* retained a powerfully influential role in French aristocratic society.¹⁸³ Military careers remained highly

Cannon, "The British Nobility, 1600-1800," in *European Nobilities...Volume One*, 66; Conway, *continental Europe*, 282; M. L. Bush, *Rich Noble, Poor Noble* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 59, 101, 104, 108; Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 15-17.

¹⁷⁷ Philip Dwyer (ed.), *The Rise of Prussia 1700-1830* (Harlow: New York: Longman, 2000), 13, 15.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in Asch, *Nobilities*, 56.

¹⁷⁹ Frauke Geyken, "'The German language is spoke in Saxony with the greatest purity' or English images and perceptions of Germany in the eighteenth century," in *Britain and Germany Compared: Nationality, Society and Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Canning and Hermann Wellenreuthe (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), 48-49, 56-57; McCormack, *Embodying*, 40-41.

¹⁸⁰ Dwyer, *Rise of Prussia*, 6, 9, 13, 15; Hagen Schulze, "The Prussian Military State, 1763-1806," in *Rise of Prussia*, 201-19; Edgar Melton, "The Junkers of Brandenburg-Prussia, 1600-1786," in *European Nobilities...Volume Two*, 77, 83.

¹⁸¹ James Van Horn Melton, "The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands, 1620-1780," in *European Nobilities...Volume Two*, 115-16.

¹⁸² Scott and Storrs, "Introduction," 44; Bell, *First Total War*, 31; A. F. Upton, "The Swedish Nobility, 1600-1772," in *European Nobilities...Volume Two*, 30.

¹⁸³ Jay Smith, *The culture of merit: nobility, royal service, and the making of absolute monarchy in France, 1600-1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 4; Smith, *Nobility*

valued, with the highest military commands remaining the exclusive preserve of powerful noblemen and princes, such as the Maréchal de Villars, Prince de Conti and Maréchal duc de Richelieu.¹⁸⁴ Sons hailing from *épée* families typically followed their fathers into a military career. For example, the Count de Montbarrey was twelve when he first saw active service and received his first wound in 1744.¹⁸⁵ This did not include all European nobility, as, with the exception of the Savoyards, men of letters dominated Italian nobility. However, a substantial proportion of Europe's nobility was unified through identifying military virtue as a defining characteristic and by a collective engagement in military responsibility and culture as a part of 'high European culture'.¹⁸⁶ While Britain's military was different to its Continental counterparts, particularly in not requiring potential officers to provide proof of nobility, it nevertheless shared in this wider cultural understanding.¹⁸⁷

If going abroad meant observing, learning from and engaging with the best aspects of Continental culture, this undoubtedly included its martial activities, histories, cultures and masculinity. Grand Tourists and tutors were well aware of the militarised nature of European Continental society. Despite identifying Vienna as a sophisticated cosmopolitan centre, Yorke also characterised it as a martial, chivalric society. For example, he frequently described ceremonies like the Feast of the Order of the Golden Fleece in a chivalric light.¹⁸⁸ In January 1778, he watched the Court's 'Course de Traineas' [sledges] and observed that the gentlemen looked like tournament knights.¹⁸⁹ When watching the mustering of troops for the War of Bavarian Succession, he approvingly described the 'Croate' regiments and cavalry as 'Fine well made fellows'.¹⁹⁰ Yorke claimed that they put him 'in mind of an old Roman Legion', and continued the classical comparison via a description of their Spartan martial spirit and culture. They refused to break their fast while marching, quarrelled over the honour of

reimagined: the patriotic nation in eighteenth-century France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 3; Roger Mettam, "The French Nobility, 1610-1715," in *European Nobilities...Volume One*, 114-41; Julian Swann, "The French Nobility, 1715-1789," in *European Nobilities...Volume One*, 146-47.

¹⁸⁴ Swann, "The French Nobility, 1715-1789," 168.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 162.

¹⁸⁶ Claudio Donati, "The Italian Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *European Nobilities...Volume One*, 240, 257, 266.

¹⁸⁷ Kennedy, *Narratives*, 35.

¹⁸⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 1st December 1777, 5th November 1777, Yorke's Journal.

¹⁸⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 8th January 1778, Yorke's Journal.

¹⁹⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 24th March 1778, Yorke's Journal.

fighting, and had wives who threatened to burn their houses if they did not fight manfully. This image was mingled with comparisons to ‘the Scottish highlanders a true martial people rough unpolished & not fond of being idle.’¹⁹¹

As Yorke’s example suggests, admiration for the martial could be mixed with problematic and contradictory hesitations. This is most evident in descriptions of the Prussian army and Frederick the Great. For example, Holroyd described the Prussian troops as the ‘finest sight since the angels quitted the Earth’ in one letter, but also called them ‘the modern Goths & Vandals [who] can imitate very exactly their ancestors’ when he discussed Dresden’s destruction in another.¹⁹² Yet the attitude of Grand Tourists and their desire for war and blood could be equally incongruous. Upon quitting Potsdam, Holroyd reflected that:

It is charming to consider how extremely attentive all Europe is at present to learning the most regular & most certain methods of Butchery...The French & All Europe is now convinced that the only way to hurt England, is by attacking it at home, there will be much more true Sport the next War¹⁹³

Holroyd wrote with a certain irony, but others echoed his desire for ‘true Sport’. George Sheldon wrote in 1778 that he hoped the next campaign ‘will be more active and bloody than this,’ while Henry Seymour Conway calmly observed during the War of Austrian Succession, ‘the war must be general. The body politic of Europe is in strange disorder and a great deal of bad blood must be let out before it can possibly come to itself again’.¹⁹⁴

Equally, Spence’s descriptions of Turin predominantly focused upon its ‘warlike’ temper, noting that ‘unless the art of war’ counted, ‘The beaux arts are in a very low state’, as their situation ‘has almost always obliged them to be on their guard, and the last reign, which was so long and so military, has made them as it were a nation of soldiers...the only military people in Italy.’¹⁹⁵ Spence’s tone switched between disapproving and admiring. Victor Amadeus II was ‘a lover of war’ while his son, Charles Emmanuel II, ‘chooses rather to give comfort to his people’, but nevertheless keeps up ‘a strong military spirit among them’ and

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 185, 23rd December 1765, Holroyd, Hanover, to Baker.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ WSHC, 2057/F4/33, 15th December 1779, Mr. G. Sheldon, Zuckmantel in Silesia, to Herbert; “6th August 1741, Henry Seymour Conway, [unknown location], to Horace Walpole,” in *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Mrs Harris*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1974), vol. 37, 104.

¹⁹⁵ “Spence’s Notebook 3,” in Spence, *Letters*, 277.

'behaved particularly well in the battle of Guastalla' during his last war.¹⁹⁶ Spence also observed that the Savoyard nobility 'have a military air, and there's scarce a gentleman in the country that does not know how to manage his arms and ride a war-horse', as 'the King does everything in his power to encourage this humour in them.'¹⁹⁷ He explicitly linked this to the *Accademia Reale*, which, as discussed earlier, Lincoln was attending.¹⁹⁸

Among other things he has built a large square palace (which is joined by a long gallery to the royal palace at Turin) where there are schools for fencing, etc., a long room to learn to ride in, and large stables full of very fine managed horses.¹⁹⁹

While he did not explicitly use the term "chivalric", Spence indicated that the King, in seeking to encourage a warlike humour through an academy that was physically and symbolically linked to Europe's politest royal court, merged martial and courtly ethos in a chivalric manner.

Observing, admiring, and encountering military societies, men and bodies formed an important means of transmitting the correct balance of masculine values and standards. Within this, individual men were extremely important. These could be famous military men who were idealised examples to be emulated. Holroyd, for example, idealised the Duke of Savoy, heir to the Kingdom of Savoy and Sardinia, noting that 'He is very military which is a quality very necessary in a Prince of Dominions so situated as His Fathers' as 'it is a Military court & all people even of the first rank must introduce themselves thereby serving at least for some time'.²⁰⁰ Content simply to 'gaze at [Frederick the Great]', Holroyd also wrote a glowing account of the Austrian army, officers and generals, and even contended that the Emperor is 'Said to have a military turn'.²⁰¹ Holroyd's raptures increased when meeting 'the Great Generals whose names are so well known in the Gazettes,' including Marshals Duan, O'Donnell, and Loudon. Loudon was 'most deservedly esteemed one of the best generals in Europe' and Holroyd delightedly reported their jokes together.²⁰² Similarly, Yorke was elated

¹⁹⁶ "18th May 1740, Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence," in Spence, *Letters*, 278-79.

¹⁹⁷ "16th December 1739, Spence, Turin, to Mrs. Spence," in Spence, *Letters*, 234.

¹⁹⁸ "17th October 1731, Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence," in Spence, *Letters*, 74.

¹⁹⁹ "16th December 1739, Spence, Turin, to Mrs. Spence," in Spence, *Letters*, 234.

²⁰⁰ BL, Add MS 34887 f. 156, 4th September 1764, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd.

²⁰¹ BL, Add MS 34887 f. 183, 7th December 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Issac Holroyd Esq; BL, Add MS 34887 f. 178, 3rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd.

²⁰² BL, Add MS 34887 f. 181, 7th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.

to dine with notable military figures such as Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and found the meeting almost impossible to describe:

To attempt to give a description of the affability & Politeness of that great man would be a work for a masterly Pen. It surpassed anything I could have imagined & corresponded so little with the idea one is too [often?] to form of famous men, who, are sometimes elated & despise their inferiors.²⁰³

Grand Tourists revealed a recurring desire to align themselves with Continental martial masculine identities and figures, particularly those who blended the martial with the polite. For example, despite his critical dismissal of the Prussians' barbaric, Gothic nature, Holroyd strove to closely associate himself with another strain of Germanic primitive martial masculinity: the Saxon. Holroyd claimed he had received numerous German confirmations that 'I am one of the Saxon Conquerors of England' as his name was 'perfectly Saxon'.²⁰⁴ This desire to affiliate themselves was at its most powerful in the context of social relationships and friendships. As discussed in Chapter One, Tosh observes in his discussion of nineteenth-century cultures of masculinity that all-male groups and peer approval played a crucial role in confirming masculine status.²⁰⁵ Grand Tourists entered into these friendships aware of a shared sense of elite values and keen to learn from, and emulate, their masculine performances. The combined demands of admiration, emulation and competitive comparison that were a part of masculine friendship formed a complex dynamic that led to substantial shifts in masculine behaviour.

For example, the Common Room befriended the 'German Counts'. William, Count of Schaumburg-Lippe, and his brother, George, were active club members and later reunited with Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier at Leiden University. Their friendship was punctuated with expressions of admiration for the Counts' martial identities, behaviour and ambitions. Tate and Dampier's updates highlighted their enjoyment of 'battling it with ye Dutch Students in ye Streets. They talk much of ye Irish valour in these Recontres', and reported on their plans to advance their military careers:

[Count George] is to go soon [to] meet his Father in Gelderland, where His Regiment lies. The young Count is at last destined for ye English Service: His Friends are soliciting for a Place in ye Army for Him.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 11th September 1777, Yorke's Journal.

²⁰⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.

²⁰⁵ John Tosh, *Manliness and masculinities in nineteenth-century Britain: essays on gender, family, and empire* (Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 70-71.

²⁰⁶ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, 19th April 1741, Thomas Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods.

This aspect of the German Counts' masculine identity was accorded a significant degree of respect, as is evident in the fury with which the Common Room dispatched Sir Bouchier Wrey, who falsely claimed martial courage in response to Count William's earnest desire to have 'a Pair of Colours in the English services'.²⁰⁷ As discussed in Chapter One, Wrey is an example of the extent to which masculine identities continued to demand an external demonstration of internal virtues and desires. Wrey was scorned because his peers judged that his claims did not match up to his actions and, as such, had transgressed shared codes of honour, masculinity and sociability.

Strikingly, the Common Room also seized the opportunity to align their sporting prowess with the Counts' martial identities. They were equally disgusted that Wrey had 'vaunted to ye Counts, that he beat Price at School & knocked Him down twice'.²⁰⁸ Through this, they emphasised the strong respect between the Common Room and the Counts, which rested upon a shared and proven set of masculine values, established through homosocial sociability and confirmed through various forms of physical testing.²⁰⁹

Whether they idolised, admired or befriended Continental men, Grand Tourists regularly encountered cultures where martial and physical performances were key to a successful masculine status. Lincoln's efforts to become assimilated into the martial nobility and culture of Savoy resulted in an injury through a jumping, or leaping, competition. Writing in 1740, Lincoln described a private dinner party hosted by the Marquis de Riverols and the subsequent competition:

I say jumping, my Lord, for that was the occasion of my disaster, which happened as follows. As we were a walking in the garden after dinner, whilst they were a preparing everything for the ball, the Prince [of Carignan] proposed jumping with me for the diversion of the company. Upon that, you may be sure I was not a man to refuse a challenge. So accordingly we immediately stript and went to it. The Prince has presently enough of it, and the victory was entirely on my side...Happy should I have been if I had contented myself with the applause I had just acquired; but, greedy of glory, I needs must take up another champion who offered to enter the lists with me. But alas! my success with him was very different than that with the Prince; for having a mind to exert myself more than usual, my honour fell in the dust – *ibi omnis effusus labor!* [I] was carried off the field of battle, whilst my

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

victorious antagonist, exulting over me, reaped [?] from me the immortal honour I had so very lately gained.²¹⁰

In many ways this was an expression of boyish tomfoolery, but Lincoln nevertheless utilised chivalric language, which prioritised honour and skill. His ‘honour’ took centre stage; he ‘was not a man to refuse a challenge’, the first bout led to ‘victory’ and ‘applause’ as he gained public admiration. He desired ‘glory’ and the second bout was couched in jousting terms, with ‘champion’, ‘enter the lists’ and ‘field of battle’ used to describe the scene.

This playful description sought to demonstrate Lincoln’s achievement of easy and natural interaction with young royalty and nobility in a fashionable, courtly and martial setting. The Prince of Carignan was a central figure in Turin’s martial culture and an embodiment of its youthful and warlike spirit. Lincoln’s account highlights that he had been chosen by Carignan as a worthy adversary and that, despite Lincoln’s eventual defeat, he had gained victory over him. Thus this account sought to demonstrate the extent to which Lincoln had successfully appropriated the spirit and skills of the *Accademia Reale* of Turin to the extent that he had been accepted as an equal or even a superior. His deliberately casual report of a trifling incident indicates a certain pride in the event, which was imbued with a meaning and relevance to his status as a man.

Lincoln’s leg injury was actually rather severe, delaying his travel by several weeks, but his desire to impress Turin’s nobility never led him into a life-threatening hazard, although Newcastle’s alarm over the possibility of volunteering indicates that this was a possibility. Yet, as noted earlier, this seemed to be deliberately avoided. In contrast, as the chapter’s opening anecdote showed, Basset’s desire to associate with and impress Prince Leopold of Brunswick led him directly into life-threatening hazard. While Basset used the story to portray his younger self as exemplifying a masculine martial identity that rested firmly upon deliberate risk-taking and displays of chivalric courage, arguably, an adherence to masculine codes of honour and friendship meant that Basset had little choice in his response. Placed within a context of martial and chivalric masculinity with the opportunity of exposure to danger, his responses and attitudes were, to a certain extent, dictated by the masculine culture in which he found himself as well as the friendships he was desirous of cultivating. In order to nurture them further still, he had to engage more fully in their masculine attitudes towards risk and war. His response to danger was directly influenced by social and masculine considerations.

²¹⁰ “2nd September 1740, Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle,” in Spence, *Letters*, 307-08.

Basset's actions and claims were framed by his claim to intimacy with a celebrated martial individual, who later became romanticised as a chivalric, heroic figure through Northcote's painting which immortalised his tragic death by drowning.²¹¹ By emphasising their shared friendship and shared response to military danger, Basset was emphasising that he shared the same masculine virtues of honour, courage and chivalry. More than thirty-two years after his Grand Tour of 1777-8, Basset was still carefully shackling his claims of a martial masculine identity to this incident. The longevity of this anecdote in the affirmation of his masculine identity testified to the importance of homosociability on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour, and the importance of danger in forming a platform for the affirmation of masculine virtues and the confirmation of masculine identity.

Justifying the Grand Tour

At this junction, it is worth pausing to consider how this thesis' interpretation of the Grand Tour sits within wider understandings of eighteenth-century Britain. In discussing the formation of British identity across this period, cultural, military and political historians have collectively argued that the relative military inactivity of the 1720s-30s, followed by the abrupt entry in 1739 into the large scale warfare of the War of Austrian Succession, the disastrous start to the Seven Years War in 1756, the dramatic expansion of British territories following British victory in 1763, and, finally, the shattering and unexpected loss of America after the War of American Independence, each ushered in intense periods of national self-scrutiny and doubt.²¹² In particular, this manifested in a deep crisis of confidence over British masculinity and its capacity to defend home, nation and empire. Social commentators attacked any aspect of culture and society that they deemed to be responsible for the effeminisation of men, while demanding a more robust, martial, patriotic, civic-minded masculinity.²¹³

²¹¹ Farington, *Diary*, 3753.

²¹² For discussions of this period, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: YUP, 2002), Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815* (London: Palgrave, 2015), and Stephen Conway, *War, State and Society in Mid-Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

²¹³ Karen Downing, "The Gentleman Boxer: Boxing, Manners, and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Men and Masculinities* 12:3 (April 2012): 330-31; Cohen, "Manners," 312-29; Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 9-11; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: YUP, 2002), 1, 9;

These concerns, criticisms and demands were conveyed through numerous channels. For example, Karen Harvey has explored how the authors of botanical texts used their analysis of plants' sexes to comment on the dangers caused by military inactivity to British masculinity during the 1730s, while Martin Myrone has argued that the revived popularity of heroic masculine figure in painting and sculpture was due to the anxieties raised by the Seven Years War.²¹⁴ As he and others have identified, contemporaries turned to classical Homeric examples and to forms of primal heroism made available through the Ossian, chivalric and antiquarian movement as the basis for a new British masculinity.²¹⁵ Michèle Cohen, for example, has argued that, following Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), chivalry replaced politeness as the dominant masculine code as it allowed for the construction of manly men. Identified as an important historical moment of transition from barbarism to civilised manners, chivalry was used as a means of rethinking British national identity and history, which was increasingly defined in terms of a proud military heritage. During the second half of the century, the men of Britain's past - ancient Britons, Celts, Saxons, Goths and medieval knights - were idealised as glorified, unsullied ancestors who differed radically from their effeminate luxurious descendants.²¹⁶ Chivalry was viewed as embodying a code of values, such as manliness, bravery, loyalty, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, justice and honour.²¹⁷ It was characterised by a love of and respect for women. Yet, whereas female involvement in politeness led men into the false art of pleasing, in chivalry this was balanced by an equally important love of arms, hazardous enterprise and adventure. Chivalry was therefore unambiguously masculine and British.²¹⁸ Cohen contends that the revival of chivalry substantially impacted upon systems of education as post-Hurd educational theorists argued for a severe physical education that encouraged physical and mental habits of endurance, enterprise, courage, intrepidity and strength.²¹⁹

Myrone has argued that the idealisation of classical and primal heroes continued to be deeply problematic. Highlighting reactions to Miguel De Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, he contends that the self-destructive madness in the martial values of chivalric romances were acknowledged. The absurdity of acting like an epic hero in the enlightened age of commerce

²¹⁴ Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 141-43; Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 9-11.

²¹⁵ Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 150-51, 255.

²¹⁶ Cohen, "Manners," 315-17.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 326, 315.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 319-20.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 322-23.

and social refinement was both mocked and hedonistically embraced as a cultural and aesthetic fantasy.²²⁰ While these were very complex discourses, other scholars have outlined how they did result in a shift in masculine culture and behaviour. For example, Kennedy has demonstrated how martial classic republican and chivalric ideals were harnessed to the radical and loyalist causes of the 1790s and the Napoleonic Wars, and used to galvanise society into militarised action and masculinities.²²¹ Equally, scholars such as Karen Downing and Peter Radford have demonstrated how boxing became increasingly popular as a means of constructing the ideal British man.²²²

As Kathleen Wilson has highlighted, this criticism of masculinity was frequently entangled with a generalised attack upon the capacity of ruling elite. The British body politic had been enervated by an emasculated, degenerate elite, whose love of foreign luxury and manners, particularly the French, had destroyed their military, political and moral capacity to lead and serve their country.²²³ Correspondingly, as noted in the Introduction, the Grand Tour and its programme of masculine formation was firmly labelled as a significant part of the problem, and contemporary commentators were vocal in their demands that the corruptive practice should stop and that elite young men should be educated at home where they could develop proper British masculinities and identities.²²⁴ Myrone draws attention to the role of the Grand Tour in the escalation of interest in the epic Heroic, using the case study of Gavin Hamilton's *Illiad* series which was commissioned by Grand Tourists throughout the late 1750s and early 1760s.²²⁵ Yet even here Myrone contends that the Grand Tourists' attempt to 'fabricate an identification between the English noblemen and Homer's martial world of well-muscled heroes' was limited to a nostalgic, aesthetic appreciation, as anything further 'could not feasibly exist'. Grand Tourists' aesthetic appreciation of classical statuary and art, he implies, had no bearing on their own masculine ambitions and was not part of any

²²⁰ Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 2, 3.

²²¹ Kennedy, "'A Gallant Nation': Chivalric Masculinity and Irish Nationalism in the 1790s," in *Public Men*, 73-93; Page, *Seventy Years War*, 132-33.

²²² Downing, "Gentleman Boxer," 330-31; Peter Radford, "The Olympic Games in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:2 (2012), 173; Radford, "Lifting the Spirit of the Nation. British Boxers and the Emergence of the National Sporting Hero at the time of the Napoleonic Wars," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 12:2 (2005), 264.

²²³ Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 185-89.

²²⁴ Cohen, "Manners," 322.

²²⁵ Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, 58, 62, 64, 66.

active attempt to respond to a crisis of national masculinity.²²⁶

In clearly demonstrating that elite society believed that the Grand Tour had the capacity to construct effective military leaders via a mixture of education and immersion, this chapter complicates these arguments. This belief was part of an aristocratic culture that had deep continuities with its own traditions of military, travel and masculinity that easily traced back to the seventeenth century and beyond. Grand Tourists experienced a degree of pressure to demonstrate that they had attained and cultivated the martial virtues of honour, courage, stoicism and physical and emotional endurance throughout the eighteenth century. However, there is evidence to suggest that in the second half of the eighteenth century elite families were facing a new pressure to prove their masculinities and their means of ensuring effective masculine formation against the oppositional nationalist culture of the middling sorts and in response to national crises of confidence.

While the views of the middling sorts on this crisis of confidence are well known, considerably less has been said about how the elite responded. Linda Colley's analysis of the elite response to the crisis following the loss of America and during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars contends that they responded by recasting themselves as a service elite, engaging wholesale in the military conflicts and carefully packaging and displaying their military leadership, success, valour and dedication through the mediums of portraiture, print, uniform and an ostentatious culture of heroism, service and sacrifice.²²⁷ Examining an earlier crisis of confidence during and after the Seven Years War, McCormack argues that the New Militia Bill and subsequent militia reform was similarly a move towards 'national regeneration: the means of reinvigorating the polity, of reviving public spirit, and—at the root of it all—of restoring a gender order that some commentators alleged was on the verge of collapse.'²²⁸

My analysis of the military and the Grand Tour confirms and complicates existing historiography. On the one hand, the anxieties raised by the Seven Years War, the subsequent search for more military masculinity, and the 'revival' of chivalry and classic masculine examples deliberately influenced, at the very least, the articulation of Grand Tourists and their observation of the martial Continent. The writings of Grand Tourists after the 1750s became more conscious of chivalric, primitive and classical martial comparisons and language, while also keenly articulating a desire to undertake their military responsibilities. This was linked to a traditional, transnational European martial culture and therefore not

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

²²⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 180-97.

²²⁸ McCormack, *Embodying*, 14.

exactly a new British identity, but in re-emphasising the martial nature of the Grand Tour, elite men were undertaking an attempt similar to that observed by Colley in constructing themselves as a service elite. However, to conclude that confrontation of danger via battle continued to form a rite of initiation as in the seventeenth century is clearly problematic. While Grand Tourists after the 1750s were voluble in their enthusiasm for military identities, professions and virtues, this was seemingly accompanied by a decline in more direct and dangerous engagement with military conflict. Unlike Townshend, Aldworth, Compton and Woodstock, after the 1750s a substantial majority of Grand Tourists, such as Holroyd, Yorke, Lewisham, Charles and Herbert, never came close to actually experiencing danger in this context.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that rather than being viewed as an unwanted, disruptive danger that played no positive or formative role, warfare, martial activities, responsibilities and virtues played a central role in the Grand Tour and wider masculine identities and performances. In turn, through a programme of academies, curricula and visits to battlefields, camps, forts, reviews and arsenals, the Grand Tour was deliberately used to construct and form elite young men in their martial identities and skills. It suggests that the military elements of the Grand Tour were undertaken by the majority of participants, which in turn points to the on-going perception that martial responsibilities, masculinity and virtues played an important role in wider elite identity and culture. While this perspective was inherited from internal elite British discourses, the martial societies and masculinities of the Continent also played an important role in conveying and affirming the development of martial masculinities and virtues in British Grand Tourists. The discourses of Grand Tourists themselves suggest that they often strongly identified with the martial elements of elite identity, and saw martial virtues, abilities and bodies as important markers of successful elite masculine performance. Martial masculinities and the associated virtues of hardiness, courage, endurance and enterprise remained vitally important to eighteenth-century elite masculinity. Accompanying, rather than conflicting with, other masculinities centred on politeness and aesthetics, these virtues were most effectively tested and formed within the context of danger. The Grand Tour, with its combined pressures of expected social success and masculine performance, had the potential to propel Grand Tourists into experiences of military danger when the opportunity arose.

While military hazards and curriculum were part of the attempt to justify the Grand Tour, the following chapter will contend that the elite community increasingly used other forms of danger, such as sports, the hardships of the road and mountains, to demonstrate

how the Grand Tour constructed hardy, robust elite men in command of martially inspired virtues such as courage, stoicism, honour and endurance.

Chapter 3. Mountains, Roads and Sports: “Hardy” Masculinities and the Grand Tour

Crises of masculinity aside, the eighteenth century admired men who overcame fear, took risks and emerged triumphant from encounters with danger. In 1727, Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline* claimed that ‘The military profession has in all Ages been esteemed the most Honourable from the Danger that attends it.’¹ In the mid-century, Samuel Johnson asserted that ‘Every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier, or not having been to sea...The profession of soldiers and sailors has the dignity of danger. Mankind reverence those who have got over fear, which is so general a weakness’.² This accolade was not just reserved for military men. The famous Swiss Alpine explorer, Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, glamourised the manly attitude behind a willingness to embrace danger in *Voyages dans les Alpes* (1779-96)'s discussion of chamois hunters: ‘it is these very dangers, this alternation between hope and fear, the continual agitation kept alive by these sensations in his heart, which excite the huntsman, just as they animate the gambler, the warrior, the sailor and, even to a certain point, the naturalist among the Alps’.³ Equally, Charles Moore's 1790 publication on suicide, gambling and duelling mused that ‘whatever be the causes and incitements to courage, its actual exertions will always meet with admiration, because men look up to its achievements [sic.] with a degree of fear and respect; and they pay a deference to its possessor, because they either feel themselves secure under his protection or dread the effects of his prowess’.⁴ Moore saw this admiration as deeply problematic in a civil, polite society, and scholars have frequently followed suit as they have struggled to reconcile the links between confrontations of danger, exercises of violence and the assertion of masculine identities within a civilised enlightened society.

Irrespective of whether society entirely agreed with it or not, courage in the face of danger continued to exert a sway as a fundamental testing point of masculinity. This ideal had a particular resonance for the eighteenth-century elite. As Chapter Two has argued, as the reality and ideal of elite martial leadership continued to hold weight, the masculine virtues related to the military and the ability to confront and overcome hardship, danger and

¹ Humphrey Bland, *A Treatise of Military Discipline...* (London, 1727), 114.

² James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. C. P. Chadsey and Gordon Ross (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1945), 449-50.

³ Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes...*(Neuchâtel, 1779-96), quoted in Robert MacFarlane, *Mountains of the Mind* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 71.

⁴ Charles Moore, *A Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide, to which are added....Two Treaties on Duelling and Gambling* (London, 1790), vol. ii, 262.

risk continued to be deemed important. Correspondingly, the eighteenth-century elite had a deeply ingrained belief in the transformative properties of danger. The experience of violence and exposure to danger and death was understood to define a person's nobility and confer a special knowledge and status upon them.⁵ While initially rooted in experiences of war, this was also embedded in other aspects of elite culture that were often, if not always, channelled towards transformative experiences of danger, rather than the infliction of violence and death. Physical experiences of hardships acted as courageous tests of endurance while sports and physical recreations, such as hunting, boxing, tennis and wrestling, redirected violence onto animals or into a sporting competitiveness.

Other more violent conventions remained. Duelling, for example, represented an overlap between military and civilian codes of honour, as a physical and mental test of courage, honour, nerve and skill and an external defence of honour.⁶ As Robert Shoemaker and Stephen Banks have outlined, duelling prospered in the long eighteenth century and, despite its dubious legal status, was advocated at the highest levels of society and government.⁷ George II was rumoured to have encouraged an officer to duel after being knocked down by an Ensign, and when he was Prince of Wales issued a challenge to the King of Prussia, while several leading politicians and prime ministers duelled at the peak of their careers, including William Pitt, the Duke of Wellington and Viscount Castlereagh.⁸ Statistically, gentlemen were the most likely section of society to engage in violence leading to death largely through duelling.⁹

⁵ Roger Manning, *Swordsmen: the martial ethos and the three kingdoms* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 145, 194; Yuval N. Harari, *The ultimate experience: battlefield revelations and the making of modern war culture, 1450-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) traces the evolution and democratisation of battlefield revelation as a product of Enlightenment and Romantic ideas between 1740 and 1865.

⁶ Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1590-1715* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 65-67; V. G. Kierman, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford: OUP, 1988), 114; Stephen Banks, "Killing with courtesy: the English duelist, 1785-1845," *The Journal of British Studies* 47:03 (2008): 540; Jennifer Low, *Manhood and the Duel: masculinity in early modern drama and culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3; Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 117.

⁷ Robert Shoemaker, "The taming of the duel: Masculinity, honour and ritual violence in London, 1660-1800," *Historical Journal* 45:3 (2002): 525-45; Banks, *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: The Duel and the English Gentlemen, 1750-1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), chap. 4.

⁸ Kierman, *The Duel*, 59, 101, 190-91; Banks, "Killing with courtesy," 557.

⁹ Shoemaker, "Male honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth-century London," *Social history* 26:2 (2001): 197.

These different ways of physically and mentally encountering danger were not only important in adult performance and assertion of masculine identity, but also formed a vital part of elite masculine education. Through experiencing, enduring and embracing hazard, elite young men fostered and confirmed virtues and abilities that were deemed desirable elite masculine and leadership traits. This chapter argues that the institution of the Grand Tour deliberately facilitated multiple encounters with different forms of danger and hardship. It focuses upon three types of encounter: sports, the hardships and hazards of the road, and engagement with mountains. Duels did happen on the Grand Tour but as very few have been discussed in the sources I have used this will not form a further part of my discussions.

The first section of the chapter discusses the importance of sports and hardships of the road. While the former was a highly popular dimension of elite masculine culture, the other was deeply rooted in contemporary pedagogical theory. Examining how Tourists and tutors discussed their experiences of both, this chapter argues that Grand Tourists were expected to cultivate positive attitudes towards physical exertion and danger, typically reporting on these activities cheerfully. Significantly they often demonstrated their awareness that such experiences were meant to form certain masculine virtues, and took the opportunity to lay claim in increases in, for example, courage, hardiness and skill. Equally, their emphasis upon the often-convivial and competitive nature of these experiences, combined with their and other's admiration for men who demonstrated physical courage and prowess. This highlights the contemporary valuing of danger and risk as a measure of masculinity.

The second section turns to the emerging importance of mountains during the period. Current scholarship on this topic has often focused upon the shifting aesthetic value of mountains and the rise of the sublime, or upon narrating the chronology of scientific exploration of the Alps and the rise of mountaineering in the nineteenth century. While scholars have argued that the Grand Tour adapted to incorporate these new cultural trends, the traditional elite Grand Tour is often understood to have little appreciation of or interest in mountains. This chapter revises this assumption, arguing that elite Grand Tourists, tutors and families appropriated mountains as a new forum for masculine performances of danger and risk, as they undertook close physical encounters with the mountain terrain that tested physical skill, endurance and courage. Beginning with an in-depth case study of the Common Room club's 1741 glacier expedition, and then proceeding to examine the continuities with later Grand Tourists from the 1760s and 1770s, this section argues that Grand Tourists actively engaged with dangerous mountain terrains and deliberately linked their activities with the respective fora of sport, the hardships of the road and martial activities in a common

discourse of hardy elite masculinity that actively celebrated physical, courageous and hardy achievements. I contend that from the earliest stages of engagement, mountains were deliberately yoked to the military as a part of the on-going effort to justify the Grand Tour within the elite community.

Sports and Hardships

Richard Holt and Mike Huggins have observed that scholars of masculinity frequently ignore the role of sport in masculine identity and culture.¹⁰ Equally, Robert Batchelor has observed that scholars have been affected by a cultural taboo against discussing the presence of sport and exercise in the Enlightenment, yet figures such as Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison undertook and recommended exercise.¹¹ The popularity of sports amongst eighteenth-century elite men suggests that this was an important area of masculine culture. Throughout the long eighteenth century, elite men enthusiastically participated in, organised and patronised a wide array of sports, including fencing, boxing, tennis, cockfighting, rowing, cricket and feats of athleticism, alongside field sports such as hunting, racing and shooting.¹² Simon Rees, for example, has identified representatives from most of the key aristocratic families in the large-scale hunting packs that developed from the early eighteenth century onwards.¹³ Boxing and other forms of physical combat also enjoyed huge popularity. As Karen Downing outlines, gentlemen were not simply observers, they were also 'interested in learning from champions how to fight'.¹⁴ During the 1780s-1830s more than one third of the nobility took lessons from the famous boxer, 'Gentleman' Jackson, but elite men prior to 1780

¹⁰ Richard Holt, "Historians and the History of Sport," *Sport in History* 34:1 (2014): 6; Mike Huggins, "Sport and the British Upper Classes c.1500-2000: A Historiographic Overview," *Sport in History* 28:3 (September 2008): 364.

¹¹ Robert Batchelor, "Thinking about the Gym: Greek Ideals, Newtonian Bodies and Exercise in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:2 (2012): 187, 189.

¹² Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: CUP, 1973), chap. 3 and 41, 56-57; Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: OUP, 1989), 20-25; Huggins, "Sport," 365.

¹³ Simon Rees, *The Charlton Hunt: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1998); See also Jane Bevan, "Agricultural change and the development of foxhunting in the eighteenth century," *Agricultural History Review* 58:1 (2010): 51-52; Roger Longrigg, *History of Fox Hunting* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 59-65.

¹⁴ Karen Downing, "The Gentleman Boxer: Boxing, Manners, and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Men and Masculinities* 12:3 (April 2012): 331.

also enthusiastically enjoyed boxing and other forms of unarmed, physical combat.¹⁵ A 1727 contest between James Figg and Ned Sutton attracted over a thousand spectators, including Sir Robert Walpole, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift.¹⁶ Figg established a London-based academy in 1719, while another famous boxer, Jack Broughton, established one in 1743. Both taught the 'Manly Art of Boxing' to elite clientele.¹⁷ In 1755, Elizabeth Montague noted without surprise of a male relative that 'his active mind loves not idleness...Lord Lyttelton pays for his learning French, fencing, boxing. &c.'¹⁸

Critics vehemently dismissed boxing as a base, violent sport and hunting as a boorish waste of time that distracted men from their duties.¹⁹ At the same time, sport had equally vehement champions and its own standing within masculine culture. As the *Sporting Magazine* declared in 1802:

The Appellation of SPORTSMAN has, for time immemorial, been considered characteristic of strict honour, true courage, unbounded hospitality, & unsullied integrity.²⁰

Throughout adulthood, aristocratic and gentry men used sports and physical recreation as a means of publically exposing themselves to risk, demonstrating their physical prowess and cultivating masculine virtues of courage and endurance. Sports like hunting and boxing were physically taxing, required skill and exposed the participants to the danger of injury.²¹ Several

¹⁵ John Whale, "Daniel Mendoza's Contests of Identity. Masculinity, Ethnicity and Nation in Georgian Prize-Fighting," *Romanticism* 14:3 (2008): 259; Peter Radford, "Lifting the Spirit of the Nation. British Boxers and the Emergence of the National Sporting Hero at the time of the Napoleonic Wars," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 12:2 (2005), 249-70; Dave Day, "'Science', 'Wind' and 'Bottom': Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29:10 (2012): 1448; Jane Moore, "Modern Manners: Regency Boxing and Romantic Sensibility," *Romanticism* 19:3 (2013): 276.

¹⁶ Downing, "Gentleman Boxer," 335-36.

¹⁷ Day, "Science," 1448-51; Alex Stewart, "The Boxer's 'Pugilistic-Present': Ethnographic Notes Towards a Cultural History of Amateur and Professional Boxing in England," *Sport in History* 31:4 (2011): 478-79; Radford, "The Olympic Games in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:2 (2012): 172.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Montagu, *The Letters of Mrs E. Montagu* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1809), vol. 4, 11-2, quoted in Day, "Science," 1459.

¹⁹ Downing, "Gentleman Boxer," 237-38; Stephen Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social and Political History* (New Haven and London: YUP, 1988), 63-65.

²⁰ "April 1802," *Sporting Magazine*, 3, quoted in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 43.

²¹ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2007), 69-70; Bevan, "Agricultural change," 52-74; David Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of Fox Hunting 1753-1885* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), 8-11.

scholars have noted that hunting, for example, became increasingly fast and risky as the century progressed. The breeding of faster hounds and horses, alongside policies of enclosure, meant fox hunting shifting from a display of endurance to one of speed to one of jumping prowess.²² Advocates argued that sports fostered and demanded physical strength and masculine virtues, such as courage, honour, self-control, competitiveness, hardiness, coolness and manliness, combating luxury and effeminacy with dangerous physical hardship.²³ Boxing, for example, ‘infused Strength, Hardiness, Courage and Honor’ and was deliberately used to create manly men at an elite and wider level of society.²⁴ As Downing emphasises, via the image of the ‘gentleman boxer’, it also brought together the traditionally held views of manliness with the civilizing effects of politeness.²⁵ Prize fighters were often held up as masculine ideals who were mild and sociable outside the ring, but steady, strategizing, cool and brave within. Even their physical form combined muscular physique with graceful motion.²⁶

As a forum to display one’s prowess and skill, sport constituted an effective masculine performance in its own right, but was also rationalised as a courageous show that was intrinsically related to war.²⁷ One hunting authority in 1733 felt that hunting entailed ‘noble and heroic...Manly Toils which laid the Foundation of Prowess and Glory in the ancient Heroes’, while John Aikin’s 1796 “Critical Essay” stated that war and the chase were the image of each other.²⁸ Hunting was theorised as elite peacetime training for war, developing certain skills that would be used on the battlefield, such as gaining an eye for the ground, overcoming fear, and horsemanship in challenging situations.²⁹ Likewise, boxing had long associations with classical preparations for combat and the British martial spirit. This intensified during the Napoleonic wars, as various political leaders advocated boxing as a

²² Bevan, “Agricultural change,” 49-75; Emma Griffin, *Blood sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: YUP, 2007), 125-30.

²³ Day, “Science,” 1449; Huggins, “Sport,” 365; Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege*, 21; Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 26, 43, 52.

²⁴ Downing, “Gentleman Boxer,” 348.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 228-30.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 354.

²⁷ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 54; Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege*, 20-21; Edwards, *Horse and Man*, 27-28, 69-70, 119, 131-34.

²⁸ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, 54.

²⁹ Raymond Carr, *English Fox Hunting: A History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 50-54; Huggins, “Sport,” 369; Edwards, *Horse and Man*, 119.

crucial means to prepare men for war and as famous boxers were cast as the embodiment of British military valour against Napoleon in verse, literature and caricature.³⁰ Sports prepared and proved elite men had the level of courage necessary for the battlefield.



Fig. 8. Pompeo Batoni, "Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon (1743-1827)," (National Gallery of Scotland, 1763-64)

Batoni's Grand Tour portrait of the 4th Duke of Gordon (see Fig. 8.) has often been cited as highly unusual in its subject matter of hunting, and representative of Gordon's disengagement with Rome's classical past.³¹ Yet, given the popularity of sport, it should not perhaps be too surprising that the Grand Tour offered a rigorous physical curriculum that included many elite sporting activities, particularly hunting, riding, dancing, fencing, tennis, cricket, shooting and other exercises. Boxing, a peculiarly British sport, received no mention, although a number of Grand Tourists boxed before and after their time abroad. The geographical setting of Gordon's portrait was certainly unusual, in the sense that Grand Tourists tended to indulge in these pursuits in France, Germany and Savoy, where they encountered plenty of opportunities for stag and boar hunting. These forms of hunting were

³⁰ Radford, "Lifting the Spirit," 264; See Ruti Ungar, "The Construction of the Body Politic and the Politics of the Body: Boxing as Battle Ground for Conservative and Radicals in Late Georgian England," *Sport in History* 31:4 (2011): 363-80; Downing, "Gentleman Boxer," 354, 248.

³¹ Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: prince of painters in eighteenth-century Rome* (New Haven: YUP, 2007), 87.

increasingly rare in Britain and were faster and more dangerous than fox hunting.³² This suggests that Grand Tourists took the opportunity to embrace sports only available on the Continent.

In their discussion of sporting activities, Grand Tourists tended to highlight the following themes. Firstly, they emphasised that these activities were physically taxing and often dangerous. Even dancing, as discussed in Chapter Two, was a means of intensive bodily conditioning and a preparation for military life. Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, exclaimed that 'I never was so fatigued in my life having danced two nights running'.³³ While dancing's greatest perils normally involved slippery parquet, other physical activities were characterised as much more hazardous. Lincoln's athletic jumping competition resulted in a sprained leg, while Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle assured the Duchess of Richmond that a fifteen-year old Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, would be kept safe from 'the least Possibility of Hazard' during 'a Wild Boar Hunting' at Hanover.³⁴ John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield's account of boar hunting with the King of France described hard riding – the King changed mounts three times – and the risks involved. 'They hunt in Great Saddles & Boots almost as large as their Bodies...defence against The Boar, The Trees. The Kick of an horse, or the falling of an Horse on the leg.'³⁵ Indeed, during the 'Heat of the Chace', Holroyd saw a man thrown and 'dragged by the leg a considerable way but not hurt'.³⁶ Similarly, when Yorke and Wettstein stag hunted with the Margrave of Anspach, Wettstein was also thrown, alarming the 'Margrave who happened to be near at the time & was the first to assist him'.³⁷ In both situations, Holroyd and Yorke showcased the kind humanity of their hosts, who stopped to check on the fallen. Reporting on these falls also highlighted the hazard involved and silently juxtaposed the failure of those who fell against the Tourist's own superior skill.

³² Griffin, *Blood Sport*, 110, 112, 125.

³³ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 13th January 1777, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke's Grand Tour Journal.

³⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 32723 f. 63, 30th September 1750, Duke of Newcastle, Hanover, to the Duchess of Richmond, Hanover.

³⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 126-27, 1st September 1763, John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 11th July 1762, Holroyd's Grand Tour Diary.

³⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 126-27, 1st September 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 11th July 1762, Holroyd's Diary.

³⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 35378, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke.

Secondly, letters and diaries often emphasised the convivial and competitive nature of sport. Sports were extremely public, communal activities undertaken with and in front of friends and society. Richmond, William Legge, 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Frederick North, George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey, and George Simon Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, all went stag hunting with Karl Theodore, Elector of Palatine, at Mannheim in the 1750s.³⁸ Likewise, George, Lord Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke hunted boar and stag several times with the Duc de Chartres in 1780.³⁹ Sports were opportunities to display prowess and skill in order to garner respect. Herbert, for example, recorded how he jumped his horse through Turin's surrounding countryside to the admiration and surprise of 'the Piedmontese Spectators'.⁴⁰ Lincoln described a 'chase of five hours and a half' with the Sardinian King and how he 'gained much honour in stopping the hounds as they were running after the wrong deer'.⁴¹ Similarly, Holroyd was delighted to report that the King of France 'surveyed us English very much'.⁴² Having kept up with the hunt despite riding borrowed mounts and not changing horses, he and the other Englishmen's horsemanship attracted compliments from the French nobility and the King himself.⁴³ As discussed in Chapter One, Holroyd struggled in Paris because of his lack of letters of recommendation. Without these, he had joined the hunt but received a distinct lack of welcome. His sporting prowess, however, was such that it circumvented this issue for him.

Finally as this indicates, Grand Tourists and other men who demonstrated physical prowess were often the recipients of admiration, demonstrating that these skills acted as a visible marker of masculine status. For example, the Common Room and the German Counts deeply admired Robert Price's athletic abilities during their Grand Tours and even after his lifetime.⁴⁴ After Price's death, Richard Aldworth opened his memories with a strong testimonial to Price's prowess.

³⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 32733 f. 230, 9th November 1753, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, Leyden, to Newcastle; LMA, Acc. 510/254, George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey's Grand Tour Journal, 54.

³⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/6, 9th May 1780, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke's Grand Tour Journal.

⁴⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 26th February 1780, Herbert's Journal.

⁴¹ "25th November 1739, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle," in Joseph Spence, *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 230.

⁴² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 126-27, 1st September 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ NRO, WKC 7/46/19, 19th April 1741, Thomas Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods.

Price was of a robust and athletic make, with a sedate handsome countenance. He loved manly exercises, and excelled in them all. He would have made a great figure at Broughton's; but turned that address, as he did every other, to good purposes, and good purposes only; this was occasionally exerted to correct impertinence, but never without great judgment as well as justice. He would have been the first tennis player in England; but his father telling him one day, he feared that exercise might bring him into bad company, he would never take a racket afterwards.⁴⁵

The discourses surrounding the Grand Tour, masculinity and physical prowess did not simply applaud demonstrations of physical ability and courage. They also incorporated the oft-emphasised ideals of self-control and a well-balanced lifestyle.⁴⁶ As Aldworth's testimony suggests, sporting ability was praiseworthy providing it was not all consuming. Price channelled his sporting abilities to 'good purposes only' that enabled him to become a better man, while his retirement from tennis represented humility and respect for paternal concerns. Elite culture clearly recognised that sport was not just a pleasure. It also served a higher purpose. Aldworth contrasted this laudable example against William Windham. Aldworth highlighted his competitive nature, describing how he vied with Price 'in every feat of strength and agility, and so far he succeeded that he was known through London by the name *boxing Windham*'.⁴⁷ While that in itself was not harmful, Windham's 'utter abhorrence of restraint' meant that his sporting prowess led him into bad company and a lifestyle that wasted his 'genius'. Strikingly, Aldworth felt this waste was redeemed by Windham's enthusiastic involvement in the 1760s New Militia movement, which finally channelled his abilities in the correct direction – the service of his country.⁴⁸

The Grand Tour's sporting itinerary and the discussions surrounding these activities reveal that elite men prized positive attitudes towards physical exertion and risk. Always balanced with intellectual and social accomplishments, this attitude was echoed in educational practice and theory throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Physical exercise was highly recommended and was accompanied by a wider theory that advocated exposure to physical hardships from a young age. Exercise and exposure were both understood to stimulate a strong, healthy body and cultivate the virtues of fortitude and courage. In 1622, Henry Peacham quoted the advice of Horace:

⁴⁵ William Coxe, *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet...* (London, 1811), vol. 1., 160.

⁴⁶ For the importance of self-control as a masculine virtue, see Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1660-1900* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 53, 59-67.

⁴⁷ Coxe, *Literary Life*, vol. 1., 161.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 164.

Friend, let thy child hard pouerty endure,
 And growne to strength, to warre himselfe inure;
 Learne bravely mounted, sterne Caualeir,
 To charge the fiercest *Parthian* with his speare:
 Let him in fields without doores leade his life,
 And exercise him where are dangers rife, &c.⁴⁹

The basic sentiments that teaching a child to endure hardship by encouraging a outdoor life and exposing him to 'dangers rife' was a preparation for adult responsibilities like war were echoed in 1693 by John Locke's highly influential *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*.⁵⁰ Locke opened with stern guidelines on the need for physical hardship from an early age. From the cradle, boys should not be clothed too warmly, should have their feet washed in cold water, have shoes thin enough to let in water, be exposed to open air with the risks of cold wind and sunburn, have a plain diet, hard beds and early mornings.⁵¹ Locke repeatedly advocated that these measures were fundamental in making boys 'stronger and healthier'. 'a strong Constitution, able to endure Hardships: and Fatigue' was a 'requisite...to one that will make any Figure in the World', particularly as 'A Gentleman in any Age ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear Arms, and be a Soldier'.⁵² Locke united the formation of the body with the formation of the mind. 'As the Strength of the Body lies chiefly in being able to endure Hardships, so also does that of the Mind.'⁵³ Boys needed to be 'harden'd against all Sufferings, especially of the Body, and have a tenderness only of Shame and for Reputation'. Achieving a 'brawniness and insensibility of Mind' and body was 'the best Armour' against the evils of the world.⁵⁴ Given Locke's interest in nerves and what was to become sensibility, his emphasis that the masculine mind should be characterised by brawniness and insensibility formed a striking plea for masculine robustness.

⁴⁹ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentlemen...*(London, 1622), 31.

⁵⁰ Locke's influence upon pedagogical thought in the eighteenth-century has been indicated by scholars such as George C. Brauer (see *The education of a gentleman: theories of gentlemanly education in England, 1660-1775* (New Haven: College and University Press, 1959), 26, 71) and Stephen Bygrave (See *Uses of education: readings in Enlightenment in England* (Lewisburg [Pa.]: Bucknell University Press, 2009), 33-34, 98). Anthony Fletcher's *Growing up in England: the experience of childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven: YUP, 2008), 80 outlines Locke's influence upon landed and commercial families.

⁵¹ John Locke, *Some Thoughts on Education* (London, 1693), 4-25.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 3, 8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 32, 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 127, 128.

Locke's advice largely focused around a culture of physical and mental hardship, but he also gave attention towards physical exercise, claiming that 'the Exercises of the Body and the Mind [should be] the *Recreation* one to another'.⁵⁵ He recommended, with some provisos, dancing, riding the great horse and fencing. Riding was 'of use to a Gentleman both in Peace and War'.⁵⁶ Fencing was 'a good Exercise for Health, but dangerous to the Life'.⁵⁷ Strikingly, he ruminated that a moderate fencer was at more risk in a duel than a good wrestler and that if he was preparing his son for a duel, he would ensure he could wrestle rather than fence as that skill contributed to a man's courage and martial ability.⁵⁸ Less was said about sports, but significantly he argued that '*Recreation* is not being idle...but easing the wearied part by change of Business: And he that thinks *Diversion* may not lie in hard and painful Labour, forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold and Hunger of Huntsmen, which is yet known to be the constant Recreation of Men of the greatest Condition'.⁵⁹ In Locke's understanding, hunting was part of the range of physical activities that embraced hardship and this mingling of hardship, business and recreation was idealised as one of the most pleasurable experiences.

Educational theorists throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century echoed Locke's attitude to the pedagogical virtues of hardship and exercises. It formed a less overt presence in the first part of the eighteenth century but by 1756 James Nelson advocated a moderated version of Locke, contending that hardships and exercises imparted 'Strength and Vigor'.⁶⁰ The virtues of fortitude and courage were vital masculine attributes: courage was 'command of Countenance, a dauntless Air and Behaviour...it is a Firmness of Spirit that enables us to encounter every Danger when necessary; and to demean ourselves to a proper manner under Trouble, Pain, and Disappointment'.⁶¹ By 1773, George Chapman's *Treatise on Education* continued to acknowledge Locke's influence, arguing that 'the body, when softened by indolence, or mistaken tenderness, enfeebles the mind, relaxes its vigor, and unfits it for every great or difficult undertaking, but 'when nourished by temperance and hardened by

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 237-38.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 239-40.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁶⁰ James Nelson, *An Essay on the Government of Children...*(London, 1756), 134-43.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 197.

exercise, it enables the soul to exert its native strength.⁶² Chapman more explicitly advocated physical exercise, suggesting that young male bodies should, 'like the ancient Roman youth...be almost continually in motion', and undertake exercises that increased physical strength and endurance, as well as give agility and gracefulness.⁶³ Chapman opened by celebrating the 'athletic exercises and public games' of ancient Greece, which 'rendered the body more hardy and vigorous...diffused a manly, independent, patriotic spirit', and served as a school for military virtue and public liberty.⁶⁴ Correspondingly, contemporary young men should learn how to 'suffer pain with a manly spirit...a lesson for which they may have occasion in the different stages of life'.⁶⁵ By the 1800s, William Barrow believed that 'hardy and even dangerous diversions' were meant to give 'activity of body and vigour of mind; the capacity of making manly exertions, and bearing fatigues and inconveniences; and courage and confidence in themselves and their own powers'.⁶⁶

As Elizabeth Foyster observes, physical hardship and exercise remained enduringly important educational elements.⁶⁷ Men were expected to be spirited, physically powerful, aggressive and competitive.⁶⁸ While physical training, sports and experiences of hardship were a means to cultivate these traits, eighteenth-century educationalists made strong connections between a fit body and a fit mind, contending that this was an effective way to developing virtues of courage, fortitude and, most importantly, self-control, which in turn led to the ability to be able to command others.⁶⁹ While the emphasis on active and even dangerous sports grew more overt as the long eighteenth century progressed, these theorists were united in their belief that a fit and active body produced a fit and active mind, manly virtues of strength, resolution, courage and a patriotic spirit.

⁶² George Chapman, *Treatise on Education...* (London, 1773), 5, 6, 7, 40, 130-32.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 133, 135. See Bygrave, *Uses of education*, chap. 3 for an exploration of the complex debates over Sparta and educational ideals.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-17.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶⁶ William Barrow, *An Essay on Education* (London, 1802), vol. 2, 162, quoted in Michèle Cohen, "'Manners' Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 324.

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Foyster, "Boys will be boys? Manhood and aggression, 1660-1800," in *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 153, 164.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 151-53, 161, 196-97.

To return to the Grand Tour, scholars have frequently noted that the hardships of the road, ranging from carriage accidents to rough, frightening tracks, hard, flea-ridden beds and dirty inns, produced an endless litany of complaints, but they have failed to fully explore the hardships of travel in relation to this pedagogical discourse.⁷⁰ As Henry French and Mark Rothery contend, elite families recognised travel was physically and morally perilous, but they valued it for exactly the same reasons.⁷¹ Elite families believed the Grand Tour was valuable because it exposed their sons to the formative and ‘wholesome’ hardships of the road and travel, hardships that were understood to possess transformative properties.

This belief was explicitly stated in a number of seventeenth-century pedagogical publications. For example, Richard Lassels’ 1670 *The Voyage of Italy* contended that:

It teacheth him wholesome hardship; to lye in beds that are none of his acquaintance; to speak to men he neuer saw before; to trauel in the morning before day, and in the euening after day; to endure any horse and weather, as well as any meat and drink. Whereas my country gentleman that neuer traueled, can scarce go to *London* without makeing his *Will...* And what generous mother will not say to her sonn with that ancient [Seneca]? *Malo tibi malè esse, quàm molliter: I had rather thou shouldst be sick, then soft.*⁷²

Lassels believed these difficulties should be approached cheerfully, arguing that ‘mirth is neuer so lawfull as in traueling, where it shortens long miles, and sweetens bad vsage; that is, makes a bad *dinnar* go downe, and a bad *horse* go on.’⁷³ In 1695, Maximilien Misson reiterated this as he described the difficulties of travel:

The Weather is very rough; the way of Travelling ordinarily unpleasant, and the days so short, that we get late in at Night, and rise very early: We oftentimes meet with hard Lodging, and worse Diet; and besides, we are exposed to many dangers.⁷⁴

Yet Misson claimed that ‘with a good Stock of Health, Money, Chearfulness and Patience, we have surmounted these difficulties, even almost without taking notice of them,’ as novelty ‘recreates the Spirits’, ‘weariness supplies the want of a Bed, and Exercise sharpens our Appetites’ to the extent that even ‘the tenderest and most delicate Persons of our Company,

⁷⁰ See Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1992), Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Putnam, 1969) and Roger Hudson, *The Grand Tour, 1592-1796* (London: the Folio Society, 1993) for classic examples.

⁷¹ French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, 141, 143, 154.

⁷² Richard Lassels, *The voyage of Italy...* (Paris, 1670), preface, 141-42.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, preface.

⁷⁴ Maximilien Misson, *A new voyage of Italy...* (London, 1695), 144.

have easily overcome all those Obstacles'.⁷⁵ As he later observed, 'Travelling is attended with *Pleasure* and *Profit*, but 'tis no less certain that these Advantages cannot be obtain'd without *Pain*.'⁷⁶ As Michèle Cohen notes, seventeenth-century conduct literature clearly saw the hardships of Grand Tour as a means of producing men, not just gentlemen.⁷⁷

The association between wholesome hardship and the Grand Tour disappeared from eighteenth-century conduct literature and travel guides. Joseph Addison, Thomas Nugent, Henry de Blainville, and John Breval made no reference to the virtues of hardships and it formed no part of "Shaftsbury"'s defence of the Tour in Richard Hurd's *Dialogues on the Use of Foreign Travel* (1762).⁷⁸ Nevertheless, it remained a tenacious ideal within elite families throughout the eighteenth-century before reemerging in printed literature connected to, for example, the Romantic ideal of mountaineering and travel, and in Edward Gibbon's *Memoirs*. This ideal is clearly evident in the letters and diaries of Grand Tourists and tutors. As the following section will explore, they frequently echoed Lassels and Misson in narrating their experiences with a cheerful tone, highlighting the development and increase of certain masculine virtues, and asserting a sense of security in their manly status. Perhaps operating under a degree of familial pressure, Grand Tourists clearly utilised their experiences of travel as opportunities to prove their masculine status.

These accounts were notable for their consistently cheerful tone. For example, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth's letters successfully maintained a sense of pleasure in his engagement with hardship. While his brother and tutor were laid low by seasickness during the Calais crossing and unable to sleep in Pont St Maxerjee and Tours because the room was full of fleas, Lewisham buoyantly claimed he had been 'perfectly well', 'never slept more soundly in my life' and that he viewed fleas as lucky as the scratching gave them a form of exercise.⁷⁹ Lewisham frequently demonstrated that such trials failed to impact upon his good humour and indeed contributed towards his overall enjoyment. Some were

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 144-45.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 305.

⁷⁷ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 58.

⁷⁸ Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy...* (London: 1705); John Breval, *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe* (London: 1726); Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour...* 2nd ed. (London: 1756); Henry de Blainville, *Travels Through Holland...* (London: 1767); Richard Hurd, *Dialogues on the Use of Foreign Travel* (London: 1762).

⁷⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 20th July 1775, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, Calais, to William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 31st July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 26th August 1775, Lewisham, Tours, to Dartmouth.

more successful in maintaining this attitude than others. At the start of his tour through the Alps, Yorke gamely described their 'Cavalcade', which set off on horseback through the rain and was so well covered with oilcloths that they arrived 'drier than could be well expected.'⁸⁰ A month and a half later, he had clearly had enough, having 'began to think myself fixed amongst the mountains for life', and was relieved to find 'an excellent lodging' in Milan.⁸¹ Nevertheless, he still reported a chaise accident in the mountains of Somma with a certain insouciance.

the spokes of the forewheel broke all at once & the chaise fell over as gently as if it had been turned on its side with the greatest care. Luckily neither Wettstein nor myself were hurt but by the greatest good fortune in the world escaped falling down a precipice of 30 or 40 yards.⁸²

Yorke's difficulties in maintaining this tone of cheerful nonchalance not only demonstrated that Grand Tourists were enduring a genuine degree of discomfort and privation. It also points to the pressure they were under to construct and report these experiences in certain ways. A cheerful tone was representative of a wider array of virtues, and Grand Tourists and tutors often pointedly highlighted how their experiences cultivated masculine virtues, such as patience, stoutness, and hardiness. Both Lewisham and Herbert's tutors, David Stevenson and William Coxe, reported to their parents that they were, respectively, 'one of the best Travellers I know' and 'a very stout traveller'.⁸³ Equally, Herbert's travel diary reflected an enduring pride in his 'hardiness' and carefully traced its development. His journal from Naples to Rome opened with a detailed complaint of 'What a Night have I passed [at Capua], not being able to gett to sleep from Animals crawling continually all over my poor dear Person'.

I deserved it for going to Bed last night without looking, whereas had I proceeded in my customary manner laying myself down on a board, Bench, or table, I should have slept like a Hero, but Naples had made me luxurious, and this night was I repaid for it.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 16th June 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁸¹ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 27th-30th July 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁸² BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 15th April 1779, Yorke's Journal.

⁸³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 29th March 1776, David Stevenson, Rennes, to Dartmouth; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, August 5th 1776, William Coxe, Lucerne, to Lady Pembroke.

⁸⁴ "17th September 1779, Lord Herbert's Grand Tour Journal," in *Henry, Elizabeth and George (1734-80) Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle*, ed. Lord Herbert (London: J. Cape, 1939), 255.

His aversion to the soft bed directly echoed published pedagogical theories concerning their effect upon the body. The rest of his entries en route to Rome described the gradual hardening of his body. Walking through the rain and testing himself through out-walking his mules (despite the driver putting the mules into competition with him), Herbert re-hardened his body back into a “heroic” capacity as he shook off the luxurious effects of Naples. Two nights later, he put together ‘two Tables, very greasy and dirty, putt a clean sheet over them and upon this hard Bed, I had a very comfortable sleep, till the Sun rose next morning.’⁸⁵ The following day, he happily described how he not only walked most of the day through the rain, but also endured a ‘most violent ache in my stomach’. Eventually, ‘I happily gott rid of, by a proper evacuation under a hedge.’ Having proved he had re-attained his physical hardiness, he was able to re-enter his chaise and reached Rome the following day.⁸⁶

The road and the hardships encountered on it led through all sorts of terrain and weather, from the possibility of bandits in the woods outside Osteria to a horse falling on the road between Orleans and Paris.⁸⁷ However, the hazards associated with mountain geographies, particularly the Alps, were accorded particular significance. Throughout the century, numerous Grand Tourists and travellers recounted their passage through the Alps via the Cenis, Simplon and St Bernard Passes. As scholars have noted, these were often characterised by fear and repulsion, or sublime appreciation.⁸⁸ Some Grand Tourists and tutors, however, undertook another narrative where the exposure to the more extreme hazards of the mountain road hardened and expanded their capacity for experiencing danger and discomfort. Yorke, for example, gave a graphic description of the road to the Baths of Leuk and over the Simplon Pass. At the highest points of the Gemmi, the road was ‘frightful in the descent’, while on the Simplon Pass, ‘The road was so narrow in several places that while I was sitting on my horse I could touch the rock with one foot & let the other leg over the edge of the road.’⁸⁹ Yorke was at pains to highlight the dangers, recounting how his tutor’s horse ‘began to kick & run, so that [Wettstein] was obliged to throw himself off the side of the rock to avoid falling into the river’, and how their guide told them ‘with all the sangfroid possible’,

⁸⁵ “19th September 1779, Lord Herbert’s Grand Tour Journal,” in *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, 259.

⁸⁶ “20th-21st September 1779, Lord Herbert’s Grand Tour Journal,” in *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, 261.

⁸⁷ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 2nd November 1779, Herbert’s Journal; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/6, 28th-29th April 1780, Herbert’s Journal.

⁸⁸ Black, *British Abroad*, 33-35; Hibbert, *Grand Tour*, 91-101; Hudson, *Grand Tour*, 67-71; Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Harper Collins, 2002), 133-36.

⁸⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 24th, 27th July 1778, Yorke’s Journal.

that he had been thrown two hundred yards down a precipice into a torrent.⁹⁰ Strikingly, Yorke claimed that the road was not dangerous:

for those whose heads and feet are steady & who walk with caution; those who are subject to giddiness should not attempt it, or let themselves be carried in a chair on mens shoulders & turn their backs to the precipice or have a bandage over their eyes.⁹¹

Yorke implied that certain individuals had self-control over body and mind to ensure their own safety, whereas others had to relinquish this task to others. Yorke's later entries indicated that his experiences had increased his command of these virtues. When he crossed Mount Cenis, he contended that it was 'nothing in comparison of the St Gothard or the Gemini or the Simplon...yet it must strike anyone who has not passed them'.⁹²

Yorke's reflections highlight the development of a masculine virtue: the increase of courage. In Coxe's published account of Herbert's Grand Tour, he echoed Yorke's sentiments almost exactly:

delicate travellers, who do not chuse to mount a rugged ascent, either on foot or on horseback, are carried in an arm-chair supported by means of poles upon men's shoulders. We proceeded, however, on horseback, having before rode up steeper and more difficult paths.⁹³

Coxe travelled through Switzerland and various Baltic routes with Herbert in the late 1770s and then acted as a tutor for another Grand Tourist, Samuel Whitbread, in 1784. The more he travelled, the more Coxe found that various roads and passes were far less dangerous than 'as represented by many travellers'.⁹⁴ He contended this difference in perception was due to his repeated exposure to hardship through travel, as certain routes seemed 'dangerous to those, who are unused to mountainous countries, or whose heads are apt to turn giddy'.⁹⁵ However, Coxe found personally that:

in 1776, I described the passage of the Furca as extremely difficult, and attended with some danger. But that was my first essay over the less frequented alps. How different

⁹⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 26th July 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁹¹ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 24th July 1778, Yorke's Journal.

⁹² BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 14th May 1779, Yorke's Journal.

⁹³ Coxe, *Travels into Switzerland...*(London, 1789), vol. 1, 372.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 410.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 313, 372, 374.

are our sensations at different intervals! To-day, on measuring the same ground, though I did not find the road as *smooth as a bowling-green*, I yet never once dismounted; but rode with my Letters on Switzerland in my hand, occasionally making notes and observations: it must, however, be confessed, that in many parts, where a faint path along the crags and impending precipices was scarcely obvious, my situation was not very favourable for accurate composition.⁹⁶

The humorous comparison between Coxe's initial difficult, dangerous experience and his subsequent unconcerned multitasking included a deliberate reminder that this remained a hazardous terrain. It was Coxe's capacity to cope that had changed. Equally, *Travels in Poland*, which described the Baltic and Scandinavian branch of Herbert's Grand Tour, similarly included numerous examples of how he, Coxe and John Floyd became increasingly inured to hardships.⁹⁷

we frequently observed sparks to drop from them [lamps] upon the straw which was prepared for our beds: nor were we able by the strongest expression of fear, to awaken in them the slightest degree of circumspection. For some time after coming into this country, we used to start up with no small emotion in order to extinguish the sparks; but, such is the irresistible influence of custom, we became at last ourselves perfectly insensible to the danger of this practice, and caught all the indifference of the natives...This supineness which I so easily acquired in this particular, convinced me (if I may compare small things with great) that I could live with the inhabitants at the foot of Mount Vesuvius without dread of an eruption; or sit unconcerned with the natives of Constantinople amid the devastations of the plague.⁹⁸

Coxe's claim to 'supineness' captures the attitude and desires exhibited by Herbert on the road to Rome, Lewisham in his bed of fleas and Yorke on the mountain passes. Elite young men and tutors alike sought to present themselves as travellers and men who through accustoming themselves to "minor" dangers and hardships proved their ability to confront much greater trials.

Grand Tourists, tutors and their families claimed that repeated exposure to hardship and danger inured them, as the continual process of travel exposed them to challenging and frightening terrains and experiences, and expanded their capacity for enduring hardship and danger. In reflecting a deeply ingrained elite understanding that danger and discomfort were positive attributes in masculine formation, Grand Tourists' and tutors' construction of hardship indicated a determination to engage with this particular masculine discourse and to

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁹⁷ These included eating peasant's rye-bread, which disgusted 'the taste of a delicate traveller', but 'when seasoned with hunger, it was quite delicious,' and surrendering a bed of straw to an invasion of pigs, while Herbert and Floyd slept through the commotion. Coxe, *Travels into Poland...*(London, 1784), vol. 2, 22, 304.

⁹⁸ Coxe, *Travels into Poland...*(London, 1784), vol. 1, 278-79.

demonstrate a resilience that sat in direct opposition to the more commonly acknowledged litany of complaints. Resting upon tangible proof that they had endured and blossomed in challenging conditions, these narratives were often accompanied by an enduring sense of pride and superiority. Herbert and his tutors, for example, were extremely proud of their unusual Grand Tour route. As quoted in the Introduction, Herbert had scoffed at ‘those Gentlemen’ who found the mountain journey to Turin hard, juxtaposing them against his ‘hardy, stout’ Coxe and even his manservant, Laurent, ‘a most excellent Fellow on these Expeditions’.⁹⁹ Equally, Floyd mocked the English ‘sever Frost here – it never was eight degrees of cold, & at St: Petersburg we had 28 – You may laugh if You please, but I find myself infinitely the better for that northern Jaunt.’¹⁰⁰ Herbert also laughed to Coxe, ‘Lord P wrote saying Coxe is expected daily, but nobody knows where he is. I thought you might have finished your days in Switzerland, by having fallen down some Precipice etc.’¹⁰¹ For Herbert, Coxe and Floyd, their collective experience of hardship in travel, tested and affirmed within each other’s presence, gave them a sense of masculine superiority over other travellers and British men.

In discussing the Grand Tour’s engagement with sports and the hardships of the road, this section has explored two different means through which Grand Tourists developed and tested their physical skills and masculine virtues in challenging and hazardous settings. It also highlights the cultural expectations surrounding these activities. The narratives of Grand Tourists clearly demonstrate that they were expected to approach danger and hardship with a cheerful nonchalance that was the product of a wider array of masculine virtues. While linked in a number of ways, particularly by the elite understanding of the transformative properties of danger, these two means of embracing hazard were differentiated by intent. Hardships of the road were endured out of necessity, whereas sport represented a willing seeking out of hazard. The following section explores another means of experiencing danger on the Grand Tour that brought these two together: the mountain.

Rethinking Mountains and the Grand Tour

⁹⁹ WHSC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 1st December 1779, Herbert’s Journal

¹⁰⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/28, 20th January 1780, John Floyd, Stamford, to Herbert.

¹⁰¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/34, 16th February 1780, Herbert, Turin, to Coxe.

In 1741, alongside a number of minor expeditions, the Common Room club organised an expedition to the glaciers of Savoy.¹⁰² Leaving Geneva on horseback, Windham, Richard Pococke, Price, Aldworth, Thomas Hamilton, 7th Earl of Haddington, and his younger brother, George Hamilton Baillie, along with Windham's tutor, Benjamin Stillingfleet, and a former tutor, Walter Chetwynd, followed the River Arve via the Maule and Cluse to the village of Chamonix. From there, they examined the edge of the glaciers and the following day climbed a mountain that allowed them to descend onto the top of the glaciers higher up. Setting out at noon and arriving back at the village just before sunset, this took around eight hours. They also spent five hours climbing the Maule.¹⁰³ This was not a journey with a practical purpose. Members of the Common Room had embraced the hardships of the road enroute to destinations with cheerful humour. Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier chirpily described a storm outside Lausanne that forced them to hold 'a Council at ye bottom of ye Hill under ye Gallows, Whether we should go on or hang ourselves: Twas carried by a majority of 2 Votes that we should go on', and they had endured unfortunate incidents such as Dampier' having several books land on his head while travelling on rough roads.¹⁰⁴ However, the 1741 expedition was clearly superfluous in this sense and was undertaken for other reasons.

The Grand Tour's engagement with mountains has typically been considered in relation to the rise of sublime aesthetics. This section explores another perspective by examining how engagement with mountains fitted into the elite understanding of transformative danger as, from at least the 1740s onwards, a number of Grand Tourists began to actively seek out the dangers and challenges associated with the mountain terrain. Elite men saw experiences of mountain terrain as transformative in three important ways: firstly, and primarily, as a stage for the exploration and performance of masculinity, secondly, as the subject of scientific and intellectual exploration, and thirdly as a site for self-discovery and the sublime. In prioritising the first argument, this thesis does not seek to refute the importance of the scientific and sublime discourses, but contends that Grand Tour engagement with mountains should be placed within the wider context of elite masculine cultures of physicality, danger and courage, and the physical, masculine and martial performances associated with hardy homosociability. It contends that elite young men on the Grand Tour began to appropriate mountains as another opportunity to test and prove their

¹⁰² BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 30th-10th - 31st-11th June 1741, Richard Pococke's 'Letters'.

¹⁰³ William Windham's account of this was published in Peter Martel [and William Windham], *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy...* (London, 1744).

¹⁰⁴ NRO, WKC 7/46/13-4, 17th March 1741, Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier, Strasbourg, to the Bloods.

physicality and courage, thus merging the terrain associated with enduring the hardships of travel with the willing seeking of danger linked to sports.

This section begins with a case study of the Common Room club, a group of at least fourteen Grand Tourists, tutors and other elite men in the late 1730s and early 1740s. As the earliest example I have found of this form of engagement with mountains, their 1741 expedition is of particular significance. The second part of this section will then consider other Grand Tourists, such as Holroyd, Lewisham and Herbert, who followed suit in the 1760s and 1770s.

William Windham and the Common Room's 1741 Glacier Expedition

In 1744, a pamphlet entitled *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy* was published for the Royal Society. Comprising of illustrations and two letters describing two separate expeditions to the Mer de Glace, it was published under the name of a Genevan instrument-maker, Peter Martel. However, the first letter had been written by Windham and the illustrations were by Price. It described their 1741 expedition, and was one of a number of projects that came out of their and their fellow Common Room club member's Grand Tour. Standard histories of Alpine mountaineering typically present the 1741 expedition, particularly Pococke's involvement, as pioneering and a key inspiration for Horace-Benedict de Saussure, who had a manuscript version of Windham's account in his library.¹⁰⁵ The expedition's exploration, scientific and aesthetic elements have often been mentioned but my analysis places the expedition within its Grand Tour and homosocial context, placing it within a fuller analysis of manuscript material relating to the Common Room and Pococke.

Aesthetic admiration of mountains and the sublime formed an element of the Common Room's purpose. Windham noted that they were motivated by a desire 'to enjoy the Prospect, which is *delicious*' and 'entertained with an agreeable variety of fine landskips'.¹⁰⁶ Windham was 'extremely at a Loss how to give a right Idea of [the glacier]; as I know no one thing which I have ever seen that has the least Resemblance to it', and compared it to a storm-

¹⁰⁵ G. R. de Beer, *Early Travellers in Switzerland* (Oxford: OUP, 1949), 34; Jim Ring, *How the English made the Alps* (London: John Murray, 2000), 15, 18; Paul F. Bernard, *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 30; John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven: YUP, 1997); Elizabeth Baigent, "Pococke, Richard (1704-1765)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22432, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

¹⁰⁶ [Windham], *An account*, 2, 8, 11.

tossed Lake of Geneva 'frozen all at once' as the mountains 'shoot up immensely high'.¹⁰⁷

Despite this, Windham began his publication by declaiming his lack of artistic and literary imagination, and established that he would 'confine myself to giving you a faithful Relation of the *Incidents* of the Journey', over descriptions of 'the Beauty and Variety of the Situations and Prospects'.¹⁰⁸

As will be discussed in greater detail, the sublime hinged upon an aesthetic principle of distanced terror.¹⁰⁹ Yet, between 1741 and 1780, a number of Tourists broke this rule as they deliberately sought more physically testing encounters with mountains and used their narratives to emphasise the danger involved in their activities. Crucially, in 1741, as well as rejecting opportunities to present their expedition in aesthetic terms, Windham and the Common Room placed themselves in a close proximity to danger as they went beyond the ends of the glacier, which marked the boundary of what 'all the Travellers, who had been to the *Glacieres* hitherto, had been satisfied with'.¹¹⁰ As they began to penetrate into, onto and up the mountain and glaciers, a significant transition occurred. Windham outlined how the route became increasingly dangerous as the Common Room clung with hands and staffs to the mountainside. Had they not, 'we must many times have gone down into the Precipice.'¹¹¹

The Ascent was so steep that we were obliged sometimes to cling to them with our Hands, and make use of Sticks, with sharp Irons at the Ends to support ourselves. Our road lay slant Ways, and we had several Places to cross where the *Avalanches* of Snow were fallen, and had made terrible Havock; there was nothing to be seen but Trees torn up by the Roots, and large Stones, which seemed to lie without any Support; every step we set, the Ground gave way, the Snow which was mixed with it made us slip, and had it not been for our Staffs, and our Hands, we must many times have gone down the Precipice. We had an uninterrupted View quite to the Bottom of the Mountain, and the Steepness of the Descent join'd to the Height where we were, made a View terrible enough to make most People's Heads turn. In short, after climbing with great Labour for four Hours and three Quarters, we got to the Top of the Mountain.¹¹²

Our Curiosity did not stop here, we were resolved to go down upon the Ice; we had about four hundred Yards to go down, the Descent was excessively steep, and all of a dry crumbling Earth, mixt with Gravel, and little loose stones, which afforded us no

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 (my italics).

¹⁰⁹ Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and guilt on the grand tour: travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 116.

¹¹⁰ [Windham], *An account*, 3-4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 5-8. See 11 for similar examples.

firm footing; so that we went down partly falling, partly sliding on our Hands and Knees.¹¹³

The mountain was a hostile terrain with the ability to wreak ‘terrible Havock’ upon itself and the human body. Its treacherous ever-changing ice chasms, shifting earth, snow and avalanches forced the party to endure different physical strains and hazards. A misstep would result in death. Windham’s account paid close attention to the physical and sensory state, consistently referring to speed, breathing rates, the sounds of ice cracking, and sensations of clinging, slipping, falling and sliding. It was only after they reached the relative safety of the top that the view changed from one ‘terrible enough to make most People’s Heads turn’ to one of ‘Pleasure’.¹¹⁴ Windham even attempted to recreate this physical experience for his readers, as ‘Our road...’ formed a long sentence that through clause after clause built like an ascent, recreating an arduous sense of effort for the reader. Again, in describing the descent, the semicolon following ‘firm footing’ acted like a stumbling experience.¹¹⁵

J. S. Rowlinson has argued that the expedition and Windham’s subsequent publication had ‘serious scientific aims’.¹¹⁶ Viewing the expedition as scientific has some merit. Pococke, an experienced traveller returning home from four years in the Near East, partially stimulated the expedition as he helped Windham organise it.¹¹⁷ It also inspired a follow-up in 1742, organised by Martel, a Genevan engineer and instrument maker, who was accompanied by a botanist, a goldsmith skilled in minerals and an apothecary skilled in chemistry.¹¹⁸ This 1742 expedition was well equipped and took precise measurements and detailed observations of temperature, glacier structure, mineralogy and flora.¹¹⁹ Accounts of the two expeditions were published together under Martel’s name and submitted to the Royal Society

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 8-9. 3-4 describes the land as ‘bad’, ‘steep’, ‘dangerous’, and full of ‘risque’ and ‘Difficulty’.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹⁵ My sincere thanks to Amy Milka for her ideas and analysis on this passage.

¹¹⁶ J. S. Rowlinson, “‘Our common room in Geneva’ and the early exploration of the Alps of Savoy,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 52.2 (1998): 221, 224.

¹¹⁷ Pococke published an account of his travels in *A Description of the East, And Some other Countries* (London, 1743).

¹¹⁸ [Windham], *An account*, 13-28.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13-28; Rowlinson, “Our common room,” 224-25.

with the ambition of gaining membership for Windham (achieved by April 1744) and bringing Martel to the attention of London's scientific communities.¹²⁰

The Common Room was part of Enlightenment scientific and exploration culture. Windham, for example, was deeply immersed in such matters throughout his education. His tutor, Stillingfleet, was a skilled botanist later credited with introducing the Linnaean system into Britain.¹²¹ Encouraged by him and his father's old tutor, Patrick St Claire, Windham displayed considerable ability in mathematics and science-based subjects from an early age.¹²² The sciences were a shared interest across three generations of Windham men and their tutors. Windham wrote to his father in 1735, describing visits to a London planetarium, while St Claire suggested that Windham visit several scientists and instrument makers in Italy.¹²³ In turn, Windham's son, William Windham, undertook several expeditions to Norway.¹²⁴ Within the Common Room, Windham was not alone in his interests. Price contributed his drawings to the publication, while Stillingfleet, John Williamson and Pococke were well respected for their intellectual abilities. Williamson and Pococke were also members of the Royal Society.¹²⁵

While the scientific community accepted the expedition and Windham's account, to understand both as uncomplicatedly having 'serious scientific aims' is problematic.¹²⁶ Martel's expedition resulted in detailed observing. Windham's were limited to vague judgements. For example, 'the Height of the Rocks...made it impossible for the Eye to judge exactly how wide [the Valley] was, but I imagine it must be near three Quarters of a League'.¹²⁷ The Common Room left all their scientific equipment and their best mathematician, Williamson, the Earl of Haddington's tutor, behind and even forgot to bring a

¹²⁰ Rowlinson, "Our common room," 226-27.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹²² NRO, WKC 6/24/?, 21st July 1729, Patrick St Claire, Susted, to Ashe Windham.

¹²³ NRO, WKC 7/45/4, 27th January 1735, Windham, London, to Ashe Windham; NRO, WKC 6/24/140, 12th February 1738/9, St Claire, [location unknown], to Ashe Windham.

¹²⁴ David Wilkinson, "Windham, William (1750–1810)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29725, (accessed 1 Feb 2013). See also NRO, WKC 6465, William Windham's Norway Diary.

¹²⁵ Rowlinson, "Our common room," 226-28.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹²⁷ [Windham], *An account*, 8.

compass.¹²⁸ Windham used these circumstances to justify the expedition's lack of precise scientific observation. Yet, this clearly failed to live up to the Royal Society's request for specific measurements. Given Windham's skill in mathematics, this failure was also indicative that, irrespective of how Windham later presented it, the expedition was not initially intended as a serious scientific undertaking.

Windham was fully aware of what constituted a serious scientific exploration. Prior to Geneva, he attended at least one lecture at the French Academy of Science in Paris in 1738 on the Lapland expedition undertaken by the Swedish physicist, Anders Celsius, and French mathematician, Pierre Maupertuis, in 1736.¹²⁹ Equally, his description of the Common Room's 1741 expedition referenced a number of recent expeditions and publications, including J. J. Scheuchzer's *Inter Alpinum* (1723), which W. A. B Coolidge cites as a key influence in the pioneering of mountain climbing.¹³⁰ Reading and listening to these accounts brought Grand Tourists into contact with a discourse that detailed the physiological and bodily hardships of travel. In her exploration of the connections between aesthetics and empirical sciences in scientific voyages, Barbara Stafford argues that these descriptions gave accounts authority by conveying the sensory, physiological and physical reality of their travels, as 'The scientific traveller's inquisitive role within the physical world entails the use of a language of action that duplicates the bodily experience of immediacy'.¹³¹ I would argue that Windham was more interested in associating the expedition with these masculine virtues and discourses of physicality and hardship rather than the actual process of scientific discovery. His description of the Maupertuis expedition celebrated the stubborn persistence and endurance that allowed the explorers to achieve their research aims, and described the dangers, discomforts and terrors of the expedition, such as sliding by deer sledge down a 'terrible', 'narrow way steep & precipices on each side'.¹³²

Windham aligned the Common Room's actions with this masculine spirit of exploration by claiming that their expedition was primarily motivated by 'curiosity', a term that was closely associated in the eighteenth century, and by the Common Room club in

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 8.

¹²⁹ NRO, WKC 7/45/9, 21st February 1738, Windham, Geneva, to Ashe Windham.

¹³⁰ [Windham], *An account*, 1, 5, 8; W. A. B Coolidge, *The Alps in nature and history* (New York: E. O. Dutton and Company, 1908), 209.

¹³¹ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1984), chap. 5, 374-78, 379, 400.

¹³² NRO, WKC 7/45/9, 21st February 1738, Windham, Geneva, to Ashe Windham.

particular, with science and exploration.¹³³ In a document of twelve pages, he used the term eight times. It was the principal justification for the decision to climb the mountain, go further onto the ice and, indeed, for the expedition overall.¹³⁴ His account was bookended with quasi-modest declarations that essentially cast the Common Room as pioneering explorers, as 'All the Merit we can pretend to is having opened the way to others who may have the Curiosity of the same kind'.¹³⁵ Windham reinforced this image as he presented the expedition as moving into the wild unknown. Describing their company as having 'the Air of a Caravan' and later reporting the primitive superstitions of the 'Ignorant People', who believed that witches played on the ice, Windham tinted the expedition with an exotic colouring.¹³⁶ Although claiming that 'the terrible Description People had given us of the Country was much exaggerated', nevertheless he was keen to emphasise the need for provisions and the frequent warnings that it would be too difficult and dangerous to go further.¹³⁷ Windham cast the Common Room as hardy, intrepid explorers heroically enduring the dangers and hardships to make future passage possible.

As Stafford indicates, hardy, intrepid masculinity was not solely associated with scientific exploration. This exploration discourse drew attention to the discomfort, danger and terror that was 'severely felt and highly disagreeable', celebrating a certain masculine mind-set which involved an 'engagement in the active life and willingness to enter experience bodily, to face constant risk', a devotion to truth and an unswerving sense of purpose. As such, this drew upon wider formulations of heroic masculinity found in the Homeric hero, Ulysses and the questing chivalric knight.¹³⁸ Similarly, while exploration discourses were clearly important, Windham also drew upon much broader concepts of hardy masculinity. For example, the Common Room's return from the glacier triumphantly coincided with the sunset and won them the praise and 'great Astonishment' of the people and guides, who did not think they would be able to complete the task.¹³⁹ This echoed the triumphant return of the chivalric knight after the completion of his quest.

¹³³ "curiosity, n.," *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46038> (accessed 04 September 2013).

¹³⁴ [Windham], *An account*, 1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, 12.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, 10.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 3, 4-5, 11-12.

¹³⁸ Stafford, *Voyage into Substance*, 381-82, 387-89.

¹³⁹ [Windham], *An account*, 11.

Equally, the expedition was directly linked with the Common Room's sporting and homosocial activities. Sports and physical pursuits acted as important fora for the masculine performances and identities of Common Room, and an important component in their homosocial friendships. Their time in Geneva, Leiden, Lyons and Paris revolved around sporting activities such as riding, cricket, and competitive tennis.¹⁴⁰ Windham and Price also boxed at school and upon their return to London in 1742. Windham became known as 'Boxing Windham' and they both attended John Broughton's boxing establishment, the 'Ampitheatre'.¹⁴¹ At one stage, Windham organised himself and a group of 'bruizers' to defend David Garrick during a play that was being disrupted by a rival theatre company.¹⁴² These sports were undertaken collectively as a group and took place in public contexts, which allowed them to display their prowess to each other and to a wider public audience. For example, Pococke's diary entries from Geneva consistently recorded watching the Common Room at the riding house or playing cricket, while Price described spectators watching his 'Adventures in the [tennis] Court' at Lyons.¹⁴³

This shared enjoyment in physical recreation and competition formed a basic means through which the Common Room bonded as men. Their letters, for example, played on their enthusiasm, goading each other to take more exercise.¹⁴⁴ Sport was important in bonding with elite Continental men too. As discussed in Chapter Two and noted earlier, the Common Room included the 'German Counts'. The Common Room admired their martial masculinities and ambitions. This was reciprocated by the Counts' admiration for their sporting prowess. In Leiden, Dampier proudly reported that he had won four sets of tennis 'with Count William, who talk'd much of his being improved & hinted that he thought Himself a Match for Price. After all it proved, that he could not beat me, tho' I played with my Cloaths on all ye time & He not.'¹⁴⁵ The Common Room and the German Counts frequently held up Price as a masculine

¹⁴⁰ NRO, WKC 7/46/19, 19th April 1741, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/12, 24th October 1741, Price, Lyons, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/11, 9th November 1741, Price, Paris, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/9, 19th December 1741, Price, London, to the Bloods; BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 28th-8th June, 1st-12th, 5th-16th July 1741, Pococke's "Letters" Coxe, *Literary Life*, vol. 1., 160; NRO, WKC 7/46/12, 24th October 1741, Price, Lyons, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/19, 19th April 1741, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods.

¹⁴¹ R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: the story of a house* (London: Hart-Davis, 1962), 123.

¹⁴² Rowlinson, "Our common room," 226.

¹⁴³ BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 28th-8th June, 1st-12th, 5th-16th July 1741, Pococke's "Letters"; NRO, WKC 7/46/12, 24th October 1741, Price, Lyons, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/11, 9th November 1741, Price, Paris, to the Blood.

¹⁴⁴ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, 19th December 1741, Price, London, to the Bloods; NRO, WKC 7/46/11, 9th November 1741, Price, Paris, to the Bloods.

¹⁴⁵ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, 19th April 1741, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods.

ideal precisely because of his sporting skill. Spurred on by friendly competitive physical rivalries, they sought to emulate and compete in pushing themselves to greater physical performances.

The 1741 expedition was undertaken by Windham, Price, Aldworth, Haddington, Baillie, and Stillingfleet, the same men who socialised and played sport together, with Tate, Dampier and the German Counts discussing the expeditions via letter. Dampier, for example, asked whether a planned ‘Tour of ye Lake’ had been successful and ‘pleasant’.¹⁴⁶ It was undertaken in a similar spirit of physically active conviviality to their other sporting activities. Unpublished references to the expedition frequently focused upon pleasure, laughter and sociability, which strongly suggested its underlying aims were a sociable engagement with hardship and challenge. Pococke’s diary, for example, described how the group took the names of Arab chiefs and how he ‘dressed myself privately in the Arab dress & surprized the Company, & were all exceedingly cheerful [sic].’¹⁴⁷ A playful engagement with Pococke’s recent travels to the Near East, this was also a classic example of the japing associated with youthful homosociality. Following his ‘long travels & fatigues’, Pococke felt that he should be allowed to ‘take one weeks diversion in such good company’, indicating that an afternoon of climbing mountains and clinging to cliffs qualified as a ‘diversion’ and that the key attraction for him was the social element.¹⁴⁸ Even Windham’s published account consistently highlighted the group’s vivacious spirits. Indeed, the only experiment they attempted, firing a gun to count the echoes, resulted in their being ‘extremely entertained’ rather than any actual data.¹⁴⁹

Approached from this perspective, Windham’s narrative and surrounding manuscripts indicate that the Common Room’s encounter with mountains was principally motivated by a desire to prove their bodily hardship and masculine virtues in a challenging new forum within a homosocial setting. As a means of proving masculine status, the expedition fulfilled an intimate and short-term function in assuring the immediate group of their collective masculinity. They, in turn, ensured that their family, friends and society were aware of their success. Windham’s narrative was particularly preoccupied with demonstrating the group’s physical and masculine strengths. The climb, for example, vividly

¹⁴⁶ NRO, WKC 7/46/23, 14th October 1741, Dampier, Mitcham, to the Bloods.

¹⁴⁷ NRO, WKC 7/46/23, 14th October 1741, Dampier, Mitcham, to the Bloods; BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 8th-19th – 9th-20th June 1741, Pococke’s “Letters”.

¹⁴⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 22998, 8th-19th – 9th-20th June 1741, Pococke’s “Letters”.

¹⁴⁹ [Windham], *An account*, 3.

demonstrated their physical strength and endurance, which was further shored up through the astonishment of their guides, who were ‘so much persuaded that we should never be able to go through with our Talk, that they took with them Candles and Instruments to strike Fire, in case we should be overcome with Fatigue, and be obliged to spend the Night on the Mountain.’¹⁵⁰ This physical ability was paired with other internal virtues, such as ‘curiosity’, ‘strength’, courage, endurance and ‘resolution’, that were collectively demonstrated by the group’s refusal to be put off by warnings of danger, and their remaining level-headed and calm on the edge of precipice and ice crack.¹⁵¹ They were also able to willingly (and needlessly) embrace hardship, by camping in a meadow rather than a town and buying a sheep, ‘which we killed, and dressed upon the Spot’, an act which arguably went beyond hardship and represented an early engagement with primitivism.¹⁵² Overall, the Common Room emerged as “Men”, physically strong, internally courageous, game and ready for anything.

Within this, Windham drew attention toward members of the group who had provided particular examples. From the outset, he singled Pococke out as ‘he who was far from fearing Hardship’.¹⁵³ Windham immediately claimed that his masculinity matched Pococke’s. Even before Pococke’s arrival, he had ‘long had a great Desire to make this Excursion, but the Difficulty in getting Company had made me defer it.’¹⁵⁴ Now Windham had a man with ‘a like Inclination’, a match in physicality, fearlessness and masculinity.¹⁵⁵ If Pococke and Windham formed a manly example to live up to, Windham selected Williamson as the example to avoid. Williamson failed to attend ‘on account of the Fatigue which he fear’d he should not able to support.’¹⁵⁶ He lacked both the physical strength and the mental resolution to endure, resulting in a mental ‘fear’ of the physical ‘fatigue’ before even starting. While Windham made no direct criticism, he implicitly placed the failure to carry out more detailed measurements and investigations upon Williamson’s non-attendance as he was the only one ‘capable...of making proper use of [the instruments]’.¹⁵⁷ In essence, Windham judged

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1, 5.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 1, 3, 12.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

that Williamson's intellectual ability was invalid without the necessarily physical and mental strength to undertake the expedition.

As importantly, Windham directly linked this expedition of pleasure and sport to the development of martial virtues and abilities, in suggesting through multiple sources that the expedition formed the participants' bodies, minds and virtues for war, and was proof of their ability to lead men. Windham played up the association between the military and the mountain in several ways. In discussing the wisdom of 'going well armed; 'tis an easy Precaution, and on certain Occasions very useful, one is never the worst for it, and oftentimes it helps a Man out of a Scrape', Windham created an image of men of martial valour ready to defend themselves against a threat.¹⁵⁸ Equally, he outlined how the expedition became possible through the 'Company' enforcing 'Rules' that dictated that the climb had to be attempted together; 'no one should go out of his Rank; That he who led the way should go a slow and even Pace; That whoever found himself fatigued, or out of Breath, might call for a Halt' and that they should take and source water regularly. Without these, Windham believed 'the Peasants would not have been deceived in their Conjectures.'¹⁵⁹ These rules drew attention to the dominance of physical strength and endurance but prevented 'those among us who were the most in wind, from fatiguing the rest, by pushing on too fast'.¹⁶⁰ "In wind" was a phrase particular to the eighteenth century, and used to refer to those who were ready or fit for action.¹⁶¹ Thus Windham's account focused upon portraying a raw, hardy image of masculinity that highlighted rough and physical encounters. However, these were, once again, part of a multivalent masculinity that also embraced rational intelligence, discipline and teamwork, alongside gentlemanly activities, such as shooting and toasting.¹⁶²

Windham went on to be heavily involved with the New Militia movement, alongside his family friend, Townshend, who was the architect and leading promoter of the 1756 New Militia Bill. When Townshend became the Colonel of the Norfolk Militia, Windham was his deputy.¹⁶³ During this period, Windham produced his *Plan of Discipline, Composed for the Use*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁶¹ "20. *in wind* (*fig.* from 11d) ready or fit for action of some kind. *Obs.*," *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/229181?rskey=mz5gA0&result=2&isAdvanced=false>, (accessed 03 September 2015).

¹⁶² [Windham], *An account*, 10, 11.

¹⁶³ McCormack, *Embodying*, 46, 46, 104, 126.

of the *Militia of the County of Norfolk* (1759), a manual for training militia troops. Strikingly, the military terminology of 'Rank', alongside the emphasis upon discipline, supplies, steadiness and collective, unified movements used to describe the rules for the climb were paralleled in this militia publication. As Matthew McCormack observes, Windham's manual, designed to help militia officers train their troops, emphasised the importance of organic movement and unity via drill work, and the role of discipline and self-control, instigated and maintained by the officer.¹⁶⁴ As discussed in Chapter Two, Windham opened *Plan of Discipline* with the reassurance to country gentlemen that:

much less time and application, than many of them bestow upon their sports and trifling amusements, will, if applied to military affairs, enable them to become excellent militia officers; sufficiently qualified to do good service, in the defence of their laws, liberties, and country, if ever they should be attacked or invaded¹⁶⁵

Windham saw the Grand Tour and the physical pursuits he had undertaken during it as an important part of 'the sports and trifling amusements' that naturally prepared gentlemen to become militia (and military) officers. In particular, the 1741 glacier expedition proved that he and others had the martial virtues and abilities of physical strength and endurance, alongside rational intelligence, discipline, courage and the ability to think clearly in dangerous circumstances. He even went so far as to visually combine the two by commissioning a portrait to commemorate his Grand Tour, which depicted him in an Austrian Hussar uniform holding an ice pick, with a looming craggy rock formation in the background (see Fig. 9.). To a certain extent, this mirrored Townshend's belief, discussed in Chapter Two, that his Grand Tour experience of volunteering had sufficiently prepared him to raise his own regiment in the Dutch Republic, although I would contend that Windham's intentions were not quite so bold.

¹⁶⁴ McCormack, "Liberty and Discipline: Militia Training Literature in Mid-Georgian England," in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: Men of Arms*, ed. Catriona Kennedy and McCormack (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 165, 167-68, 171.

¹⁶⁵ Windham, *Plan of Discipline, Composed for the Use of the Militia of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1759), vol. 1, xxxviii, quoted in McCormack, "Liberty and Discipline," in *Soldiering in Britain*, 159.



Fig. 9. John Shackleton or James Dagnia, "William Windham II (1717-1761) in the Uniform of a Hussar," (Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1742 -67)

This influence and link between mountains, sports and the military was more than a retrospective construction. Even during the expedition, the Common Room linked their activities to a significant contemporary military victory by toasting 'in Ceremony Admiral *Vernon's* Health, and Success to *British Arms*' at the top of the glacier.¹⁶⁶ This was either a reference to the famous admiral's actual victory at Porto Bello (1739) or the prematurely celebrated non-victory at Cartagena (1741), and demonstrated the Common Room's keen awareness of Britain's growing empire and military pride. As James Epstein has argued in his study of radical plebeian culture, the toast was part of a highly ritualised field of political symbolical practice that was a means of establishing and defining a distinct discourse.¹⁶⁷ Through their toast, the Common Room were determinedly yoking the topping of a glacier to victory in arms and indicating that the two achievements were akin. Scholars working on the nineteenth-and-twentieth-century culture of mountaineering have noted the link between

¹⁶⁶ [Windham], *An account*, 10, 11.

¹⁶⁷ James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 149.

attaining summits and military conquest, which tied into a wider Imperial narrative of subduing 'wild' lands and people, but this demonstrates that elite masculine culture laid claim to encounters with mountains from a very early stage and through the Grand Tour.¹⁶⁸ It also suggests that elite men were already aware of the demands made upon them in relation to military leadership, and were consciously promoting the Grand Tour as an ideal means of preparing themselves for martial leadership. Windham's conviction that sports and physical activities prepared men and officers for war passed to his son. Windham junior was famous for his athletic abilities and skill as a boxer. Known as 'Fighting Windham', he became Secretary of War under Pitt in 1794-1801 and 1806. He publicly and privately advocated boxing as a crucial means of constructing manly British men and an 'armed nation', and fervently believed it was vital to the British Army's military spirit.¹⁶⁹

The Common Room club's engagement with mountains and glaciers operated on a number of levels. On one level, it was an opportunity to indicate their engagement with aesthetic and exploration culture. On another level, it was a prime opportunity to undertake challenging physical activities in a homosocial setting. Their actions not only heralded the shift in cultural perceptions of mountains but also demonstrated that, even in its earliest stages, this shift was entangled with existing cultures and discourses concerning the Grand Tour and elite masculinity. Just as importantly, it represents an early attempt to justify the Grand Tour's masculine formation via its physical activity and engagement with danger. Through this, the Common Room demonstrated their hardy masculine virtues and bodies to one another in a hazardous forum. While this allowed them to prove their masculine worth to each other in the immediate moment, it also was also believed to be enduring proof of their capacity for elite martial responsibilities.

Grand Tourists and Mountains in the 1760s and 1770s

By the 1760s and 1770s, mountains were undeniably an integral aspect of travel culture. The touristic structures surrounding access to the Alpine glaciers and views rapidly developed. In 1763, excursions to the glaciers and views could be arranged for three shillings. A year later, Chamonix had its first inn. By 1780 inns had sprouted at Grindelwald and

¹⁶⁸ For a typical exploration of this argument, see Peter Bayers, *Imperial Ascent: Mountaineering, Masculinity and Empire* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003), 2, 5.

¹⁶⁹ Downing, "Gentleman Boxer," 345; Ungar, "Construction of the Body Politic," 364, 366-70; Ketton-Cremer, *The early life and diaries of William Windham* (London: Faber and Faber, 1730), 56-57; Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, 160.

Louterbrunnen, and Chamonix had three inns catering for over 1500 visitors.¹⁷⁰ By the 1770s, an itinerary of Alpine walking, scrambling and riding was well established. For example, the artefacts and itineraries of the Grand Tourists who lost cargoes on the *Westmorland* indicate that most Tourists identified visited the Alps.¹⁷¹

The increased popularity of mountains in late eighteenth-century culture has been primarily considered as inspired by the sublime aesthetic. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, mountains went from being perceived as repellent sites to locations of sublime wonder.¹⁷² Principally a branch of aesthetic criticism and philosophy, the sublime was an affective, transformative, irresistible element of infinity. While it defeated the ability to express thoughts and sensations, it allowed the mind to glimpse that which was beyond thought and language.¹⁷³ From late seventeenth-century translations of the Greek critic Dionysius Longinus through to Edmund Burke and onwards, mountains and other natural phenomena were consistently identified as a crucial source of the sublime and travel as a key means of accessing it.¹⁷⁴ A theorisation of the sublime has been identified from the late seventeenth century and scholars such as Marjorie Hope Nicholson have highlighted frequent examples of pre-Burkean sublime engagements with mountains, such as the Grand Tourists, Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole.¹⁷⁵ However, scholars have maintained that the sublime

¹⁷⁰ Hibbert, *Grand Tour*, 197; MacFarlane, *Mountains*, 117.

¹⁷¹ María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox (ed.), *The English Prize: the capture of the Westmorland, an episode of the grand tour* (New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 2012), 17-18, 25.

¹⁷² Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *Mountain gloom and mountain glory; the development of the aesthetics of the infinite* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959), 3; Alain Corbin, *The lure of the sea: The discovery of the seaside in the western world 1750-1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 22-23, 25-26; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 27, 212, 221, 259-60; Hartmut Berghoff et al, (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: the cultural history of the British experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 5; Keith Hanley, "Wordsworth's Grand Tour," in *Romantic geographies: Discourses of travel 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 76; Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 8.

¹⁷³ Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, *The sublime: a reader in British eighteenth-century aesthetic theory* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 6-11; Philip Shaw, *The Sublime* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1-3.

¹⁷⁴ See Nicholson, *Mountain gloom*; Shaw, *The Sublime*, chap. 2; Ashfield and de Bolla, *The sublime*, 18; Chard, *Pleasure and guilt*, 110n77, 112-13, 124.

¹⁷⁵ See Nicholson, *Mountain gloom* for an important acknowledgment of the sublime's pre-Burkian roots and an analysis of Gray's proto-sublime mountain aesthetic. Ashfield and de Bolla, *The sublime* seeks to also address this through making pre-Burkian sublime theories available. Spence, Lincoln, Aldworth, Nuneham and Villiers, North and Darmouth form other examples of pre-Burkian Grand Tourists and tutors who described scenery in sublime terms

was popularised by Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* (1757).¹⁷⁶ Burke provided the public with a portfolio of nouns, adjectives, ideas and locations to draw upon in forming their own descriptions.¹⁷⁷ As travel culture shifted from impersonal observation to subjective means of self-discovery, Chloe Chard has argued that descriptions of sublime encounters became an important method in proving that one had undergone a destabilising experience of self-discovery.¹⁷⁸

The following section reconsiders how scholarship should understand elite masculine cultural attitudes towards mountains in the 1760s and 1770s by tracing the precedent set by the Common Room's engagement with mountains and their engagement with sports, mountain expeditions, the road and the military in these decades. This section focuses upon the Grand Tours of Holroyd, Herbert, Yorke and Lewisham. While in Lausanne in October 1763, Holroyd undertook 'a expedition amongst the Alps' with Lord Palmerston and the nephew of Admiral Byng who, following his uncle's infamous cowardice, might have felt a particular impetus to demonstrate his courage.¹⁷⁹ During this, they undertook at least one physical climb 'up a Precipice to a Hermits habitation in the side of a rocky Mountain'.¹⁸⁰ Herbert, Yorke and Lewisham all made considerable effort to tour the Alps in the 1770s. Herbert, Coxe and Floyd's tour involved extensive engagement with mountains and other hazardous natural terrains. From January-November 1776, they toured the Alps, including St Gotthard, the Glaciers of Grindewald and Savoy, the Valais and St Maurice. Furthermore, their Baltic tour (Autumn/Winter 1778-9) involved treks across ice plains and a near-ship wreck in an icy inland sea.¹⁸¹ Lewisham and Stevenson spent from June to September 1777

or toured the Alps. As early as 1721-23, John Brydges, Marquis of Carnarvon was noted for his propensity for trans-Alpine travelling (see Black, *British Abroad*, 35).

¹⁷⁶ Chard, *Pleasure and guilt*, 17, 110-13, 124; Ashfield and de Bolla, *The sublime*, 18; Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte, "Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism An Interdisciplinary Approach," in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. Berghoff et al (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 5; Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 14-17; MacFarlane, *Mountains*, 76-77; See also de Beer, *Early travellers*; Coolidge, *The Alps*.

¹⁷⁷ MacFarlane, *Mountains*, 77-76; Chard, *Pleasure and guilt*, 17, 172-78; See also Elizabeth Bohls and Ian Duncan (ed.), *Travel writing, 1700-1830: an anthology* (Oxford, OUP: 2005), xxiii-xxiv and Hanley, "Wordsworth's Grand Tour," in *Romantic geographies*, 71-92.

¹⁷⁸ Chard, *Pleasure and guilt*, 17, 172-78.

¹⁷⁹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 128-29, 2nd October 1763, Holroyd, Berne, to Mrs Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 130-31, 20th October 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Dr Rev Baker.

¹⁸⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 130-31, 20th October 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Dr Rev Baker.

¹⁸¹ See Appendix 11.

on a trans-alpine route, which involved close encounters with the glaciers of Savoy, the highest mountain in the Canton of Appersell, Solures, and the mountains of Sura, while regretfully missing Mount Gothard, the Fusca and the Grimsels.¹⁸² Yorke journeyed to St Gotthards and Simplon Passes, undertook a day's walk up the mountains of Glaris, and visited the Grindelwald glaciers.¹⁸³

Sublime aesthetics undoubtedly did influence how and why Tourists encountered mountains. By the late eighteenth century, travel publications increasingly focused upon Switzerland, the Alps and sublime descriptions.¹⁸⁴ Correspondingly, sublime terminology was deployed with increased familiarity and confidence in descriptions of the Alps. For example, Holroyd called himself 'a prospect hunter', encountered scenery that reminded him of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* and admired the 'beautiful', 'wild', 'rough', 'romantick' and 'magnificently horrid' landscape of France, Switzerland and Italy.¹⁸⁵ In the 1770s, Lewisham differentiated between the picturesque French landscape and the 'Romantic' mountains.¹⁸⁶ Likewise, Yorke altered his language when entering into the Alps via the St Gothard pass, 'which we found in all the horror of Winter'.¹⁸⁷ Yorke wrote, 'I never had seen so horribly majestic a scene in my Life & regretted exceedingly that I could not represent it with my

¹⁸² See Appendix 10.

¹⁸³ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 17th-19th, 24th June, 22nd, 24th, 26th-27th July 1778, Yorke's Journal.

¹⁸⁴ See for example Coxe's publications, alongside Patrick Brydone's *A Tour through Sicily and Malta...* (London, 1773) and Hester Lynch Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections...* (London, 1789). For discussion of rise in publications relating to Switzerland, see Katherine Turner, *British travel writers in Europe, 1750-1800: authorship, gender, and national identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 32-35. See for rise in sublime and landscape description in travel publications, Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*.

¹⁸⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 128-29, 2nd October 1763, Holroyd, Berne, to Mrs Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 130-31, 20th October 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Dr Rev Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 145, 23rd February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker. See for examples of landscape descriptions: BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 124-25, 29th July 1763, Holroyd, Paris, to Rev Dr Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10th November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 154, 13th August 1764, Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, Genoa, to Mrs Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Rev Dr Baker. See also BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 2nd, 3rd, 6th August, 22nd September, 8th, 12th October 1763, 19th-21st July 1764, Holroyd's Diary.

¹⁸⁶ Examples Lewisham using the picturesque include SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 12th August 1775, Lewisham, Lyons, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 16th August 1775, Lewisham, Upon the Loire, to Dartmouth. Examples Lewisham using the picturesque include SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10th November 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th August 1777, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth.

¹⁸⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 35378, f. 212, 4th July 1778, Yorke, Basil, to Hardwicke.

pencil.’¹⁸⁸ Yorke and Lewisham’s Alpine descriptions were laced with terms like ‘immense’, ‘perpendicular’, ‘beautiful’, ‘frightful distance’, ‘horrid’, ‘violent’, ‘horribly majestic’, and ‘wild’, and revealed the extent to which sublime aesthetics shaped their preferences.¹⁸⁹ Yorke concluded that landscapes he had admired earlier in his Tour, such as near Coblenz and the Rhine, could not compare to the Alps: ‘The views I had seen in Switzerland...were too striking to allow of an equality.’¹⁹⁰

Despite this, few undertook a deeper engagement with the sublime’s elevating philosophical properties. They used its language in light of what they *saw*, rather than what they *felt*, and only vaguely gestured towards any elevating effects. One of Lewisham’s letters opened with an indication of a sublime experience, suggesting that Lewisham’s ideas and self had been scattered and reformed by his encounter with an overwhelming force of nature:

At length escaped from Mountains, rocks, precipices, cataracts, Snow & clouds, in all of which my ideas as well as my figures have long been lost, I will now try whether I can collect them sufficiently to make out a letter.¹⁹¹

Despite this promising opening, Lewisham’s letter moved on to descriptions of landscape and the physical experience of climbing, but included no further attempt to detail a sublime experience.

In contrast, writing in 1739 on the Grande Chartreuse road, Walpole and Gray gave one of the very few full engagements with the sublime that moved beyond the aesthetic and into the philosophic. Walpole outlined the sublime’s transformative influence while Gray reflected on its most crucial ingredient: the requisite safe distance that allowed mountains to be terrifying in the imagination, but not in reality.¹⁹² At the Grande Chartreuse, ‘You have Death perpetually before your eyes, only so far removed, as to compose the mind without frightening it’ while ‘Mont Cenis...carries the permission mountains have of being frightful

¹⁸⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 17th June 1778, Yorke’s Journal.

¹⁸⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 30th June 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth; BL, Add. Ms. 35378, f. 212, 4th July 1778, Yorke, Basil, to Yorke, Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 17th-18th June, 9th, 24th July 1778, Yorke’s Journal.

¹⁹⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 24th, 26th June 1780, Yorke’s Journal.

¹⁹¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th August 1777, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth.

¹⁹² “28th September 1739, Horace Walpole, Savoy, to Richard West,” in *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West and Thomas Ashton*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1948), vol. 13, 181.

rather too far;...with too much danger to give one time to reflect upon their beauties.’¹⁹³

Gray neatly encapsulated what Burke later described as ‘delightful horror’.¹⁹⁴ Burke stated that ‘When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain distances, and with certain modifications...they are delightful’.¹⁹⁵

As Andrew Ashfield and Peter De Bolla observe, contemporary theoretical literature consistently presented the sublime as a distanced visual encounter in which the ‘eyes and ears [remained] the only inlet’, while Philip Shaw highlights the importance of a position of safety.¹⁹⁶ Following the Common Room’s 1741 expedition, a number of Tourists and tutors undertook more physically testing encounters and used their narratives to emphasise the danger involved in their activities rather than the resulting aesthetic views. For example, while Coxe’s publications were praised for their descriptions of Switzerland’s landscape and his sublime encounters, his work included two narratives.¹⁹⁷ When discussing the sublime, his narrative isolated him from company, as he ‘walked slowly on, without envying my companions on horseback’, pausing to admire scenery from the road.¹⁹⁸ The second narrative described a vivid enjoyment of highly physical, often risky dangers that moved off the road and onto the actual mountain. Coxe described their rapid boat journey down the Limar River and how they climbed to the Chamonix glacier and ‘crawled for a considerable way upon our hands and feet along a steep and bare rock, and down one of the most difficult and rugged precipices I ever descended in Switzerland’. The river journey was so speedy that they only got a ‘general glance’ at the countryside, whilst cloud obscured vistas from the glacier. Nevertheless they ‘disembarked highly delighted with our expedition’, and returned to Chamonix ‘perfectly satisfied with our expedition.’¹⁹⁹ In both examples, their enjoyment was

¹⁹³ “16th November 1739, Thomas Gray, Turin, to Richard West,” in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Paget Jackson Toynbee, Leonard Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 128-29.

¹⁹⁴ Edmund Burke, *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful* (London, 1757), 52, 129.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁹⁶ Ashfield and de Bolla, *The sublime*, 15, 100; Shaw, *The Sublime*, 6, 38; Chard, *Pleasure and guilt*, 116.

¹⁹⁷ Turner, *British travel writers*, 33.

¹⁹⁸ Coxe, *Sketches of...Switzerland* (London, 1779), 47-48, 170; Coxe, *Travels into Switzerland...*(London, 1789), vol. 1, 36, 49, 117.

¹⁹⁹ Coxe, *Travels into Switzerland*, vol. 1, 146-7, 424. See 307-9 for another example.

linked to a physical encounter with the mountain terrain that was distinct from aesthetic enjoyment.

Equally, in 1778, Lewisham described his and Stevenson's 'most considerable expedition', climbing the highest mountain in the Canton of Appersell.²⁰⁰ Lewisham dramatised the dangers involved, prefacing his description with a claim that 'I should have given you some little sketch of mountain dangers in my letter from Constance had I not been afraid that as we had at that time more to undergo it might have allarmed'.²⁰¹ He had already described being caught in a hailstorm en route to Basil. Having given the carriage to the servants, and proceeding on horseback, Lewisham and Stevenson were exposed when a two-inch piece of hail smashed to the ground just before Lewisham's horse, placing them in 'imminent danger'. The 'threatening' weather forced them to take 'the shelter of a couple of chevystices'.²⁰² Lewisham willingly embraced the mountain's rougher shelters, despite the town's closeness, just as he chose horseback over the carriage. His experience was therefore a deliberate choice to embrace the mountain hazards that was followed by another through his climbing expedition.

Briefly describing the six-hour climb to the summit and the view 'a frightful distance below us', most of the letter dealt with the increasingly hazardous climb down. Stumbling on 'a precipice of snow of near 200 foot...nearly perpendicular,' Lewisham 'descended with incredible velocity upon my b----'. Fortunately, this was a humorous incident, as he and his companions – who followed suit – reached the bottom unharmed, 'except that our breeches & the parts they cover were a little a la glace'.²⁰³ The next stage was far more dangerous; 'a pathless precipice, which the wet grass made so exceedingly slippery that it was dangerous to the last degree; however with great difficulty & by the assistance of both hands and feet we arrived at the channel of a torrent'.²⁰⁴ At this point, in the 'thickest fog', the guide 'stops, looks wildly round him & declared that we had lost our way.' After an anxious wait, he 'decided that he had discovered the path – in our way we crossed a second precipice of snow like the first with this only difference that if I had slipped here instead of the former precipice, I must inevitably have been dashed to pieces'.²⁰⁵ Concluding his account with a circular reference

²⁰⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th August 1777, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth.

²⁰³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

back to the first precipice, Lewisham explicitly outlined the close reality of death, highlighting the need for considerable physical and emotional coolness, courage and endurance. Only upon their return to the safety of Appersell, could they relax and bury 'all our cares, dangers & fatigues into oblivion'.²⁰⁶

Nearly forty years apart, Windham and Lewisham's narratives both focused on how their authors wilfully placed themselves in dangerous situations requiring physical and courageous responses. While these Tourists used sublime aesthetics in their descriptions of mountains viewed from a distance, they suspended this discourse when describing the more hazardous climbing activities. Both focused upon a close encounter with a dangerous landscape that forced them into a bodily interaction rather than a philosophical encounter.

Exploration culture and discourse continued to exert a certain influence over Grand Tourists and their engagement with mountains. Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, the world was approached as an exhibition to be explored, named and put in order.²⁰⁷ Driven by an enlightenment desire to classify and order the world, travellers and natural historians, following guidelines from the Royal Society, sought to contribute to the collection of knowledge by providing details, measurements and observations.²⁰⁸ This cultural attitude shaped the activities, interests and narratives of Grand Tourists as enlightened gentlemen. For example, Lewisham commented on French plants and botany, and sent samples to his father who attempted to cultivate them.²⁰⁹ Herbert was disappointed to have arrived in Naples six days after Vesuvius erupted. Taken around the volcano by Sir William Hamilton, he wrote a detailed account to Coxe, describing how 'Sir W. told me that the Liquid Lava was thrown up like a fountain of Water 12000 Feet from the Craters'.²¹⁰ Coxe's response mingled an Enlightenment-driven desire for exactness mingled with a tutor's prerogative as he questioned the measurements, claiming 'In short I can hardly believe my eyes...You, I know, are not apt to exaggerate. Let me know then I beseech more about this

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ C. Withers, "Geography, natural history and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment: putting the world in its place," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995): 137-63,

²⁰⁸ Daniel Carey, "Compiling nature's history: Travellers and travel narratives in the early royal society," *Annals of Science* 54:3 (1997): 272-74.

²⁰⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 18th December 1775, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham,

²¹⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/34, 22nd August 1779, Herbert, Rome, to Coxe.

surprising phenomenon.’²¹¹ These activities and observations sat within the normal range of enlightened gentlemanly activities rather than indicating a desire to distinguish oneself on a scholarly level.

Like Windham’s account of the Common Room’s expedition, the Grand Tourists and tutors of the 1760s and 1770s also tended to borrow from exploration discourse and to align their performances with those of hardy scientific explorers. Coxe’s publications, for example, quoted extensively from dramatic accounts of expeditions and their various dangers, indicating a similar desire to be associated with the masculine performances within them.²¹² Lewisham described his trips as ‘expeditions’, used tropes such as the lost, panicked guide, and described the primitive behaviour of the ‘inhabitants of the mountain’.²¹³ His tutor, Stevenson wrote to Dartmouth:

I am almost ashamed of my silence, nothing but the vagabond Life we have led these last two or three months can plead my apology...We have had Difficulties of every sort to encounter; but as they were always diverting in some shape or other, we contracted such a Passion for them at last, that lucky & quiet Tours became rather insipid to us...I thought myself a tolerable Vagabond both from Inclination & Habit, but I find Ld L surpasses me. Luckily he dreads the sea since our last Passage, otherwise I know not what schemes he might propose; he might become another Banks. But thanks to that circumstance, your Lordship will have him to advertise from time to time in the English Papers only. I leave the Detail of our adventures to him.²¹⁴

Stevenson’s comparison of Lewisham with Joseph Banks, the famous botanist and natural scientist, made no attempt to link him with Banks’ botanical works but instead drew entirely upon the context of adventures and vagabonds. Both he and Lewisham enthusiastically proclaimed their pleasure and pride over the ‘most amusing’ hardships, dangers and difficulties to the extent that this pleasure alone seemed a sufficient justification for their Alpine activities.²¹⁵ Openly stating that the principal benefits of the trip were the physical and internal changes resulting from exposure to difficulties and hardships, with no reference to

²¹¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/34, 9th October 1779, Coxe, Geneva, to Herbert. For Herbert’s reply and account of visiting Vesuvius with Hamilton, see WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/34, 13th November 1779, Herbert, Florence, to Coxe.

²¹² See for example Coxe, *Sketches of...Switzerland*, 284-5; Coxe, *Travels into Switzerland*, vol. 1, 303-05.

²¹³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

²¹⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 10th September 1777, David Stevenson, Geneva, to William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth.

²¹⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

any semblance of scientific interest, their mountain encounters were in many ways a more extreme version of their ability to endure the hardships of the road.²¹⁶

Lewisham also drew upon other discourses, teasing out themes of chivalric masculinity when describing his dramatic, if humorous, entrance in Basle.

upon our entry into Basil [sic.] we rode from preference under the waterspouts, in order to be thoroughly bathed, to the no small edification of numberless spectators, who were still at the windows to see the emperor go by...Here we were in hope that the kind offices of our landlord would soon make us forget all our suffering &, with a dry skin recover our peace of mind, but whether it was that the honour of lodging the Count Falkenstien in his house had blown him up – or whether it was that our appearance, wet, dirty, & dismal as we were was not the most prevenent in the world he seemed little disposed to relieve our wants²¹⁷

Fortunately, Lewisham spotted an acquaintance who vouched for their status. His arrival into town, witnessed by numberless cheering spectators (albeit there for the emperor), echoed the heroic return of a questing knight, while the landlord's failure to recognise his status paralleled Ulysses' homecoming, a parallel which Price had also drawn in the early 1740s. Ulysses famously returned home unrecognisable after twenty years of wandering, and was only recognised by those close to him and after a feat of strength with his bow.

Lewisham was clearly pleased with this anecdote, concluding guiltily that he'd used three pages in 'very foolishly...describing a very common event (simply that of being wet through!)'.²¹⁸ It revealed his deep pride in the adventurous, hardy, quasi-vagabond role he had taken on and his determination to share this with his father. As importantly, these mountain encounters always took place within a homosocial setting with tutors, other young Grand Tourists and travellers. Lewisham was quick to note that his 'a la glace' slide down the precipice immediately won him the admiration of his unnamed party who followed his example.²¹⁹ Lewisham had set a fresh standard in courageous physical action but, as with all such performances, it had to be witnessed to be validated.

Like the Common Room, Grand Tourists and their tutors in the 1760s and 1770s united their engagement with mountains with their endurance of the road, sporting prowess

²¹⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 10th September 1777, David Stevenson, Geneva, to William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth.

²¹⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th August 1777, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

and military ambitions. For example, Floyd's claim that their 'northern Jaunt' had infinitely improved him was set within the context of his eagerness to return to serve as Britain mobilised for war against America and France.²²⁰ Equally, a letter to Herbert from Keith commiserating with him on the need to travel during Italy's summer heats, linked his hardiness on the road with his military ambitions in labelling him 'a hardy Soldier'.²²¹ Holroyd's description of a typical day in Lausanne merged the four elements together.

Till the Weather became very cold I bathed in the Lake every morning as soon as I arose, this I continued to the great astonishment of the Town & had made a pious resolution to bathe all Winter but reiterated assurances that I should have Ague appeased my hardy Rage, From thence to the Riding House four times per week...The Assemblies begin before 5 o'clock & finish about 8 & When I do not attend the above places I go a shooting immediately after dinner (which is necessary while the days are short) for the sake of exercise & travel up & down the Hills or along the side of the Lake.²²²

Holroyd's "hardy" activities involved three fora. Firstly, he undertook a daily act of hardiness that echoed Locke's recommendations of bathing in cold water. Secondly, he engaged in two sporting activities: riding and shooting, both of which held military connotations. The third component combined acts normally associated with the hardships of the road (travelling through challenging terrain) with sports (exercise undertaken for pleasure and public display) by going 'up & down the Hills' for shooting and exercise purposes.

Holroyd did not include details about his climbs but he did devote a considerable portion of his letters and diary to describing his Mount Cenis crossing. A letter to his family contended that the descent was 'extremely difficult', rough and dangerous on account of avalanches.²²³ On the one hand, Holroyd presented himself as manfully engaging with these challenges as he rode and walked all but the last half of the descent, when he was induced 'to suffer myself to be carried in one of these Machines [a sedan]'.²²⁴ Holroyd claims this was largely because of curiosities and scorned most travellers who were carried the whole way.²²⁵ Yet, there is a discrepancy between his letter and diary entry, which recorded that he was

²²⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/28, 20th January 1780, Floyd, Stamford, to Herbert.

²²¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/26, 12th August 1779, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert.

²²² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 136, 19th December 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker

²²³ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 154, 13th August 1764, Holroyd, Genoa, to Mrs Baker.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

'carried most of the Way'.²²⁶ This would suggest that Holroyd struggled far more with the demands of the crossing than he had anticipated. Given his pride in his physical hardiness and sporting ability, this came dangerously close to a failure and he deliberately rewrote the account of his passage in order to compensate.

Holroyd's attempts to construct an alternative narrative indicates that physical performances could be a highly sensitive area for elite young men, particularly in relation to the rigors of travel and the challenges of certain terrain. Elite masculinity was about bodily performance as much as it was about intelligence, courage, honor and the other internal traits. As this section demonstrated, between the first and second half of the eighteenth century, Grand Tourists demonstrated a considerable degree of continuity in their attitudes to bodily achievements and physicality through their actions on the road, in the sports field and upon the mountain.

Conclusion

Scholars have argued that in the nineteenth century, characterised by physical risk and a 'hunger for willed and authentic fear', mountaineering was undertaken for its own sake as physicality, the sublime and danger began to merge.²²⁷ As Simon Bainbridge stresses in his discussion of Romantic mountaineering, climbing as an embodied activity linked satisfaction in 'climbing toil', to excitement and a sense of danger and fear that went beyond Burke's notion of safe distance.²²⁸ Examining Walter Scott's writings, he explores how Scott consistently used rock-climbing, described as a 'desperate' sport, source of 'amusement' and a 'daring adventure', as a means of displaying his heroes' physical and psychological prowess.²²⁹ This cultural mind-set persisted strongly throughout the nineteenth century. In 1863, John Ruskin wrote to his father from Chamonix that while it might be wise and right to turn back from danger, 'still your *character* has suffered some slight deterioration; you are to that extent weaker, more lifeless, more effeminate, more liable to passion and error...[if you go through with it, you become] a stronger and better man...*nothing but danger* produces this

²²⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 19th-21st July 1764, Holroyd's Diary.

²²⁷ Simon Bainbridge, "Writing from the perilous ridge: Romanticism and the Invention of Rock Climbing," *Romanticism* 19:3 (2013): 247; MacFarlane, *Mountains*, 71-72, 80-81, 84-86; Bainbridge, "Romantic Writers and Mountaineering," *Romanticism* 18:1 (2012): 10-11.

²²⁸ Bainbridge, "Romantic Writers," 10-13; Bainbridge, "Rock Climbing," 248-49.

²²⁹ Walter Scott, *The Pirate*, ed. Mark Weinstein and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh, 2001), 17, 45, 69, quoted in Bainbridge, "Rock Climbing," 258, 255-56.

effect'.²³⁰ Emerging out of sublime aesthetics and scientific pursuits, scholars have argued that mountaineering was a masculine trait distinct to the Romantic era onwards that was stimulated by a desire to 'get off the beaten track'.²³¹ Bainbridge nuances this stance, identifying earlier eighteenth-century precedents but primarily in the form of botanists and natural scientists, but the Grand Tour and its masculine formation has been discounted as an influence in the development of this culture.²³²

My research identifies the Grand Tour's engagement with mountains as prefiguring, but distinct from, Romantic and nineteenth-century mountaineering. As the following chapter will explore, many Grand Tourists never sought to leave the safety of the road. They found even this experience to be frightening and had no desire to prove themselves physically on the mountain or anywhere else. Nevertheless, this chapter has identified a body of Grand Tourists and tutors who, supported by family and wider society, viewed and approached mountain terrain as an alternative forum for physical activities that risked and tested the body and mind in dangerous conditions.

The Grand Tour's engagement with mountains drew upon sublime and exploration influences, and this chapter does not seek to dismiss their importance as eighteenth-century discourses and cultural influences. Nevertheless, it also sat within a wider elite masculine culture of physicality, hardship and danger that celebrated the physical, bold, courageous and daring aspects of masculinity. Encompassing activities and identities that were physically courageous, sporting, chivalric, martial and quasi-martial, this strand took pride in physical and mental hardiness and its associated virtues. It sought to cultivate men that were enduring and courageous, resilient in the face of danger, and viewed the Grand Tour as an ideal institution through which to test and form elite young men. The dangers, hazards and challenges of the Continent's roads, hunts and other sporting arenas became platforms upon which Grand Tourists could publically test and demonstrate their physical abilities, endurance, courage and self-control to friends and family.

The chronologies involved are again worth pausing over. Windham undertook his mountain encounter in 1741, two years before Townshend volunteered in 1743 and just before military volunteering became a less visible aspect of the Grand Tour. It could be argued that mountains substituted for the battlefield as a rite and site of initiation via danger on the Grand Tour. Either way, challenging physical encounters with mountains were seen as

²³⁰ MacFarlane, *Mountains*, 84-86.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² Bainbridge, "Rock Climbing," 248-50.

containing the same properties of transformative danger as the battlefield, sports field and the hard road. Significantly, Grand Tourists of the 1760s and 70s, such as Holroyd, Herbert, Lewisham and Yorke, were extremely vocal about in describing their experiences of danger via these different fora. I would argue that this formed an important part of the elite justification of the value and virtue of the Grand Tour, as it clearly pointed to the construction of hardy, robust elite men.

Perhaps as significantly, these efforts were accompanied by tutors and older travellers from middling, intelligentsia and clerical backgrounds, such as Stillingfleet, Coxe, Floyd, Pococke and Stevenson, who were equally enthusiastic in their engagement with hardy masculinity and these activities. The enthusiasm of these men for physical encounters highlights an intriguing commonality and complex exchange between middling and elite masculinity that perhaps represented a united effort to associate Continental travel with the construction of hardy, manly British men. This was also joined by brave physical performances from older men and women. In 1766, Frederick Augustus Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, was struck in the arm during an eruption of 'up two or three hundred red hot stones' in the Vesuvius crater. He had gone too near in a competitive show of bravado with his companions.²³³ Hervey was thirty six and his actions concur with Michael Roper and John Tosh's assertion that 'Masculinity is never fully possessed, but must be perpetually achieved, asserted and renegotiated' throughout a man's life.²³⁴ Equally, as Rosemary Sweet has noted, women were also engaged in similar performances and climbed Vesuvius.²³⁵ During her visit in the 1780s, Hester Piozzi claimed "The wonder is that nobody gets killed by venturing near it, while red-hot stones are flying about...the Italians are always recounting the exploits of these rash Britons who...carry their wives and children up to the top'.²³⁶ Strikingly, Piozzi claimed these questionable acts of bravery and physicality as a distinctly British trait that, while questionable, were also proof of British bravery.

Reliant only on textual sources, it is difficult to evaluate how brave Grand Tourists were actually being and how dangerous these experiences truly were. Several Grand Tourists

²³³ "1st April 1766, Frederick Augustus Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, Naples, to Mary Hervey," quoted in W. S. Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop: the life of Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, Earl of Bristol* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1924), 74-75.

²³⁴ Michael Roper and John Tosh, "Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 18.

²³⁵ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 55-56.

²³⁶ Piozzi, *Observations and reflections*, 535.

and tutors reported receiving or witnessing injuries from hunting, mountain climbing and other physical pursuits.²³⁷ Despite this, amongst the Grand Tourists considered in this thesis there was a surprisingly low serious injury and mortality rate, which could suggest that the severity of danger was rhetorically enhanced. More research is needed to explore the physical dimension of eighteenth-century masculinity, but this leads us to question the extent to which the construction of masculinity and the significance of danger lay in objective experience and physical activity or in subsequent rhetorical construction and textual representation. I would suggest the two are not mutually exclusive, but that the writing and narrating of experience was a requisite part of the transformative processes described in this chapter. The act of reflecting and writing required the man to condense his masculinity within recognised narratives and create a document which could be revisited, enshrining the writer's masculinity in a text upon which he could reflect later in life. Despite drawing almost exclusively upon textual sources, this thesis has not yet delved fully into the importance of the construction of the masculine self via the process of recording these events and feelings in diaries, correspondence, or even material intended for publication. The following chapter focuses on the importance of retrospective construction and narration, undertaking a closer examination of how Grand Tourists carefully crafted and framed their writings about their encounters with danger and their subsequent emotional and physical reactions.

²³⁷ See for example "2nd September 1740, Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle," in Spence, *Letters*, 307-09; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 126, 1st September 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Dr Baker; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 14th July 1776, Rev. Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 3rd October 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 18th August 1777, Yorke's Journal.

Chapter 4.

Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing About Danger on the Grand Tour

In the 1790s, Elizabeth Montagu dubbed George Bussy Villiers, the 4th Earl of Jersey, 'the Prince of Macaronies'.¹ During their Grand Tour in the 1750s, he and George Simon Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, had already begun to earn a reputation as fops. Robert Adam wrote that they had allowed their time in France to influence their dress and manner so far 'as almost to disguise the exterior of an Englishman'.² While this criticism was frequently levelled at Grand Tourists by the press and critics of the Tour, Nuneham's writings indicate that the charge was, in this case, well founded.³ His letters to his sister reveal an excessive devotion to fashion and self-presentation, including detailed critiques of his and other's wardrobes and his fashion purchases for his mother and sisters.⁴

Nuneham also strove to establish himself as a man of deep feeling. He cast himself as an expert, encouraging his sister to correspond in a sentimental style, claiming 'I have told you over & over again that what ever you say I like, & why will you not put down all your

¹ H. E. Maxwell, "Villiers, George Bussy, fourth earl of Jersey (1735-1805)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28295, (accessed 14 August 2014).

² John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven: YUP, 1997), 719.

³ See the following for the latest literature discussing macaronis: Sally O'Driscoll, "What Kind of Man Do the Clothes Make? Print Culture and the Meanings of Macaroni Effeminacy," in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 241-79; Shearer West, "The Dearly Macaroni Prints and the Politics of "Private Man," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25:2 (2001): 170-82; Valerie Steele, "The Social and Political Significance of Macaroni Fashion," *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society* 19:1 (1985): 94-105; Amelia F. Rauser, "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:1 (2004): 101-17; Miles Ogborn, "Locating the Macaroni: Luxury, Sexuality and Vision in Vauxhall Gardens," *Textual Practice* 11:3 (1997): 445-61; Peter McNeil, "Macaroni Masculinities," *Fashion Theory* 4:4 (2000): 373-404; W. Tullett, "The Macaroni's 'Ambrosial Essences': Perfume, Identity and Public Space in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 1-18 (2014): 163-80; Philip Carter, "Men about town: representations of foppery and masculinity in early eighteenth-century urban society," in *Roles, Representations and Responsibilities: Gender in Eighteenth-century England*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London, Longman: 1997), 31-57.

⁴ See for example CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-7, [undated], George, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, [Germany], to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-13, 27th June 1755, Nuneham, [Hanover], to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-17, [undated], Nuneham, [Bologna], to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-2, 12th July 1754, Nuneham, Reims, to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-3, 25th July 1754, Nuneham, Reims, to his sister.

thoughts?’⁵ He recommended Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux’s plays, declaring ‘you will weep...I never read [*La Mere Confidente*]...without feeling the most pleasing melancholy in the world.’⁶ Responding to the possibility of war with France, he claimed that, ‘I cannot think of the many Lives that must inevitably be lost by it, without horror’, and ‘dreaded’ horrors as diverse as his sister’s reactions to the clothes he brought her and long books, claiming that ‘my courage was never great enough to attempt such a work’.⁷

Unsurprisingly, Nuneham eschewed opportunities to present himself in a courageous light. Instead, he used experiences of hardship and danger to further craft a masculine identity deeply embedded in the cultures of sensibility and the extremes of fashion. He used Mufty the barbet dog, a present from a Saxon nobleman and subsequently intended as a present for his mother, to reflect upon the dangerous uncertainty of travel. Having survived four months ‘without the least accident’, he hoped Mufty would reach England safely. Sadly, Mufty died of a leg injury, causing Nuneham to lament:

had he [Mufty] had ever such occasion for it I could never have brought myself to have dressed his leg, for I am such an idiot that I can not touch any creature in pain or that has a wound, & I am confident was my greatest friend, to fall suddenly ill & want bleeding, my weakness would be such as to prevent my being of the least assistance to him.⁸

Renouncing any sense of a masterly command of the self or ability to save others, Nuneham depicted himself as a creature of such extreme sensibility that his ‘weakness’ rendered him useless. Similarly, while he aesthetically appreciated mountainous landscapes, his descriptions of these terrains emphasised his extreme physical discomfort and fear. For example, when travelling ‘From Bonn to Coblenz we went over the most terrible precipices where we were often obliged to get out for fear of being thrown down them into the Rhine’.⁹ A rather mild twelve-mile pleasure trip in an open traineau (sledge) through the snow to Mersenburg, Germany rather dramatically became ‘our Greenland kind of adventure’.¹⁰

⁵ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-3, 25th July 1754, Nuneham, Reims, to his sister.

⁶ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-16, 14th September 1755, Nuneham, Vienna, to his sister.

⁷ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-12, 8th April 1755, Nuneham, Leipzig, to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-19, 9th April 1756, Nuneham, Rome, to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-2, 12th July 1754, Nuneham, Reims, to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-24, [Undated] Nuneham, [The Dutch Republic?] to his sister.

⁸ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-24, [Undated] Nuneham, [The Dutch Republic?] to his sister.

⁹ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-14, 29th July 1755, Nuneham, Mentz, to his sister.

¹⁰ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-14, 29th July 1755, Nuneham, Mentz, to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-8, 18th December 1754, Nuneham, [Germany], to his sister.

Nuneham used it to emphasise his refined sensibilities and delicate physical body. The cold was so intense that he ‘was numbed for a quarter of an Hour so much as not to be able to stand’.¹¹ He grimly observed that ‘I think we were lucky in going when we did, for had we gone to Day or yesterday we might have been in great danger of being froze to Death for it is now much colder’.¹² Warnings and complaints aside, Nuneham’s narrative focused on describing his party’s fashion choices. He wore a marvellous outfit that included such a fine, tight pelisse that he could not fit his coat over it: a dilemma that perhaps explains his extreme cold. Nuneham sacrificed his warmth, comfort and (implicitly) his safety in order to cut a fashionable figure. Despite suffering, he was unrepentant about his fashion decisions, thus using a situation of danger and discomfort to demonstrate his dedication to taste.

Encounters with hardship and danger were clearly associated with the cultivation of masculine virtues linked to an investment in hardy elite masculine identities, such as the martial, chivalric, and sporting, and the Grand Tour provided a range of curricula, activities and locations that exposed elite young men to danger. Within this branch of masculinity, the Grand Tour appeared to demand both the actual experience of danger and an effective narration of this experience. However, the example of Nuneham reminds us that the Grand Tour allowed for the development of a variety of masculine identities and that dangerous experiences were not just had by those who wished to cultivate “hardiness”. In claiming exquisite sensibility, weakness, frailty and lack of courage, and in using experiences of danger to bolster these claims, Nuneham was deliberately constructing a masculine identity that kicked against hardy masculine virtues. He demonstrates how experiences of hardship, danger and uncertainty could be used to bolster multiple expressions of masculinity. Whether it was sought after or not, danger formed a central part of any Grand Tour and was an effective tool in the construction and avocation of a wide variety of masculinities. Irrespective of what was being advanced, danger consistently emerged as a crux point through which these claims were made and tested.

This chapter will unpack the wide range of narrative strategies, tropes and tools developed by Grand Tourists in relation to danger. Beginning with those who advocate a hardy masculinity, the first section identifies three key narrative strategies – the absence of emotional description, and the construction of fearful and/or fearless ‘others’ in the form of servants. Many scholars have argued that the Grand Tour’s conspicuous aesthetic consumption and display shored up elite power through ensuring their cultural hegemony. I

¹¹ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-8, 18th December 1754, Nuneham, [Germany], to his sister.

¹² *Ibid.*

contend that many of the Grand Tourists considered in this thesis used their encounters with danger to construct narratives that supported their individual and collective socio-cultural and political dominance by exploiting a hegemony of emotion, reason and self-control. Narratives of danger and masculinity were closely entwined with emotion, and emotional discourse played an extremely important role within elite self-fashioning and performance.

Numerous scholars have discussed the difficulty of reconstructing emotional states in the past. As Joanna Bourke argues in her exploration of fear, emotions are subjective, invisible feelings while the process of speaking and writing about emotions is an act of memory. For example, an individual records the memory of the feeling of being afraid rather than the actual experience of it. This process changes the construction and sensation of that emotion, altering it in light of relevant discourses and cultures.¹³ As David Lemming and Ann Brooks have recently concluded, the investigation of emotional discourse, as opposed to emotional interiority, gives valuable insight into social practice and change. Emotional styles and states are always developed interactively with the society and culture surrounding them.¹⁴ This chapter unpacks how Grand Tourists constructed their emotional responses to danger. Emotions, such as fear, were recognised and accepted in different ways within eighteenth-century culture. Within the culture of the sublime, fear became ‘thrilling’ or ‘pleasurable’, while amongst Men of Feeling, it could be a mark of sensibility and sincerity. For those who cultivated hardy masculinities, fear was to be conquered in order to demonstrate one’s courage.

While the first section explores this issue in relation to expressions of hardy masculinities, arguing that as the next generation of leaders young elite Grand Tourists were under pressure to demonstrate their apparently innate abilities of self-control and reason, alongside finer sensibilities and emotional capacities, the second section examines Grand Tourists who used their encounters with and narratives of danger to subvert the models of hardy masculinity. The final section explores exceptions to the rule of emotional stoicism by examining the wider role of dogs in the narratives of Grand Tour danger and emotion. As dogs were often closely associated with their owners, the final section argues that even Grand Tourists committed to hardy, more emotionally stoical masculinities, were able to covertly indulge in emotions of fear, distress and concern when their dogs were caught up in travel-related calamities.

¹³ Joanna Bourke, *Fear: a Cultural history* (London: Virago, 2006), 6-7, 74, 287-88.

¹⁴ David Lemmings and Ann Brooks, “The Emotional Turn in the Humanities and Social Sciences,” in *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Lemmings and Brooks (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 4.

Constructing Danger: Fearful and Fearless Narratives

Reflecting on the importance of letters as a historical source across the seventeenth to the twentieth century, Rebecca Earle has argued that ‘certain letters came to act as key cultural sites for the construction of the self’.¹⁵ As the principal means of communication during the Grand Tour, the familiar letter and travel journal was one such site, particularly when discussing encounters with danger. As Clare Brant has observed, letter (and journal) writing formed an important part of the eighteenth-century travel experience in allowing travellers to visibly order their experience.¹⁶ This took on a particular resonance when recounting and ordering potentially disturbing experiences, such as encounters with danger, enabling travellers to resolve their experiences into acceptable cultural forms.

Written with specific and often multiple correspondents in mind, the familiar letter was, as Catriona Kennedy has recently summarised, ‘a highly crafted, rhetorical act, a social performance that staged the self for a particular audience’. Such compositions ‘can be viewed neither as repositories of raw, unmediated experience nor as the private outpourings of an authentic self.’¹⁷ Expanding upon this, Kennedy’s study of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars letters and diaries has demonstrated how contemporary literary and cultural conventions shaped the way in which danger, terror and distress were communicated and even experienced. Wider eighteenth-century cultural and literary movements similarly influenced the overarching style in which Grand Tour experiences of danger were communicated. As earlier chapters have outlined, languages of the sublime and

¹⁵ Rebecca Earle, “Introduction: letters, writers and historians,” in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600-1945*, ed. Earle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 2.

¹⁶ Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 229. For a similar argument concerning the communication and shaping of emotions beyond internal experience, see Bourke, *Fear*, 287-88.

¹⁷ Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 12, 14, 16; See the following for further discussion on this matter: Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: identity and culture in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: YUP, 2004), 182; Earle, “Introduction,” in *Epistolary Selves*, 7; Susan Whyman, “‘Paper Visits’: The post-Restoration letter seen through the Verney family archive,” in *Epistolary Selves*, 15, 19, 20; Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters*, 331, 332; Katie Barclay, “Intimacy and the Life Cycle in the Marital Relationships of the Scottish Elite during the Long Eighteenth Century,” *Women’s History Review* 20:2 (2011): 192-93; Susan M. Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: A Pragmatic Approach* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002), 1-2, 234. See also Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack’s discussion of ego-documents and self-construction, which extends to include letters, diaries and autobiographies, in “In Relation: the ‘Social Self’ and Ego-Documents,” *German History* 28:3 (2010): 263-72.

sensibility, as well as exploration and classical discourses, amongst others, are all identifiable in manuscript writings. Sometimes the shift in influences was discernable between generations. For example, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three, in the 1770s, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth's and Charles Legge's narratives drew upon the sublime and the culture of sensibility in their discussions of mountains and military reviews.¹⁸ In contrast, William Legge, 3rd Earl of Dartmouth responded to his son's description with a jocular reference to Hannibal's Alpine crossing: 'I conclude you carried vinegar in your pocket, as he did'.¹⁹ Whereas his sons were utilising new literary styles, Dartmouth's use of classical references followed a well-established travel writing tradition that placed him in continuity with late-eighteenth-century travel writers such as Coxe, and early-eighteenth-century travellers such as John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey. In 1729, Hervey described how:

We climb by Cynthia's doubtfull light,
O'er precipices, such a Height,
So steep their sides, the Way so straight,
That if Achilles self were there,
Achille's might confess a Fear²⁰

As well as influencing the overall narrative style, literary influences also operated as shorthand references that gestured towards a much more detailed, shared understanding. For example, Hervey's use of Achilles, famed for having only one weakness and no fear, alluded to how frightening the mountain passage was without actually explicitly stating that fact. Equally, when entering Styria in 1779, John Floyd, George, Lord Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke's tutor, used the tale of Gil Blas to refer to his underlying concern over highway robbers, a fear rarely mentioned in manuscript travel material.

Lord Herbert and I walked on before the carriage in order to lighten it. A shot was fired close by us, by whom or for what purpose we could not make out. To avoid a Gil Blas event, I took my sabre under my arm and we continued unmolested.²¹

¹⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th August 1777, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, Constance, to William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/840, 19th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

¹⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 30th September 1777, Dartmouth to Lewisham.

²⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 51345, 1729, John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth's ms. poem to his wife.

²¹ Extract from John Floyd's Grand Tour Journal, taken from *Henry, Elizabeth and George (1734-80) Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle*, ed. Lord Herbert (London: J. Cape, 1939), 196; Alain-Rene Lesage, *The Adventures of Gil Blas...* trans. by Tobias Smollett, 5th ed. (London, 1764), vol. 1, 15-16.

Alain-Rene Lesage's *The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane* was a French picaresque novel that was extremely popular across Europe. Written between 1715 and 1735, it was translated into English fifty times, including by Tobias Smollett in 1749.²² Blas was not a Grand Tourist or tutor but his novel began with an educational, coming-of-age journey that was cut short when Blas was kidnaped by bandits, and thus formed a particularly apt reference. The novel was built around the uncertainties and danger of travel and life, and Blas' quick-witted ability to be positively formed by these experiences while retaining an innate sense of decency. This aligned with the Grand Tour's idealisation of formative hardship. In associating his name with Blas, Floyd signalled his determination to respond to danger and misfortune in a similar manner.

Grand Tourists' and tutors' narratives made good use of contemporary literary influences. However I contend that the strongest influences were the cultural expectations and constraints emerging from elite society, family and friends, particularly in relation to their elite masculine identity. Specific masculine performances and cultures demanded certain reactions to danger and, in turn, shaped Grand Tourist's narratives. The following section unpacks how the requirements of hardy masculinity impacted on the construction of narratives of danger. As outlined earlier, this branch of masculinity sought to demonstrate internal virtues of courage, stoical self-control and endurance through physically demanding or intimidating external performances. When reporting on these experiences, the Grand Tourists and tutors had to demonstrate their willingness to encounter danger and their courageous retention of physical and emotional self-control and hardiness. This was normally achieved through presenting oneself as reacting favourably towards opportunities for dangerous encounters. However, this process was not straightforward. Each Tourist had to balance between demonstrating courage and assuaging parental anxieties over their safety. Equally, while earlier narratives of hardy masculinity simply avoided mentioning emotions, over the century other cultural threads influenced later narratives. Sensibility and the sublime complicated more hardy discourses, resulting in an increasing pressure to demonstrate a sensitive awareness of fear and danger. True courage became associated with those who felt fear but proceeded regardless, yet direct discussions of personal fear remained problematic. In attempting to balance these various demands, Tourists adopted three key strategies when discussing danger.

Firstly, these narratives adopted the detached tone of a scientific observer, typically striving to mute overly personal emotional responses to any dangerous experiences. A wider reading of Grand Tour correspondence and diaries across the century reveals a rich

²² Francesco Cordasco, "Smollett and the Translation of the Gil Blas," *Modern Language Quarterly* 10:1 (1949): 68-69.

emotional culture, dialogue and vocabulary shared by young elite men and their families and friends. Personal relationships and situations were frequently discussed using emotionally loaded terms, including affection, feeling, sentiment, sensibility and passion. Grand Tourists and their correspondents acknowledged emotions such as happiness, love, loneliness, anger, betrayal, grief and delight. Again, cultural movements influenced this discourse. For example, Lady Pembroke's letters in the 1770s were strongly influenced by sentimental discourses. She was willing to be associated with a debilitating excess of sensibility, tenderly writing to Herbert, 'Indeed you dont seem to understand the state of my constitution well (Oh dear how shou'd you, poor Monkey?), that case is, that I am a great simpleton...my own silly mind which works my constitution to death'.²³ Upon receiving news that Herbert had been taken ill in Strasburg, she wrote to William Coxe:

when I first read your letter yesterday morning, I was really in an agony, & saw it all as black as ink; felt terrified to death & undone to be with him...You do not know what a foolish thing a Mother is; while I am writing about him, my eyes fill, so that I cannot see.²⁴

Lady Pembroke provides a classic example of the trend identified by scholars of an increase in emotional discourse in the second half of the eighteenth century that was a result of the cult of sensibility.²⁵ Yet there is also ample evidence to suggest affectionate and emotional correspondence between family, male friends or father(-figure)-son exchanges, and of flourishing emotional dialogues prior to the 1750s. For example, upon leaving Geneva and the Common Room in 1741, Robert Price wrote of his loneliness, claiming 'how much I feel the loss of such honest bloods'.²⁶ Around the same time, Lincoln wrote to his uncle of his passionate love for Lady Sophia Fermor.²⁷ A decade later, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, expressed his deep grief at his mother's death and his comfort in knowing Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle, his guardian, shared his sorrow.²⁸

²³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 30th December 1779, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke; See for another example WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 2nd June 1780, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

²⁴ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 16th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to William Coxe.

²⁵ See for example, G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 258-62.

²⁶ NRO, WKC 7/46/12, 24th October 1741, Robert Price, Lyons, to the Bloods.

²⁷ "8th April 1741, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, Rome, to the Duke of Newcastle," in Joseph Spence, *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 371.

²⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 32725 f. 223, 8th October 1752, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Geneva, to Newcastle.

Emotional capacity was clearly considered a natural part of a young man's character throughout the eighteenth century. Yet while a valued aspect of elite masculine culture, emotions were also assets to be harnessed in aid of the on-going accumulation and maintenance of power by their families and the elites at large. When it came to hardy masculine identities, it was clearly understood, in the age of reason and emotion, that emotions should be tempered by rational thought and the virtue of self-control.²⁹ Lady Pembroke willingly demonstrated her excessive sensibility but she did not allow the same freedom in her son. A spat between Herbert, his father and his tutors resulted in the following counsel: 'the chief use of this is to make you observe yourself a little when you write next, if there is any thing that puts you out of temper' and 'I want you to be perfect, & to act & speak exactly right, whether you are plagued or not, & reason or no reason to be discontented, that's all'.³⁰

Subsequently, when it came to relating their experiences of danger, the Grand Tourists who advocated a hardy masculinity typically adopted an emotional reticence, despite maintaining rich emotional dialogues elsewhere. This particular masculine style did not allow for expressions of personal fear or concern. As we have seen in earlier chapters, military officers were expected to stand before gunfire without flinching, while a cool calmness was fundamental for accurate scientific observation. Elite hardy masculinity demanded the emotional response of calmness and stoical self-control, emotional states that were difficult to convey because they essentially hinged upon the absence of these more extreme emotional reactions. Equally, while the emotional constraints of hardy masculinity presumably left room for positive emotional reactions in relation to danger – those of pleasure, thrill and pride – such narrations were extremely challenging to construct in the eighteenth century.

Coxe attempted to capture the exhilaration caused by encounters with danger in his description of a voyage down the river Limmar. He emphasised speed to create a sense of excitement and danger. They travelled 'at a rate of six, eight, and sometimes even ten miles in the hour', with 'such velocity' and 'the greatest rapidity'. As noted in Chapter Three, Coxe separated this language from any aesthetic purpose and his descriptions focused upon the

²⁹ For literature arguing that the eighteenth century was the age of reason and sentiment, see William M. Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions," *Emotion Review*, 1:4 (October 2009): 306-07; Yuval N. Harari, *The ultimate experience: battlefield revelations and the making of modern war culture, 1450-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 143.

³⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 7th August 1779, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 10th October 1779, Lady Pembroke, Brighton, to Herbert.

physical sensations of the experience, highlighting the ‘violence’ of the water, ‘beating against the boat’, and climaxing with ‘our vessel passed within a few inches of the shelving rocks, and was only prevented from striking against them by the dexterity of the pilot’.³¹ In directly commenting upon their emotional state as they ‘disembarked highly delighted with our expedition’, Coxe unusually sought to highlight a physical and emotional sensation of thrill that was linked to danger but not to a negative sense of fear.³² Yet, in order to do so, he had to expend considerable effort in setting up the scene.

Much of the vocabulary that might now be easily used to describe similar scenarios had either not yet come into use (such as, “adrenalin”³³), or were not yet linked to any sense of excited sensation or pleasure. For example, “thrill”, a term originally used to describe rending something, only came to be linked with emotions through the late-seventeenth-century medical theory of nervous systems. Even then, the unequivocal link between “thrill” and pleasure was not established until the early nineteenth century.³⁴ The gradual association of “excitement” with pleasurable sensations followed a similar pattern.³⁵ Conversely, “exhilarate” had a long association with the emotions of cheerfulness and joy, but was not linked with physical thrill until much later.³⁶ During the Romantic period, a positive vocabulary of physical thrill slowly evolved in relation to mountain terrain and danger.³⁷ For example, Coleridge was able to clearly explain that a dangerous physical experience during his descent of Scarfell in 1802 resulted in a physical, emotion and spiritual experience that mingled pleasure, exhilaration and fear, in which he lay on his back ‘in a state of almost prophetic Trance & Delight’.³⁸ In the eighteenth century, “thrill” and “excitement” were linked

³¹ Coxe, *Travels into Switzerland...* (London, 1789), vol. 1, 146-7.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ "adrenaline, n.," *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/2756?redirectedFrom=adrenaline> (accessed 23 June 2015).

³⁴ "thrill, n.3," *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/201258?rskey=L5oB1t&result=3&isAdvanced=false> (accessed 23 June 2015).

³⁵ "excitement, n.," *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/65799?redirectedFrom=excitement> (accessed 23 June 2015).

³⁶ "exhilarate, v.," *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/66192?redirectedFrom=exhilarate> (accessed 23 June 2015).

³⁷ Simon Bainbridge, "Writing from the perilous ridge: Romanticism and the Invention of Rock Climbing," *Romanticism* 19:3 (2013): 246-60.

³⁸ Bainbridge, "Romantic Writers and Mountaineering," *Romanticism* 18:1 (2012): 11.

with sensation and action, but they were neutral and undesignated. Further description had to be undertaken to establish whether the sensation was positive or negative. I would suggest that even as late as the 1770s, the language remained too complex and limited to the extent that simple exclusion remained the easier, more common approach. Meanings could still be too easily misconstrued.

Attempts were made to convey pleasure through physical engagements with danger. Lewisham's tutor, David Stevenson, described their passion for 'diverting' difficulties in 1777.³⁹ Equally, the Common Room claimed they were 'extremely entertained' by their experiences.⁴⁰ Despite this, when it came to describing their actual experiences, their narratives reverted back to emotional silence. Unable to discuss reliably their emotional and physical responses in a manner that conveyed their courage and pleasure, Grand Tourists and tutors frequently chose other means to convey the danger of their situation and the worthiness of their response.

To ensure their audiences knew that situations were dangerous, Tourists drew upon Enlightenment discourses and observational techniques. Driven by an Enlightenment-fuelled desire to classify the world, travellers and natural historians sought to contribute to the collection of knowledge, providing details, measurements and observations.⁴¹ The measurements provided by Tourists in their narratives of danger were a part of that on-going effort and their enthusiasm for measuring was not confined to dangerous situations. However, measurements could also be deliberately utilised to create a heightened sense of danger without using emotion. Measurements gave a sense of scale and proportion. Equally, by reporting on previous accidents, Tourists could statistically establish a precedent of danger. For example, Lewisham described how a hailstone, 'an inch & ½ or two inches in circumference', smashed 'just before my horse's feet'.⁴² In 1763, John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, clinically noted that the Schaffhausen cataract was over seventy feet high and

³⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 10th September 1777, David Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

⁴⁰ Peter Martel [and William Windham], *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy...* (London, 1744), 1, 4, 5, 8, 11. The term curiosity is used eight times.

⁴¹ Charles Withers, "Geography, Natural History and the Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment: Putting the World in Place," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring, 1995): 137-63; Daniel Carey, "Compiling nature's history: Travellers and travel narratives in early modern society," *Annals of Science* 54:3 (1997): 272-74.

⁴² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th August 1777, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth.

comparable to the Thames in strength and width.⁴³ He followed this intimidating observation with an event that occurred ‘not long’ before, when ‘a Boat with 18 persons was forced down the Fall. Two were saved’.⁴⁴ While Holroyd’s own boat trip was incident-free, he created a parallel reading that could have resulted in his death, demonstrating his keen, but dispassionate, awareness of the danger. As Susan Fitzmaurice suggests, the process of reading meaning into the familiar letter relied upon anticipated, interpretative exchanges between the writer and reader.⁴⁵ In maintaining an emotional silence and dispassionate narrative, the Tourist created a vacuum into which their readers (parents, friends, society) read the desired stoicism and courage. Emotional reality became irrelevant as they allowed their emotions to be rewritten in order to conform to expected and desired standards.

The second strategy adopted in narrating danger was the construction of fearful ‘others’. Frequently servants, they became the bearers of emotional reactions that might reasonably be felt but that Tourists were unable or unwilling to associate with. For example, Coxe’s *Sketches of the natural, civil, and political state of Swisserland* (1779) dramatically cast one servant as an emotional ‘other’ when describing Herbert’s Alpine explorations.

While I was crossing on horseback the torrent,...I heard a scream; and turning round, saw one of our servants seized with a panic on the very edge of the precipice, and vehemently exclaiming that he could neither get backwards or forwards. Nevertheless, with some assistance, he got safe over; declaring, at the same time, that he would take care never to put himself again in a similar situation.⁴⁶

Coxe described a man emotionally, verbally and physically out of control. Panic ‘seized’ his body, making him unable to move without ‘assistance’, while his scream was pitched at an uncontrolled volume and expression. Coxe’s narrative, which highlights that he himself had already crossed the precipice, strongly emphasises that without the cooler heads of his social superiors, the servant would have been unable to survive his panic.

Coxe used the strategy of the fearful ‘other’ throughout his publications, most notably in describing their near-ship wreck on the icy Gulf of Bothnia which he included in *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (1784). This description included a rare direct reference to Coxe, Herbert and Floyd’s emotional state. Yet, while ‘seriously alarmed’ their

⁴³ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10th November 1763, John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Dr. Baker.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter*, 8-11.

⁴⁶ Coxe, *Sketches of...Swisserland* (London, 1779), 153.

reactions were contained compared to their sailors who 'were so terrified that they cried'.⁴⁷ While the locals were incapacitated, Herbert and his tutors became increasingly active, establishing mastery over fear, and by extension, mastery over themselves and others.

*we in vain endeavored by tacking and rowing to reach the shore...we continued until midnight, the gale hourly increasing; when at length by a fortunate tack and incessant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coast: we instantly hauled down the sails, and rowed for a considerable time...After several fruitless attempts, we at last drove the boat upon shore, and disembarking, after much pains, upon a shelving hill of ice, we crawled upon our hands and knees, and gained the land, though with much difficulty.*⁴⁸

This intensely physical narrative highlights a crucial display of leadership and a bodily demonstration of masculine endurance directly linked with survival. With no mention of a captain, in 'a crazy open fishing boat' and most of the crew 'wholly inexperienced', 'we' was implicitly associated with Coxe, Herbert and Floyd. As such, their superior abilities of emotional self-control played a crucial narrative function and the emotional 'other' provided a foil against which the Grand Tourist's superior virtues could be manifested.

Much of the discourse surrounding danger strove towards establishing individual reputations and reinforcing the collective elite hierarchy. Scholars have often considered the construction of emotional hierarchies and the control of emotions as a vital tool in the maintenance of elite hegemony.⁴⁹ The eighteenth-century elite endowed themselves with virtues of stoical self-control and, as the century progressed, with the additional ability of refined emotional sensitivity. In contrast, the lower social orders were characterised as emotionally uncontrolled or, alternatively, brute-like in their emotional insensitivity. By claiming a hegemony of emotion and reason, the elite theorised their socio-cultural and political dominance.⁵⁰ This argument was pervasive in relation to British and American officer/soldier and master/servant/slave discourses.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Coxe, *Travels into Poland...* (Dublin, 1784), vol. 3, 91, 92.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 91. My italics.

⁴⁹ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001); Lemmings and Brooks, "The Emotional Turn," in *Emotions and Social Change*, 6.

⁵⁰ Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of northern Carolina Press, 2008), 5, 78, 261, 188-89, 190, 387.

⁵¹ Eustace, *Passion is the Gale*, 5, 78-9, 87, 261, 188-89, 190, 387; Giles Waterfield, "Introduction," in *Below Stairs: 400 years of servants' portraits*, ed. Waterfield et al (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2003), 14; Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 219, 221; Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century*

Views of servants, for example, oscillated between an indulgent paternalism and a fear of their more uncontrollable nature. Servants occupied a child-like status in the household, with similar levels of cognition and emotional capacity. However issues such as the “Servant Problem” and the 1737 Footman’s Gallery riots pointed to an uncontrollable nature that could spin dangerously out of control if insufficiently regulated.⁵² Similarly, officers perceived their men as ‘coarse creatures, devoid of the finer qualities of mind and intellect, and full of brutal urges and peasant’s cunning.’⁵³ Discipline and force was necessary to keep them in check, while any form of autonomy could lead to them becoming uncontrollable.⁵⁴ Even more paternalistic understandings were rooted in the moral and intellectual superiority that officers assumed over the “thoughtlessness of the class of people’ from whose ranks soldiers came’.⁵⁵ Officers consistently indicated that their presence and superior qualities steadied and disciplined men otherwise incapable of controlling themselves in the face of danger.⁵⁶ Lower social groups were caught in a neat double bind, in which their emotional reactions were utilised against them either way.⁵⁷ If they displayed resistance, they were castigated as uncontrolled and it was claimed that ‘Those subject to passion deserve to be subject to power’.⁵⁸ If they accepted their lot, they lacked emotional capacity and a desire for freedom.⁵⁹

Britain (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 20, 114-7, 138; Roger C. Richardson, *Household servants in early modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 14; Harari, *Ultimate experience*, 161-64, 185-86; Rory Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle in the Age of Napoleon* (New Haven and London: YUP, 2000), 48, 183-85.

⁵² Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, 20, 114-17, 138; Waterfield, “Life in Service,” in *Below Stairs*, 98; Pamela Horn, *Flunkeys and Scullions: life below stairs in Georgian England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 21, 23-25; Richardson, *Household servants*, 14.

⁵³ Harari, *Ultimate experience*, 161.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 162, 164.

⁵⁵ John E. Cookson, “Regimental Worlds: Interpreting the Experience of British Soldiers during the Napoleonic War,” in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic War, 1790-1820*, ed. Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 26.

⁵⁶ Matthew McCormack, “Liberty and Discipline: Militia Training Literature in Mid-Georgian England,” in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: Men of Arms*, ed. Kennedy and McCormack (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 171; Muir, *Tactics*, 48, 183-5. Cookson, “Regimental Worlds,” in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians*, 29-30.

⁵⁷ Eustace, *Passion is the Gale*, 78-79, 87.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 79, 158.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

The trope of the emotional 'other' was not just used by Grand Tourists. As Carolyn Steedman observes, servant-stories and jokes were used as a deliberate strategy to justify social dominance.⁶⁰ Describing a violent eruption of Vesuvius in October 1767, in which he and his local guide were forced to run near three miles without stopping, Sir William Hamilton, ambassador for Naples, depicted himself as impressively calm, simply stating 'I must confess that I was not at my ease'. In contrast, his guide 'took to his heels' in a blind panic and Hamilton later found his household 'in very great alarm'.⁶¹ Hamilton seized the opportunity to highlight his innate leadership qualities. While his emotional 'other' blindly fled, Hamilton was coolly assessing the situation:

I was apprehensive of the opening of a fresh mouth, which might have cut off our retreat, I also feared that the violent explosions would detach [some] of the rocks of the mountain of Somma, under which we were obliged to pass⁶²

Hamilton showed an excellent ability to think under pressure, retaining his scholarly knowledge of the terrain in order to survive. His 'fear' and 'apprehension' came from awareness, rather than a fear of unknown danger, and ultimately reflected an ability to think tactically. Equally, Coxe's publications also showed that tutors enjoyed casting themselves as emotionally superior to servants. The clergyman, officer and aristocrat on Herbert's Grand Tour each constructed an emotional hierarchy that utilised reactions to danger that placed them above their servants in order to affirm their masculine identities.

Women also used the same tropes. For example, Hester Piozzi cast her 'English maid and the French valet' as her emotional 'others' during a violent storm in Italy where they 'became quite unsupportable to themselves and me; who could only repeat the same unheeded consolations'.⁶³ The widespread usage of the emotional "other" reiterates the importance of emotional hierarchies in the justification of elite power across the whole of elite society. Nevertheless, it is worth noting a crucial difference between male and female usage, best illustrated through the example of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

⁶⁰ Steedman, *Labours Lost*, 219, 221-22.

⁶¹ David Constantine, *Fields of Fire: A Life of Sir William Hamilton* (New York: Phoenix Press, 2002), 38.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and reflections made in the course of a journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London, 1789), 256-57.

Wortley Montagu cast servants as emotional “others”, but she also cast men and women closer to her own rank in this role too. When describing her first channel crossing in 1716, she wrote ‘I never saw a Man more frighted than the Captain. For my part I have been so lucky neither to suffer from Fear or sea sickness’.⁶⁴ Her account of her moonlit journey through the precipices of Bohemia and Saxony, while clearly outlining her own fear, also implicated her husband. Having woken him when she realised the postilion were falling asleep while galloping, ‘he was much more surpriz’d than myselfe at the Situation we were in’.⁶⁵ She also cast ‘a fellow passenger...an English Lady’ as a emotional ‘other’ upon describing her return crossing to England in 1718. ‘I was not at all willing to be drown’d, I could not forbear being entertain’d at [her] double distress’.⁶⁶ Her humour and fearlessness was juxtaposed to the lady’s alternative fears for her soul and her fine headdress. As Elizabeth Bohls observes, Wortley Montagu used these techniques to bolster her authority as a traveller. She attacked traditional male modes of travel, but was equally critical in her attitude towards fellow women.⁶⁷

Wortley Montagu’s lack of compunction in casting her peers, and particularly other women, as her emotional ‘others’ reveals an important gender difference in how this narrative was used. Within the context of Grand Tourists, other men (either British or Continental) who were social equals were rarely cast as emotional ‘others’.⁶⁸ One rare example is Lewisham’s account of Charles’ refusal to descend into a Hungarian mine while Lewisham coolly climbed a one-hundred-fathom drop by ladders and ascended ‘drawn up by ropes’.⁶⁹ Lewisham rather mockingly wrote that ‘if my mother had seen us...she would have been a little alarmed – Charles who is prudence itself would not go down.’⁷⁰ Capitalising on his brother’s nervousness, Lewisham implied his own greater courage and nerve. Perhaps

⁶⁴ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 1., 249.

⁶⁵ Wortley Montagu, *Complete Letters*, vol. 1., 281-2.

⁶⁶ Wortley Montagu, *Selected Letters*, ed. Isobel Grundy (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 170-1.

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 25-27.

⁶⁸ In general, this rule extended to the Continental aristocracy, who were more often depicted as facing down danger. See for example, Basset’s account of military volunteering and Prince Leopold of Brunswick in Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington. Vol. X (July 1809 – December 1810)* ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: YUP, 1982), 3753.

⁶⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 8th October 1776, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

one's little brother was fair game in any century, but targeting one's peers was problematic and insulting. It undermined the codes of honour central to the elite cultures of masculinity and the integrity of the elite's belief in their emotional superiority which in order to be maintained had to be collectively asserted.

When Continental aristocracy were cast as emotional uncontrolled "others", this was a deliberate insult to their masculine, elite and leadership abilities. For example, in Florence in 1729 Stephen Fox, 1st Earl of Ilchester described a violent earthquake which was 'a much more terrible thing than I imagined'. He depicted the local reaction as increasingly hysterical, escalating towards 'universal fright'.⁷¹ Firstly, their landlady 'was in such terrible agonies occasioned by fear that I thought She would have died of the fright, as one of her neighbors has since'. Secondly, by morning, 'all the squares and streets were full of people confessing themselves in their shirts and smocks'. Finally, the Grand Duke of Tuscany demonstrated the least control of all: 'nobody nor no thing [reacted] more so than the great Duke who ran into his Garden and had Mass begun as soon as the first priest could be found'.⁷² Fox's account drew upon well-established stereotypes of southern European Catholicism as effeminate, superstitious and emotionally uncontrolled and in this context his account was not unusual. However, in singling out the Grand Duke as acting with the least restraint when he should have acted with the most he was directing a particular criticism towards the ruling elite of another nation. Other accounts cast similar aspersions upon the Italian aristocracy in contrast with the largely positive portrayals of Continental elites elsewhere. This provides further insight into the differentiations made by the British elite concerning their relationship with different geographies and rulers of Europe. In the 1720s, Anglo-Florentine relationships had cooled, although they were to improve over the course of the century.⁷³ As the relationships improved, so did portrayals of the Grand Dukes, indicating that, while linked to national prejudices and stereotypes, these accounts were also linked directly to more personal perceptions of the relationships and affinities between European elite societies.

For young men keen to establish themselves as the next generation of elite leaders, the Grand Tour and its dangers offered an ideal first opportunity to advocate personal claims towards their innate abilities of superior self-control and, by extension, their right to rule and command others of lesser status. In casting servants and locals as the emotional uncontrolled

⁷¹ BL, Add. Ms. 51417, 2nd July 1729, Stephen Fox, 1st Earl of Ilchester, Florence, to Henry Fox, later 1st Lord Holland.

⁷² BL, Add. Ms. 51417, 24th June 1729, Fox, Florence, to Fox.

⁷³ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 69-70.

'other' in their discourses on danger, Grand Tourists and their tutors created an important platform which enabled them to assert such claims. This was yet another way in which the Grand Tour functioned as a rite of initiation

While important, demonstrating the correct combination of emotions, virtues and reactions became increasingly difficult. By the late eighteenth century, corresponding elite claims to sensibility and refined nerves impacted significantly upon narrations of danger. Yuval Harari argues that from the 1740s onwards, bodily and emotional experiences gained ascendancy over the mind as the ultimate source of knowledge as sensationalist theory became popularised through the cult of sensibility.⁷⁴ This substantially shifted narratives and cultural expression. Previously, Harari argues, the body had nothing to teach the mind. Therefore, 'there was little to be gained from experiencing fear and bodily weakness. Someone who felt fear and managed to suppress it had a strong mind, but someone who felt not fear at all had an even stronger mind.' Accordingly, 'most men preferred to present themselves as completely fearless, and did not admit even to successful inner struggles against fear.... What one felt inwardly while fighting bravely or running away was not probed too deeply.'⁷⁵ Harari's analysis of war narratives directly parallels my observations relating to Grand Tourists. The advent of the cult of sensibility shifted this substantially. The experience of war became more than a test of manhood. It became a sublime experience, capable of revealing deep truths and changing people in fundamental ways.⁷⁶ Equally, 'Courage and honour now depended on inner sensations and emotions of fear. A man was honourable *because* he felt fearful sensations and emotions, yet acted bravely', while also retaining the strength not to be overcome by such sensations.⁷⁷

As battlefield writings show, courageous approaches to danger could no longer be conveyed through an absence of emotional description. During the War of American Independence, and French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the officer ranks continued to enforce an emotional hierarchy but also appropriated to themselves sensibility and emotional capacity as a marker of elite status.⁷⁸ By the early nineteenth century, it was argued that one 'may, by possibility, have the courage of a lion, but he cannot possess the

⁷⁴ Harari, *Ultimate experience*, 136-8.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 141, 203.

⁷⁸ Harari, *Ultimate experience*, 185-86, 203; Sarah Knott, "Sensibility and the American War for Independence," *The American Historical Review* 109:1 (February 2004): 27-30; Kennedy, *Narratives*, 70, 79-81.

feelings of a man'.⁷⁹ While Harari argues that society became more sensitive to the experiences and narratives of the rank and file, nevertheless the emotional hierarchy was maintained as exhibitions of extreme bravery amongst the ranks could be dismissed as insensibility and animalistic courage.⁸⁰ Real bravery acted despite fear, not in ignorance of it. As such, an emotionally dispassionate narrative risked its writer being cast as emotionally insensitive. Thus while William Windham's 1744 account of the Common Room's 1741 glacier expedition made minimal references to emotion, by the 1770s Tourists had to demonstrate the emotional sensibility to recognise the peril. Yet the traditional demands of fearless stoicism also remained. In response to these demands, they utilised a third strategy of contrasting their 'informed' intelligent courage with the 'unthinking' courage of the lower orders.

Herbert's Grand Tour was well attended by two tutors, Rover the Newfoundland dog, and his manservant Laurent, to whom the Pembroke circle gave the unusual soubriquet 'the Bold'. Unlike the various fearful servants populating the rest of Herbert's Tour narrative, Laurent was the antithesis of this trope and was consistently represented as a figure of capability, physicality and courage. Laurent was unfazed by even the most challenging conditions, at one point fricasseeing a chicken for his master's dinner in a peasant's hut, a feat that led Herbert to boast that 'The Bold...is a most excellent Fellow on these Expeditions'.⁸¹ He matched his master's physicality as they out-walked their mules in Italy despite the driver's attempts to overtake them, and his courage was known outside of the travelling party.⁸² After reading Coxe's *Sketches*, Herbert's old Harrow master asked if 'the Servant, who was taken with a sudden panic, going along the Precipice, was Laurent. I can hardly think it was, as I know his courage.'⁸³ Lady Pembroke was frightened to think of Herbert crossing the mountain at night without him, while Floyd warned him, 'Don't travel without one other servant beside the trusty Laurent - & keep your pistols loaded & doors locked at Night - there are dammed Scoundrels in Italy.'⁸⁴ Both letters indicated that Laurent was regarded as an insurance against harm.

⁷⁹ John Shipp, *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Military Career of John Shipp* (London, 1890 [1829]), 106-07, quoted in Harari, *Ultimate experience*, 203.

⁸⁰ For discussion of rank and file soldiers, see Harari, *Ultimate experience*, 191-92.

⁸¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 1st December 1779, Herbert's Journal.

⁸² "19th September 1779, Herbert's Journal," in *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, 259.

⁸³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 14th February 1779, Thomas Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert.

⁸⁴ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 30th December 1779, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/28, 14th September 1779, John Floyd, Pembroke House, to Herbert.

Coxe provided the most dramatic example of Laurent's boldness when describing their Mer de Glace expedition in *Travels in Switzerland* (1789). Coxe outlined the principal danger of five-hundred foot ice chasms. Ice, I would suggest, was a particularly symbolic element in this context. Because it was so slippery, it required an even greater degree of bodily self-control to walk safely on. Coxe emphasised how, equipped with shoe spikes and spiked poles, they could move with increased 'courage and confidence' and eventually concluded that while 'This account appears terrible; ...but we had not the least apprehension of danger'.⁸⁵ But...

One of our servants had the courage to follow us without *crampons*, and with no nails to his shoes; which was certainly dangerous, on account of the slipperiness of the leather when wetted.⁸⁶

This unnamed servant, almost certainly Laurent, acting with extreme fearlessness, placed himself in serious danger. In fact, his courage appeared to actually outstrip his superiors'.

Despite, or perhaps in response to, this possible threat, the Pembroke circle carefully moderated Laurent's image. Their depiction drew on an eighteenth-century figure dubbed 'the sexy footman' by Kristina Straub.⁸⁷ Male servants, such as footmen, were frequently chosen for their splendid physiques and, in theatre and literature, were imbued with a virile sexual charisma.⁸⁸ This highlighted the shared masculine virtues between different social strata but equally sharpened the struggle for dominance between master and servant. Straub argues that from the 1740s onwards, this was addressed through novelistic depictions of manservants as idealistically led by their homosocial loyalty to their masters. For example, Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) shows Clinker's 'manly strength' and physical sexuality as firmly contained by his subservient loyalty, allowing for a compelling cross-class homosocial bond that did not threaten the status quo.⁸⁹

The ability to command the loyalty and physical vitality of these hyper-masculine servants became an even greater advertisement for their masters' masculine virtues and

⁸⁵ Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, vol. 1, 421-22.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 422.

⁸⁷ Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, 15, 45.

⁸⁸ Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, 15, 45; Anne French, "Stewards to Scullery Maids," in *Below Stairs*, 42; Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 31.

⁸⁹ Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, 139-40, 155-57.

ability to command others. However, attempts to depict such relationships and abilities were fraught with difficulties as the potential for the manly servant to outstrip his master in feats of courage could become difficult to control. Perhaps inspired by Smollett's *Clinker*, the Pembroke circle controlled Laurent's masculine image through predominantly celebrating his loyalty to Herbert. He was 'faithfull', 'trusty', and 'honest'. Even the art dealer Thomas Jenkins wrote from Rome of Laurent's absolute determination to re-join his master in Turin despite the snows blocking the route.⁹⁰ Laurent had actually returned to Rome to get married, an act of independence that was generally frowned upon by employers and which distinguishes him from *Clinker*, who put his master decisively before his love life.⁹¹ The Pembroke circle and Jenkins' emphasis upon Laurent's loyalty determinedly rewrote his actions and motivations and ignored such inconvenient truths.

By the early nineteenth century, outdoor servants and hunting dogs were being celebrated for their shared attributes, such as 'loyalty, vitality, strength, bravery, health or cunning.'⁹² While Laurent was not an outdoor servant, the Pembrokes were deeply invested in hunting and horses, and their 1770s depiction of Laurent can be seen as an earlier example of such practices. Laurent's apparently single-minded devotion was deliberately paralleled with canine loyalty. Floyd and Lady Pembroke viewed Laurent as akin to a guard dog, while a tendency to ask about Laurent and Rover (also celebrated for never leaving Herbert's side during the most dangerous parts of his travels) together indicates an association, conscious or unconscious, between servant and dog.⁹³ The more bestial aspects of this association were also drawn out. Herbert, drawing upon a debasing connotation with dog breath, recorded how the hung-over 'Bold's Br-th over st—k to such a horrible degree lately that I very much doubt of his soundness.'⁹⁴

Laurent's courage on the glacier ice should be read in this context. In 'following' Herbert, he became a faithful dog refusing to leave his master's side. Through animalising his motives and actions, Laurent's masters implied a bestial emotional capacity and intelligence that attributed his "courage" to a lack of sensibility rather than genuine bravery. In contrast, Herbert and his tutors actively recognised and strategically overcame the dangers, through

⁹⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 6th March 1780 and 4th March 1780, Thomas Jenkins, Rome, to Herbert.

⁹¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 23rd February 1780, Herbert's Journal.

⁹² Matthew Craske, "In the Realm of Nature and Beasts," in *Below Stairs*, 160-62.

⁹³ See for example WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 14th February 1779, Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 15th December 1779, Dr Thomas Eyre, Fovant, to Herbert.

⁹⁴ "18th September 1779, Herbert's Journal," in *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, 256.

using the correct equipment. Thus Laurent the Bold formed an excellent foil, in which his laudable, but ultimately simplistic courage spotlighted his master's more complex performances.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Herbert desired a military career. His father conceived a Grand Tour curriculum that emphasised preparation for military life, one of his tutors was a military officer, and he attended two military academies during his Tour. Furthermore, Herbert's family had a tradition of military service. His father saw active service throughout the 1750s and 60s and begged the King for a commission during his own Grand Tour.⁹⁵ Herbert's military heritage was evidently important to him and he perceived himself as fully embodying a martial masculinity. Given this background and ambition, it was particularly important to Herbert and his family to establish his capacity to command the obedience and loyalty of others. His family was also *au fait* with the culture of sensibility, as demonstrated by his mother's explicitly sentimental letters. Writing during the 1770s, the Pembroke circle's depiction of Laurent took place when the discourse of sensibility was at its height and effectively illustrates one of the chief dilemmas faced by young Grand Tourists. An emotionally silent narrative was now insufficient. Herbert was simultaneously meant to show himself as a man of feeling with the sensitivity, imagination and intelligence to be able to identify the dangers, and yet to also be fearless in the face of that fear. In order to respond to these demands, he and his tutors effectively orchestrated a band of "others" to showcase the range of emotional extremes denied to them. The Pembroke circle's handling of servants in their narratives of Herbert's Grand Tour experiences of danger suggests a sophisticated awareness of and response to the shifting cultures, discourses and hierarchies of emotion and command, and a determination to establish Herbert with the correct masculine image. Yet Laurent demonstrates that these strategies were fraught with difficulties. Embodying several masculine traits that his masters sought to attain, Laurent highlights how different strata of society could share markers of successful masculinity. In order to use this example of successful masculinity to complement their own, Herbert and the Pembroke circle had to establish a carefully nuanced and maintained hierarchy of physicality, emotion, and command.

In identifying three key strategies – dispassionate narratives and the creation of fearful and unintelligent 'others' – used by Grand Tourists seeking to promote a hardy masculine identity in relation to danger, this chapter has drawn attention to the more

⁹⁵ J. E. O. Screen, "Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke and seventh earl of Montgomery (1734–1794)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13034, (accessed 19 June 2013); BL, Add. Ms. 32728 f. 350, 22nd July 1752, __Newcastle, Hanover, to Lady Pembroke.

deliberate constructions surrounding the narration of risk in relation to one culture of masculinity. Hardy masculinity was not necessarily the dominant elite masculine culture but it did encapsulate the importance of self-control – a virtue that was also highly valued by other branches of elite masculinity. This suggests a more general expectation that Grand Tourists, irrespective of their chosen masculine identity, might display an element of self-control in relation to danger. However, some Grand Tourists, as the case study of Nuneham has already indicated, very clearly took the opportunity to resist such conventions. As Amy Harris' account of adolescent siblings and cousins in the eighteenth century has outlined, the letter and process of correspondence was not always a place to conform to expectations. It also provided an opportunity to reject, disregard and mock pre-existing formalities and expectations, as well as an informal space to experiment and play with new modes of communication and new forms of identity.⁹⁶ The second section builds upon this observation and my opening analysis of Nuneham with a case study of Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray. They used their experiences and narratives of Grand Tour danger to construct very different masculinities to the hardy ones explored here. Subverting and refuting the virtues of self-control and command of others, they instead focused upon proving their literary prowess and wit.

Alternative Narrations: Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray

As James Watt has argued, Walpole invested in a rather unique elite identity based around a disavowal of traditional aristocratic ambitions.⁹⁷ In resisting active involvement with parliament, government or the military, he resisted an identity centred on a command of power and others. This conflicted with his aristocratic position, forcing him to identify other means of distinction. He achieved this through his literary and aesthetic abilities, a dedication to novelty, and a constant reaffirmation of privileged exclusivity.⁹⁸ Towards the end of his Grand Tour, Henry Seymour Conway wrote to him, 'Seriously, tell me, dear Horry, when you think of returning... I am indifferent whether you choose to serve your country in the chamy or the togue.'⁹⁹ Conway's letter indicated his hope that Walpole's election to Parliament

⁹⁶ Amy Harris, "This I Beg my Aunt may not Know: Young Letter-Writers in Eighteenth-Century England, Peer Correspondence in a Hierarchical World," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2:3 (2009): 333, 334-35, 347-49, 353.

⁹⁷ James Watt, *Contesting the Gothic: fiction, genre and cultural conflict, 1764-1832* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 21-39.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19, 21-23, 31, 33.

⁹⁹ "25th February 1740, Henry Seymour Conway, [unknown location], to Horace Walpole," in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Mrs Harris*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1974), vol. 37, 45-46.

would force his return. His reference to the 'chamy', the chamois doublet of the soldier, and the 'togue', the toga of a Roman senator, highlighted the two standard occupations and adult responsibilities for men of their rank. Throughout Walpole's adult life, he continued to resist both options, habitually refusing opportunities to engage with Parliament and a political career.¹⁰⁰ I would contend that this overall renunciation of an aristocratic masculine identity that centred upon a command of power and of others began in earnest during his Grand Tour, as witnessed through his narration of danger, in which he figured himself as uncourageous, uncommanding and non-physical. As Watt observes, Walpole sought for other means of distinction, and this deliberate process of fashioning a unique aristocratic identity for himself began during his Tour and utilised the experience and narration of danger to great effect.

Walpole's identity involved a disassociation from physical performances of endurance, courage, stoicism and fortitude. Walpole used the discomforts of travel and his experiences of mountain dangers to emphasise this. He vociferously complained upon his return journey through Italy:

Do but figure to yourself the journey we are to pass through first! But you can't conceive Alps, Apennines, Italian inns and postchaises. I tremble at the thoughts. They were just sufferable while new and unknown, and as we met them by the way in coming to Florence, Rome, and Naples; but they are passed, and the mountains remain!¹⁰¹

His comically witty accounts of danger, particularly the 1739 Mount Cenis crossing, questioned accepted ideas of masculine responses to danger. '[T]he Devil of Discord in the similitude of sour wine had got amongst our Alpine savages', nearly plunging Gray and himself off 'the very highest precipice of Mount Cenis'.¹⁰² Not long afterwards, a wolf killed his dog Tory. Walpole utilised the familiar trope of the uncontrolled lower orders but to very different effect. The porters were bestial and demonic; 'Alpine savages' with 'cloven foot', uncontrollable in their 'rushed' moments and drunkenness. Whereas other Tourists might have demonstrated their command over such men, Walpole deliberately depicted himself as passively seated in his chair, unable to exert authority over the situation.¹⁰³ Likewise, when

¹⁰⁰ Watt, *Contesting the Gothic*, 19, 21-23.

¹⁰¹ "4th December 1740, Walpole, Florence, to Richard West," in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West and Thomas Ashton*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1948), vol. 13, 238-39.

¹⁰² "11th November 1739, Walpole, Turin, to West," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 188-90.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Tory was killed, it was the postilion who exploded into powerful motion, jumping off his horse and striking at the wolf with his whip, while Walpole's reaction was conducted from his chaise; 'I saw it and screamed, but in vain'.¹⁰⁴ Walpole depicted himself as a helpless victim, unable to save himself from a precipice or his dog from a wolf. In documenting his scream - an external, vocal manifestation of an internal lack of control - he also effectively undermined any personal claims towards stoicism. Walpole described the incident to Conway:

I had a cruel accident, and so extraordinary an one, that it seems to touch upon the traveller. I had brought with me a little black spaniel, of King Charles' breed; but the prettiest, fattest, dearest creature! I had let it out of the chaise for the air, and it was waddling along close to the head of the horses, on the top of one of the highest Alps, by the side of a wood of firs. There darted out a young wolf, seized poor dear Tory by the throat, and, before we could possibly prevent it, sprung up the side of the rock and carried him off. The postilion jumped off and struck at him with his whip, but in vain. I saw it and screamed, but in vain; for the road was so narrow, that the servants that were behind could not get by the chaise to shoot him. What is the extraordinary part is, that it was but two o'clock, and broad sunshine. It was shocking to see anything one loved run away with to so horrid a death.¹⁰⁵

Comically mourning the 'dearest creature', Walpole was alert to the fantastic nature of the incident and the political irony of a King Charles spaniel called Tory being killed by wolves. Rather than becoming a pathetic figure, he created a self-reflective masculinity that drew authority from mocking his own performance. His correspondents, Conway and Richard West, responded in spirit and used the incident to refine their literary talent and showcase their command of classical, literary and historical references. Conway's response affirmed Walpole's literary skills in a manner that highlighted Walpole's appreciation of the ridiculous and comic, noting with a theatrical mixture of irony and pathos:

You painted it with such eloquence that it would have drawn tears from a stone....the size of the wolf etc. seem to be circumstances maliciously chosen to make me not piss this ten days... and that little bark pierced my heart with grief!¹⁰⁶

West replied, stating 'I'll never sing [Mount Cenis] panegyric, unless she serves all her wolves as Edgar the Peaceable did', while comparing Tory's death to 'poor Mrs Rider...tore to pieces by the savages'.¹⁰⁷ Conway drew upon the literary practice of pet elegies, a fanciful

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 188-90.

¹⁰⁶ "18th November 1739, Conway, Geneva, to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 43-44.

¹⁰⁷ "13th December 1739, West, Temple, to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 196n2-3: Edgar the Peaceable imposed an annual tribute of three hundred wolf heads in ca 968 upon the Welsh king. It was discontinued three years later as no wolves were left. 'Mrs

demonstration of verbal dexterity characterised by a certain *jeu d'esprit*, stating that while 'it shan't be a letter of condolence, nor will I seal it with black wax,...like its author it shall carry its sadness not [in] its habits but in its countenance and in the very heart and bowels'.¹⁰⁸ He also asked Walpole to 'design him an apotheosis *a la payenne* or a canonization *a la bonne catholique*. His exit was so extraordinary that I can't be content unless you make it miraculous'.¹⁰⁹ Finally, he concluded by placing Tory in a classically inspired afterlife, where 'the dear little jetty rogue enjoys the post of cup-bearer [to the hunting goddess, Diana] and is at this moment giving *a boire* to her Chastity'.¹¹⁰

Walpole, West and Gray each established considerable literary reputations, and the incidents of the Grand Tour formed inspiration and fodder for their later writing careers. For example, Walpole viewed the Count Caprara's gallery in Bologna through a gothic aesthetic, claiming that the 'pendant trophies of various arms' were 'whimsical, romantic' symbols of a chivalric quest, and attempting to find the 'the portrait of the lady at whose feet they were indubitably offered'.¹¹¹ His description of Radicofani, a 'devil of a place...a black barren mountain', focused upon fantastic and ridiculous incidents such as being lent the only pen in the village 'under the conduct of a serjeant and two Swiss', and encountering an 'older woman' 'in a red cloak, a white handkerchief on its head, and a black hat' on the roadside who was revealed to be 'Senesini', a celebrated castrato.¹¹² Walpole cast Radicofani as a physically grim site of fantastical happenings. These observations foregrounded Walpole's later interest in the Gothic. Later travellers, most strikingly Hester Piozzi and William Beckford, writing from the aesthetic of a developed Gothic discourse, reinvested Radicofani with a stronger sense of Gothic horror.¹¹³

Rider' was a reference to Mrs Riding a character in Antoine-François Prévost d'Exilles' *Le Philosophe anglais...* (1731-39). She was apparently torn apart by savages.

¹⁰⁸ Ingrid Tague, "Dead Pets: Satire and Sentiment in British Elegies and Epitaphs for Animals," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 41:3 (Spring 2008): 289, 292-93; '18th November 1739, Conway, Geneva, to Walpole,' in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 43-44.

¹⁰⁹ "18th November 1739, Conway, Geneva, to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 43-44.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ "14th December 1739, Walpole, Bologna, to West," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 194.

¹¹² "5th July 1740, Walpole, Re di Cofano, to Conway," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 66-67; "22nd March 1740, Walpole, Sienna, to West," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 205.

¹¹³ See for example, Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, 264; William Beckford, *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents*, ed. Robert J. Gemmett (Stroud: Nonsuch Publishing, 2006), 151-52.

Equally, in 1747 Gray published an elegy on Walpole's cat, Selina, who drowned in a bowl of goldfish. Like the correspondence surrounding Tory's death, the elegy was a witty, amusing piece.¹¹⁴ Given that their identities rested upon literary prowess, I would suggest that Walpole and Gray saw the Grand Tour and their experiences of danger as a chance to experiment with and refine an array of literary techniques and discourses. Gray used Tory's death to experiment with a variety of literary forms, including a farcical parody of his Tour. In this, he replaced Tory with himself: '[Gray] is devoured by a Wolf, & how it is to be devoured by a Wolf.'¹¹⁵ In reimagining Tory's death as his, he nodded towards the cultural tendency to cast dogs as extensions of the self and began to effectively draw out the process of exploring death, pain and danger and their associated emotions. Elsewhere, Gray experimented with an approach also found in sublime discourses. One letter reflected 'If [Tory] had not been there, and the creature had thought fit to lay hold of one of the horses; chaise, and we, and all must inevitably have tumbled above fifty fathoms perpendicular down the precipice.'¹¹⁶ In this alternative outcome, Gray traced the fall that culminated in imaginary death. In sublime and exploration discourses individuals frequently traced the fall of the precipice with a fixed gaze that divorced consciousness from the analytical self. This visual and imaginary progress culminated with the ground, resulting in an imagined obliteration of the self.¹¹⁷ Gray's reflections potentially dwelt upon a similar emotional experience. While briefly done, Gray's writings on Tory's death indicate a creative, experimental approach towards meditating upon the worst outcome of encountering danger.

Extensions of the Self: Dogs and Hidden Emotions

The following section continues to outline the strategies and difficulties surrounding narrative of danger, dogs and masculine identity. Thus far, this chapter has dealt with emotions and narratives of danger in terms of conscious construction and rewriting of reactions to support certain identities and emotional cultures. While some Tourists used dogs to establish more subversive masculine identities, this final section explores how others used them to covertly express emotions that were unacceptable in their established discourses.

¹¹⁴ Tague, "Dead Pets," 289, 300.

¹¹⁵ "12th March 1740, Gray, Florence, to Thomas Wharton," in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Paget Jackson Toynbee, Leonard Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 140.

¹¹⁶ "7th November 1739, Gray, Turin, to Mrs. Gray," in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 126.

¹¹⁷ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1984), 352, 408, 413-21, 423.

In general, Tourists and tutors assigned certain emotions and reactions to servants because they wished to disassociate themselves from both emotion and servant. In contrast, dogs fulfilled a very different role. Eighteenth-century elites held a culture of close association with their dogs. While dogs were non-human 'others', occupying servile or captive positions, they were also companions and objects of affection.¹¹⁸ As previously discussed, the elite promoted refined emotional sensibility and the capacity to be moved by others as an indicator of their social status. Scholars of animal history have demonstrated that dogs formed a part of this, as they became sites of meditation with which to think and emote.¹¹⁹ Animal deaths, for example, led to considerations of human mortality as well, as Gray demonstrated in the case of Tory.¹²⁰ The extent to which dogs were perceived as extensions or projections of their owner was recognised in political and social satire. For example, John Collet's *Kitty Coaxer driving Lord Dupe towards Rotten Row* (c. 1793-1780) satirised the threat posed to masculinity by mixed park riding and domineering mistresses. Coaxer's total dominance is reinforced by her aggressive lapdog who has usurped Dupe's hunting dog, symbolising a landowner and country patrician, from the carriage.¹²¹ This final section explores how this projection played out within the Grand Tour's climate of self-representation when pet and owner were in danger.

A brief look at Pompeo Batoni's portraits reveals a large number of dogs on Tour, where the process of casting dogs as extensions of the self continued. Walpole's King Charles spaniel, Tory, was, like Walpole, used to a sedate life and totally unsuited to harsh physical terrains. Nuneham's dog Mufty was symbolically sent home to act as his mother's lapdog. In contrast, Herbert's Newfoundland, Rover, accompanied him on his Scandinavian and Alpine explorations, while Lady Mary, Holroyd's hunting dog, tumbled off a precipice in her eager pursuit of game. Both were singularly suited to masters who took pride in their hardy enjoyment of outdoor pursuits. Holroyd even used Lady Mary to highlight his libertine

¹¹⁸ Tague, "Companions, Servants, or Slaves? Considering Animals in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 39 (2010): 111-30.

¹¹⁹ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 119; Laura Brown, "The Lady, the Lapdog and the Literary Altermity," *The Eighteenth Century* 52:1 (Spring 2011): 33-35; Tague, "Dead Pets," 129.

¹²⁰ Tague, "Dead Pets," 298; Mark Blackwell, "The It-Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Animals and Objects in Circulation," *Literature Compass* 1 (2004): 3.

¹²¹ T. Almeroth-Williams, "City of Beasts: Horses & Livestock in Hanoverian London," (PhD diss., University of York, 2013), 317-19.

tendencies. During Rome's carnival, she replaced him in the carriage as a licentious nobleman while he masqueraded as her squire on top.¹²²

Imbued with a permissible emotional climate of affection, a Tourist's relationship with his dog provided an outlet for greater emotional expressiveness even amongst hardy, more stoical masculine cultures. During his Grand Tour, Herbert wrote that he was deeply 'hurt' to hear about the death of the family's old mare, while his father lamented over a 'very pretty little Spanish bitch' who was 'killed very odly' while hunting.¹²³ The Pembroke family were deeply attached to their animals, supporting Isabelle Tague and Kevin Gardner's arguments that private and published material reflected deep sentimental relationships with animals throughout the century.¹²⁴ When Rover died, the news generated an outpouring of sympathy. Thomas Eyre wrote, 'Alas! poor old Rover! I am very sorry the poor old Fellow did not live to see his native Country again', while Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke wrote 'I sincerely regret him, & condole with you, knowing it is a much more serious loss, than vulgar minds can conceive'.¹²⁵ Pembroke gave direct permission to grieve over an animal while also reinforcing the elite's belief in their superior emotional sensibilities. In doing so, he raised Rover to a near-human level of dignity, planning a funeral procession with Coxe and Floyd as pallbearers. Elsewhere Pembroke demanded hypercritical levels of self-control. His change in attitude here indicates that dog-related disasters were legitimate sites of emotional release. Pembroke's condolences were accompanied by a less sensitive offer of a new puppy. This provoked an emotional outburst from his son, who recommended that he 'may send it to Hell'.¹²⁶ Under the strain of a complex set of tense relationships between and with his parents and two tutors, the permissible grief felt through the loss of Rover also became an alternative outlet for the pent-up emotion generated by these relationships and the pressure of travel. In light of the deliberate associations drawn between the dogs and their Tourists, this allowed for some interesting opportunities to convey and dwell upon emotions of distress, fear and terror while also elaborating upon one's masculine identity.

¹²² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Dr. Baker.

¹²³ "12th April 1776, Herbert, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke," in *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, 75; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 30th September 1779, Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, Ely, to Herbert.

¹²⁴ Tague, "Companions, Servants, or Slaves?" 111-12; Tague, "Dead Pets," 300-1; Kevin Gardner, "Canis Satiricus: Alexander Pope and His Dogs," *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 26:4 (2013): 228-34.

¹²⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 15th December 1779, Eyre, Fovant, to Herbert; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

¹²⁶ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 7th August 1779, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

This was not straightforward. Herbert's hardy masculinity was augmented through a subtle but not compromising indicator of his emotional sensibilities. Yet such emotional releases could, unless carefully controlled, imperil masculine identities particularly as Walpole, Gray and Nuneham's reaction to Tory and Mufty's fate show that dogs, danger and the associated emotional release were also used to replace hardy masculinity with alternative identities. Gray and Walpole consciously used Tory to support their literary identities and ambitions in a manner that legitimately dwelt upon danger and death. Their mediations were more closely tied to inspiration, humour and other literary constructions than to charting revealing emotional reactions. Other Tourists more heavily bound in emotionally stoic masculinities used dogs to covertly meditate upon danger and the self. Dogs became permissible, or secretive, sites of anxiety and fearful imaginings. For example, Lady Mary's fall preoccupied Holroyd to the extent that he inserted it as a postscript and an additional entry in his letter and journal.¹²⁷

Amidst the Alps Lady Mary in The Pursuit of Game tumbled headlong from a Great precipice of rocks, I was walking & seeing the fall, thought it impossible but she must be dashed in pieces, However she was not the least hurt, she immediately ran towards me shaking her tail in a supplicant manner as if she done wrong – ¹²⁸

Holroyd, like Gray, visually traced her uncontrolled descent, emphasised in the dramatic, uncontrolled motion of 'tumbled headlong', which resulted in his imagined outcome of 'she must be dashed in pieces'. Holroyd consistently wrote Lady Mary as closely connected to him. Even here, she ran straight to him after the fall. As such it could be argued that he read himself into her fall and imagined death. Holroyd's hardy masculine identity strongly influenced his unemotional depiction of personal danger elsewhere. His decision to include his fearful imaginings over Lady Mary's fall indicates an area in which he could carefully explore fears that could not be easily expressed elsewhere in his chosen masculine discourse.

While this chapter has predominantly focused upon conscious constructions, the potentially subconscious nature of Holroyd and Herbert's actions highlights another dimension to the Grand Tour's relationship with danger: the interior emotional experience. As I noted in my introduction, many of the frameworks for analysing the history of emotions focuses upon emotional discourse and its interaction with social and cultural influences. This is frequently approached in terms of control/resistance and valid/invalid forms of emotional expression and experience. For example, William Reddy's concept of emotional regimes

¹²⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 154, 13th August 1764, Holroyd, Genoa, to Mrs. Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 19th-21st July 1764, Holroyd's Journal.

¹²⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 154, 13th August 1764, Holroyd, Genoa, to Mrs. Baker.

argues that regimes of power create corresponding normative orders for emotions.¹²⁹ Even Barbara Rosenwien's more holistic methodology of emotional communities still encompasses principles of inclusion, exclusion, toleration and rejection in terms of emotional norms.¹³⁰ This focus gives less attention to emotional interiority - the personal, internal (perhaps one might say, instinctive) emotional reaction that occurred prior to the constructed emotional discourse. Such reactions are difficult to identify and analyse because they are subsequently repressed or rewritten to conform with expected emotional discourses. Nevertheless scholars of the familiar letter and the history of emotions have frequently asserted that it is possible to uncover subconscious revelations of emotional states.¹³¹

A careful scrutiny of Grand Tour material suggests unconscious revelations of fear, unease or distress even within the most dispassionate narratives. Occasionally events might have been so emotionally disruptive that Tourists could no longer maintain the accepted norms. Having witnessed the mutinies in Nancy, France in the summer of 1790, John Brabazon Ponsonby, later 1st Viscount Ponsonby provided detailed eyewitness descriptions of a lengthy battle. He was particularly disturbed by having seen an eighteen-year-old Hussar killed in front of him as he begged for his life. Ponsonby's emotional distress was revealed through the jumbled structure of his letter. His vivid description was abruptly cut off, as he announced 'I am so stupid today' and began to shift rapidly through a series of unconnected topics, such as gardening and poetry. He concluded with a postscript, 'Give my love to everybody I hope I shall dream of you all instead of fighting and dead bodies -----'¹³² In his study of the emotions of World War One officers, Michael Roper argues that they frequently circled around unsettling events that were too disturbing to relive but that they also needed to unburden themselves of.¹³³ Ponsonby's letter indicates a similar emotional distress, as he abruptly changed topic, circled back to the underlying issue and resisted discussing the incident in terms of his personal reaction until the final line.

¹²⁹ Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 125.

¹³⁰ Barbara H. Rosenwien, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002): 842.

¹³¹ See for example Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters*, 333; Bourke, *Fear*, 159-61; Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 20-21, 64, 68.

¹³² Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, HALIFAX/A1/2/3/6, 2nd September 1790, John Brabazon Ponsoby, later 1st Viscount Ponsonby, Nancy, to Lady Louisa Ponsonby.

¹³³ Roper, *Secret Battle*, 64, 66.

Ponsonby's letter forms a particularly dramatic example. Equally, however, narratives of intense physical danger that excluded any indication of emotional strain were often followed by references to profound sleep that was required for emotional as well as physical recovery. Lewisham's mountaineering account concluded that 'some hours of profound sleep buried all our cares, dangers & fatigues into oblivion'.¹³⁴ Likewise, in 1729, having laughed in the face of a storm while their servants cowered, Hervey and Fox reached land and:

Still giddy, jaded, & half dead
For want of Rest, we hast to Bed;
Nor wanted rocking, for we soon
Slept, & nior wak'd 'till next Day noon¹³⁵

Both accounts retrospectively gestured towards emotional states, 'giddy', 'jaded' and 'cares', but resisted inserting them into the narrative until safety had been reached.

Nuneham and Walpole's emotional narratives formed part of wider emotional discourses that were deliberately subversive, running against the established elite emotional discourse. Conversely, I would argue that the emotional narratives of Holroyd, Herbert, Lewisham and Harvey identified here should not be construed as subversive of, or resistant to, the dominant emotional regime. Rather, they provide some, albeit limited, insight in to the emotional interiority of an elite young male in relation to danger. As such, they give a clearer understanding of the gap that could exist between idealised masculine identities and the realities of experience, alongside the extent to which Grand Tourists shaped, refashioned and constructed their emotional reactions in order to fall in line with expected discourses.

Conclusion

The experience of physical danger, whether on the road, the mountain, the sportsfield or the battlefield, comprised an important test of masculinity on the Grand Tour but the letters, diaries and reports from Grand Tourists, tutors and others observers of the Tour were equally important and can be viewed as evidence concerning the success of these coming of age tests. This evidence was circulated amongst family, friends and circles of influence. It was closely scrutinised in order to see how the next generation of elite leadership fared and, as such, also formed an ideal opportunity to construct and assert one's masculine identity. Thus,

¹³⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

¹³⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 51345, 1729, Hervey's poem.

how a Grand Tourist reacted, performed and was perceived, and how this was subsequently narrated to its wider audience was crucial.

The importance of danger can be measured through the effort put into the careful construction of the narratives concerning the Tourist's emotional and physical reactions. These narratives deliberately utilised several strategies and could involve a sophisticated response to various wider cultural developments and expectations. While the experience and resulting narrative of danger certainly lent itself to advocating hardy masculinity, danger also consistently emerged as a useful tool for exploring and asserting a wider variety of identities, including those of the sensitive Man of Feeling and the literary wit.

This chapter has explored Grand Tour narratives surrounding encounters with danger in relation to three elite masculine identities; the hardy, the literary and the fashionable man of feeling. While the Grand Tourists engaging with these identities produced very varied accounts of their experiences of danger, nevertheless they drew and borrowed from the same wider cultural discourses, using many of the same narrative tropes and conventions. Whether they aligned themselves with hardy elite masculine identities or not, each Tourist had to place themselves within a wider elite discourse that revolved around ideas of power, command, emotional hierarchies, emotional self-control and control of others. Thus, despite the fact that at times these Grand Tourists were striving towards seemingly polarised masculine identities and virtues, the experience of danger on the Grand Tour remained a central event, through which Grand Tourists could construct critical and revealing reactions and natures.

While a vital tool in the construction of individual masculine reputations, danger was also used to uphold the collective maintenance of elite power and identity. The narratives of danger advanced important claims surrounding the elites' emotional hegemony and fitness for leadership in juxtaposing their courageous self-control against the helpless fear or fearless ignorance of their servants. They were an ideal first opportunity for the next generation of elite males to contribute toward this collective self-fashioning while simultaneously asserting their personal virtues. Thus, dangers, and the Grand Tour itself, formed an important aspect of the complex eighteenth-century world of elite self-fashioning and power. As the following chapter will explore, this juncture between danger and the Grand Tour could be exploited for this purpose even in the most unexpected of ways.

Chapter 5. Sickness and Health on the Grand Tour

Acting against all accepted wisdom, George, Lord Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke, spent August-November 1779 in Rome and Naples during the height of the malaria season. His father, Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, reacted with almost hysterical fear. '[I] am uneasy abt it to a degree I can not express. How can you be so mad, as to go into Malaria? For God's sake, write me a line the instant you are safe at Florence.'¹ The seasonal dangers of malaria in Rome and the surrounding Campania frequently stimulated expressions of fear and anxiety amongst Grand Tourists and their correspondents. Tempted by the possibility of seeing a papal election in 1740, Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray hovered uneasily in Rome from May to July, torn between 'fear of the heats and bad air arriving' and 'dread [of] a pope being chosen in the interim'.² Eventually, prudence won and they retired to Florence in mid-August, where Gray recorded a grim example that malaria was 'not only fancy'. Two men walking from the Campania to Florence died of the disease, one on the road and the other upon arrival. Gray concluded 'So, between fear and laziness, we remain here, and must be satisfied with the accounts other people give us of the matter.'³

In both examples, Florence was identified as a healthy location, safe from the infectious disease. As Joseph Spence wrote to his anxious mother in August 1732:

At Rome there is what they call the 'mala aria', [wh]at we should call a bad air at a particular part [of] the summer. They have great superstitions about it, and are so exact as to name the very day that it comes in...This is one great occasion of the 'mala aria' which lies over Rome in July and August, and in some parts for forty mile round it.⁴

Despite mocking the Romans' 'great superstition,' Spence provided an exact sense of where malaria acted and when it started. He and Charles Sackville, Lord Middlesex were clearly

¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 30th September 1779, Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, Ely, to George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke.

² "14th May 1740, Horace Walpole, Rome, to Sir Horace Mann," in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1955), vol. 17, 22.

³ "21st August 1740, Thomas Gray, Florence, to Mrs Gray," in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Paget Jackson Toynbee, Leonard Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 173.

⁴ "23rd August 1732, Joseph Spence, Florence, to Mrs Spence," in Joseph Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 117.

influenced by these guidelines, leaving Rome on the 30th June and crossing into the Duchy of Tuscany, beyond the malaria's reaches, on the 1st July.⁵

The hazards of malarial disease in Rome and the Campania formed a dramatic feature in the imaginary topography of danger and safety on the Continent constructed by Grand Tourists, tutors, friends and family. Such topographies were based on personal understandings of danger and safety informed by their own and others' experiences, as well as understandings that had gained a wider cultural currency within eighteenth-century society. The mountainous geography of the Alps formed one such commonality. The malaria was another.

When it comes to considering the construction of a Grand-Tour topography of disease, sickness and health, the spectre of danger cast by malaria and its strong association with Rome has received considerable scholarly attention.⁶ On the one hand, Rome's struggle with malaria and visitors' attempts to discern when and how the city could be safely visited has been placed within the context of wider eighteenth-century efforts to understand and predict the links between disease, climate and environment.⁷ On the other, scholars working on travel literature have more typically focused upon malaria's metaphorical association with the body politic. Chloe Chard and Richard Wrigley, in particular, have outlined how malaria operated as a metaphor for insidious hidden rottenness in the midst of pleasure, as the same air of Rome that inspired poetic genius also caused deadly disease. The poisonous air of Rome was linked to the climate of the torrid south and tyrannical governments in the form of the decadent Imperial Rome and the Catholic Church. This contrasted with the supposedly pure air and climate of Britain, the upstanding example of the Protestant Constitution, a perception that conveniently ignored the presence of malaria in the Norfolk Broads and Essex marshes.⁸

Looking beyond Rome, the historiography surrounding British travel to Italy has frequently drawn attention to the dangerously effeminising impact of the climate and region,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Richard Wrigley, "Mapping 'mal'arai' in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Rome," in *Pathologies of Travel*, ed. Richard Wrigley and George Revill, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 207.

⁷ See James C. Riley, *The eighteenth-century campaign to avoid disease* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Wrigley, "Mapping 'mal'aria'," in *Pathologies of Travel*, 207-08, 210-13; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1992), 9, 91.

⁸ Chloe Chard, "Lassitude and Revival in the Warm South: relaxing and exciting travel (1750-1830)", in *Pathologies of Travel*, 188-89; Wrigley, "Mapping 'mal'arai'," in *Pathologies of Travel*, 208; Wrigley, "Making Sense of Rome," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:4 (2012): 551-64.

and the extent to which climate was inextricably linked to the nature of the people and government who dwelt within it. Chard has highlighted the 'effeminate indecorum and excess of the warm south' with J. Gash drawing attention to the long association of Italy with erotic and sexual encounter. Rosemary Sweet highlights how Rome became increasingly linked with imperial decadence and cruelty.⁹ As Robert Miles has argued, the south of Europe – Italy, Spain and southern France - was connected to a climatic stereotype that associated the region with passion, violence, feudal politics and papal deception to the extent that they formed the perfect setting for Gothic novels in the northern Protestant imagination.¹⁰

The dominance of malaria in scholarly discussions of disease and health on the Grand Tour has resulted in a rather incomplete understanding of the Tour's medical topography which frequently emphasises the harmful aspects. Scholars tend to focus upon how the Grand Tour exposed its participants to the danger of illness. Black, for example, cites numerous examples of ill-health and fatality on the Grand Tour and argues that it isolated Tourists from their normal frameworks of medical care and support.¹¹ He characterises the Continent as 'an alien and to some extent a dangerous environment,' that 'contrasted so sharply with their experiences of life in Britain'.¹² Despite their wealth, connections and the diplomatic service, he contends that Grand Tourists found Continental physicians difficult to access and trust. Limited in knowledge and skill, these physicians turned 'minor ailments into killers'.¹³

This argument needs to be interrogated. Given Black's analysis and the levels of fear surrounding the dangers of malaria, scholars might expect to find letters and diaries containing an intensification of health-and-travel-related concern as Grand Tourists left the safety of Britain and particularly as they crossed from northern Europe into Italy, where known diseases and unhealthy geographies awaited them. Yet when placed within the context of overall discussions of disease, illness and health during travel, malaria is conspicuous as the only frequently referenced medical hazard. Other well-known diseases and epidemics that triggered concern in the eighteenth century received very little attention.

⁹ Chard, *Pleasure and guilt on the grand tour: travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 167; J. Gash, "Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations before and during the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:2 (2010): 143; Rosemary Sweet, "The Changing View of Rome in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33:2 (2010): 145-64.

¹⁰ Robert Miles, *Gothic Writing, 1750-1820: A Genealogy* (London: Routledge, 1993), 87-89.

¹¹ Black, *British Abroad*, 197-200.

¹² *Ibid.*, 200.

¹³ *Ibid.*

The only references to smallpox and vaccinations came from parents updating Tourists on the inoculation of young siblings.¹⁴ The dangers of the plague and leprosy, and the steps taken by European governments to halt the spread of epidemics, are only distantly visible through brief, untroubled references to presenting certificates of health at the island of Lido, a prerequisite to entering Venice.¹⁵ Visits to and discussions of public hospitals and issues of public health were rare. Discussion of illness was essentially limited to the health of individuals personally connected to Tourists, or to illnesses affecting their immediate environment and activities. Yet, even in relation to personal illnesses, there is no consistent evidence that travelling abroad resulted in an escalation of concern. Becoming ill was a common occurrence. Given the extended nature of the Grand Tour, it would have been extremely unusual for a Grand Tour party to have no need of medical attention during their travels.

This chapter seeks to nuance current scholarly understandings of the Grand Tour's relationship with health, disease and illness in a number of different ways, in order to more clearly situate when and why expressions of fear arose and where issues of illness and health fitted into wider cultural and social understandings. In doing so, it considers the intersection between physical bodies, danger and masculine identity from another angle by exploring the challenges, experiences and cultures relating to sickness and health on the Grand Tour. As Mark Jenner observes, early topographical writings were preoccupied with issues of salubrity. While certain climates and locations were deemed harmful, others were identified as healthful.¹⁶ Published and manuscript writings surrounding the Grand Tour manifested a similar tendency to identify locations as good or bad for one's health. To give one brief example, Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour* (1756) included brief assessments of the quality of air, climate and environment in almost every region and town he described.¹⁷ As we have seen, scholars have focused upon identifying topographies and factors that made the Grand Tour harmful yet the relationship between travel, health and sickness was far more paradoxical. As Richard Wrigley and George Revil observe, 'travel had long been associated

¹⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 3rd February 1777, William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, London, to George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth.

¹⁵ BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 192, 22nd May 1779, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, Venice, to Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke.

¹⁶ Mark Jenner, "Environment, health and Population," in *The Healing Arts: Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Peter Elmer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 287.

¹⁷ See for example, Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour...* (London, 1756), vol. 1., 2, 12, 13, 14, 16, 44, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61 to give only a few examples from his descriptions of the Netherlands.

with both personal and social ailments and also with their remedies.¹⁸ Roy Porter observes that travel was deemed a means of re-establishing health, while some limited scholarly attention has been given to the rise of health travel in the eighteenth century in connection to the importance of various spa locations, such as Spa, Aachen, Montpellier, Nice, Scheveingen, and their British equivalents.¹⁹ Spas as a means of medical cure combined the concept of travel improving health with the concept of healthy environments and the healing properties of water.²⁰ This scholarship has rarely discussed the elite masculine Grand Tourist, as it has tended to focus upon a different body of travellers, ranging from mixed-age and gender family groups, older male and female travellers, and the bourgeoisie.

This chapter begins by identifying how the Grand Tour was perceived to contribute towards health. The first section argues that elite society perceived the Grand Tour as a health regime. The physical curricula discussed in Chapters Two and Three formed part of a wider regime that was linked to medical theories of ‘non-naturals’ and climate. This was understood as an ideal means to establish and maintain a healthy body. Travel exposed Grand Tourists to unhealthy climates but it also took them to and through climates that were beneficial to one’s health. This section suggests that these different climates were consciously used to establish and then test the health of Grand Tourists. This was about more than physical health, as such narratives also interlocked with theories concerning the role of climate in the body politic, and the intertwined importance of forming the mind, body and virtue in enabling Grand Tourists to maintain their identity.

The second section explores the connection between health, illness and elite masculinity in more detail. While the healthy male body did form an ideal marker of masculinity, there was a disconnect between illness and masculinity as falling ill did not result in a lesser masculine status. While this reflected a certain degree of practical

¹⁸ Wrigley and Revill, “Introduction,” in *Pathologies of Travel*, 1.

¹⁹ Roy Porter, “The Eighteenth Century,” in *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 B.C. – 1800 A.D.*, ed. Lawrence Conrad, Michael Neve, Porter and Andrew Wear (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 419; For literature on spas and health travel, see Porter (ed), *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1990); Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa, 1560-1815: A Social History* (London: Athlone Press, 1990); Black, *British Abroad*, 193-197; Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Flamingo, 2002), 147-48; Alain Corbin *The lure of the sea: The discovery of the seaside in the western world 1750-1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), chap. 3 discusses the rise of sea bathing as a medical cure.

²⁰ Porter, “Introduction,” in *Waters and Spas*, viii; Michael Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 60; Porter, “Eighteenth Century,” in *Western Medical Tradition*, 419-21; Jonathan Andrews, “Letting Madness Range: Travel and mental disorder c. 1700-1900,” in *Pathologies of Travel*, 25, 28; Corbin *Lure of the sea*, 61; Dolan, *Ladies*, 151-52, 159-61.

acceptance of the pervasive nature of sickness, the virtues of self-control and stoicism continued to play an important role in cultures of illness. This was readily apparent in the cheerfully stoic tone of accounts from Grand Tourists and tutors. As strikingly, while physical illness did not debar young elite men from attaining a masculine status, the attitudes toward mental illnesses and related afflictions differed significantly.

The final section addresses the scholarly perception of the Continent as a dangerously isolated environment by investigating the Grand Tour's culture of medical care. It draws attention to shared trans-European medical practices and theories and argues that the Grand Tour's social dynamics provided Grand Tourists with a supportive community that sustained tutors and servants in their role as caregivers. Without denying the dangers, risks and fears created by travel and illness, this chapter provides a more detailed consideration of and context for sickness and health on the Grand Tour.

'a wonderful magazine of Health': The Grand Tour as a Health Regime

In 1726 Sir John Perceval, first earl of Egmont reflected that his nephew, Edward Southwell's Grand Tour, which involved 'so many Countrys [sic.] and in so short a time', must have 'laid in a Stock of health for fourscore years, and I hope you will live to instruct my Grand Children how to travell [sic.] advantageously.'²¹ Perceval's image of a 'Stock of health' presents the Grand Tour as a prime opportunity for gathering, storing and establishing a status of good health that would last throughout one's lifetime. This perception of the Grand Tour as a beneficial health opportunity has received little attention. At different stages of the Grand Tour, particularly when attending academies in northern and central European destinations, such as France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austrian and the Alpine-based Turin, Grand Tourists often emphasised their efforts to establish daily lives of structured routine and exercise. For example, during their stays in Turin at the *Accademia Reale* in 1739-40 and at an unnamed academy in Lausanne in 1763-64, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln and John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield both kept a routine of exercise balanced with 'regular' dinning, supping, studying and social hours. In Holroyd's case, this also involved daily swimming in a cold lake.²² The most explicit and structured example of these regimes was the detailed timetable and memorandum dictated

²¹ BL Add MS 47031, f.202v, 14th September 1726, Sir John Perceval, first earl of Egmont, Charlton, to Edward Southwell. My thanks to Richard Ansell for drawing my attention to this.

²² "24th October 1739, Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 226; "25th November 1739, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, Turin, to Duke of Newcastle," in *Letters*, 230; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 136, 19th December 1763, John Holroyd, Lausanne, to Rev Dr Baker.

by Herbert's parents during his time in Strasbourg in 1775.²³ As discussed in Chapter Two, this contained numerous instructions on military, physical and wider academic curricula. Thus far, this thesis has examined the importance of physical acts on the Grand Tour within the context of martial exercises, sports and elite hardy masculinity. While they did act as proof of masculinity, they can also be understood in the context of a wider health regime. These memoranda and activities essentially set out daily routines based around the six non-naturals.

The early modern theory of non-naturals, as L. J. Rather and others have outlined, listed six external factors that had to be kept in balance in the body in order to ensure health. They were air, nutrition, sleep and watch, motion (exercise) and rest, evacuation and repletion, and the passions of the mind.²⁴ By the eighteenth century, there was a growing heterogeneity of contemporary medical theories, ranging from the mechanical physics and hydraulic model of Herman Boerhaaven, to the anatomical body, nervous system and the theory of sensibility developed by Albrecht Von Haller, William Cullen and Théophile de Bourdeu, amongst others.²⁵ Yet, professional and educated lay medicine's 'more practical aspects, in its understanding of what happened in the sick body and in its therapeutic approaches...was still largely shaped by humoral pathology'.²⁶ The traditional humoral framework of 'humoral notions of morbid matter and healthful evacuations' and view of the body as a system that needed to be balanced continued to function as the key explanatory framework.²⁷ As John Pickstone contends in his study of the nineteenth-century sanitarian

²³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/278, 1776, "Instructions".

²⁴ L. J. Rather, "The 'Six Things Non-Natural': A note on the Origins and Fate of a Doctrine and a Phrase," *Clio Medica* 3:4 (1968), 337-47. See also Peter Niebyl, "The non-naturals," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45:5 (1971): 486-92; Saul Jarcho, "Galen's six non-naturals: a bibliographic note and translation," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 44:4 (1969): 372-77.

²⁵ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 73, 79; Porter, "Eighteenth Century," in *Western Medical Tradition*, 375.

²⁶ Stolberg, "Medical Popularization and the Patient in the Eighteenth Century," in *Cultural approaches to the history of medicine: meditating medicine in early modern and modern Europe*, ed. Cornelie Usborne and Willem De Blécourt (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 90-91, 97.

²⁷ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 73, 79. See also: Porter, "Eighteenth Century," in *Western Medical Tradition*, 375; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: categories of difference in eighteenth-century British culture* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2000), 27; Deborah Madden, *'A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine': Religion, Medicine and Culture in John Wesley's Primitive Physic* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 103-04; Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: the Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 98.

movement, eighteenth-century medicine and medical theories were essentially 'neo-classical' in tradition.²⁸

Medical practitioners and their clientele understood illness as the result of an essential imbalance of a variety of internal and external factors. However, eighteenth-century medical practitioners had even greater ambitions. As William Coleman observes, a healthy body was consciously recognised as an ideal to be worked towards. Eighteenth-century physicians believed that their job could become redundant, disease forestalled and health preserved through a 'conservative', rather than a 'restorative', regime based around the observance of non-naturals.²⁹ Patients were frequently encouraged to establish a health and lifestyle regime that ensured the correct balance of each of these factors.³⁰ As Achille Le Bègue de Presle, Rousseau's physician, declared in *Le Conservateur de la Santé* (1763), medicine was 'the art of maintaining man's good health'.³¹ Le Bègue was one of numerous European physicians, such as Arnulf D'Aumont, Samuel-Auguste Tissot and George Cheyne, who produced similar guides to health regimes.³² As Porter observes in relation to Cheyne's *Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724), they patterned a healthy life style organised around the classic grid of non-naturals.³³ Coleman contends that through the concept of regimes, the non-naturals were translated from medical theory into popular utilisation.³⁴

This could be taken to excessive degrees. Lucia Dacome, for example, observes the medical culture of Sanctorius' *medicina statica* involved obsessively weighing and recording one's bodily statistics, as well as one's intake and excretion throughout the day, to obtain

²⁸ John Pickstone, "Dearth, Dirt and fever epidemics: rewriting the history of the British 'public health', 1780-1850," in *Epidemics and ideas: essays on the historical perceptions of pestilence*, ed. T. O. Ranger and Paul Slack (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 126, 129.

²⁹ William Coleman, "Health and hygiene in the Encyclopédie: a medical doctrine for the bourgeoisie," *Journal of the history of medicine and allied sciences* 29:4 (1974): 399-400, 402-03.

³⁰ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 21-23; Joan Lane, "'The Doctor Scolds Me': the diaries and correspondence of patients in eighteenth century England," in *Patients and practitioners: lay perceptions of medicine in pre-industrial society*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), 241.

³¹ Quoted in Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 401.

³² Dorothy Porter and Porter, *Patient's progress: doctor and doctoring in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 199; Antoinette Emch-Deriaz, "The Non-Naturals Made Easy," in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850*, ed. Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 134-59.

³³ Porter and Porter, *Patient's progress*, 199.

³⁴ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 412-13.

optimum balance.³⁵ Nevertheless, as Joan Lane observes, keeping regular diary observations of one's body and health, and discussing these in correspondence, was a common medical practice amongst the general eighteenth-century population.³⁶ Equally, there was also disagreement over how balance could be attained. While some medical practitioners and theorists advocated 'natural' approaches of healthy diets and exercises, others advocated more invasive medicines and procedures such as bleeding, purges and vomits.³⁷ Despite these differing approaches, the medical ideal of "balancing the body", alongside the importance of non-natural external factors, was consistently identifiable in multiple aspects of eighteenth-century and early modern culture and society and advocated by a wide variety of well-known medical authorities.³⁸

While acknowledging this plethora of published and medical advice, Michael Stolberg argues that there is little evidence to suggest people actually tried to live by these regimes.³⁹ As Coleman observes, wealth, leisure and education were the essential prerequisites for any quest for physical well-being.⁴⁰ My research presents compelling evidence of multiple young elite men using the Grand Tour as an opportunity to set up such regimes. For example, Herbert's timetable and memorandum addressed the majority of the non-natural factors. Certain exercises were specifically detailed as important 'for Limbs & Activity', such as 'High Dancing', a term that probably refers to dances that had high steps, such as the hornpipe. Equally, 'all bodily Exercises', such as swimming, tennis, riding and fencing, should be in the morning and never after dinner, thus ensuring that exercise, rest, nutrition and sleep were correctly balanced.⁴¹ The instructions addressed the correct balance between exercises, air, temperature and rest, stating that Herbert should wear 'Flannel Socks' when playing tennis, and change 'every thing of dress' before leaving the court. Having exercised, he should then rest by taking a carriage or chair home.⁴² The memorandum also gave precise instructions on

³⁵ Lucia Dacome, "Living with the chair: Private excreta, collective health and medical authority in the eighteenth century," *History of science* 39 (2001): 13, 16.

³⁶ Lane, "The Doctor Scolds Me," in *Patients and practitioners*, 212-13.

³⁷ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 27; Pickstone, "Dearth, Dirt and fever epidemics," in *Epidemics and ideas*, 130; Jan Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 140.

³⁸ See for example, Hannah Newton, *The sick child in early modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford: OUP, 2012) and Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*.

³⁹ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 44.

⁴⁰ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 399.

⁴¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/278, 1776, "Instructions".

⁴² *Ibid.*

nutrition, stating 'Butter, & Greasy Trash, thick Cream &c disagree cruelly with Ld: Herbert' and that he should take 'a cup of cold Camomile tea early every morning fasting'.⁴³

While the Pembroke memorandum was the most explicit, the correspondence and diary entries of other Grand Tourists and tutors revealed that, alongside their exercise routines, they too were aware of the need to balance rest, nutrition, air and temperature in their daily routines. More importantly, descriptions of these routines were often accompanied by claims to increased health. For example, David Stevenson outlined George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth's and William Legge's daily routine in Tours and highlighted improvements in Lewisham's weight and figure.⁴⁴ In Paris he celebrated how the effect of a routine 'become more visible every Day'.⁴⁵ Throughout the Tour, he focused upon Lewisham's outward body and health, observing he was 'much reduced', had 'a delicacy of Belly which seems to flatter him more than his upward Good Look', 'in high Health & in full Bloom' and that 'the poor Medicine Chest is entirely neglected'.⁴⁶ The focus of Stevenson's reports indicates his understanding that Lewisham's Grand Tour activities were meant to, and did, effect a healthy change in his body as well as polish his deportment, harden his body and develop internal virtues.

As its position in the list of non-naturals indicates, 'air' was deemed a hugely important and very variable factor in sickness and health.⁴⁷ Conventional eighteenth-century climatic doctrine was taken from the Hippocratic text *Airs, Waters, and Places* and believed that the human body was deeply impacted by the quality of air and environment surrounding it.⁴⁸ The popular 'miasmatic' belief contended that sickness spread from the environment and bad air to people.⁴⁹ Good air or bad air (otherwise known as miasmas or mal'aria) were

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 20th September 1775, David Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth.

⁴⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 4th January 1776, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth.

⁴⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 7th March 1776, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 29th March 1776, Stevenson, Rennes, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 18th May 1777, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 8th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

⁴⁷ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 409.

⁴⁸ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 410; Jenner, "Environment," in *Healing Arts*, 285-86; Vladimir Janković, *Confronting the Climate: British Airs and the Making of Environmental Medicine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2-3; Golinski, *British Weather*, chap. Five.

⁴⁹ Carlo Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease: Public Health and Environment in the pre-industrial Age*, trans. Elizabeth Potter (New Haven: YUP, 1992), 4; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 42, 116;

caused by surrounding environmental factors such as season, temperature, wind, fertility of soil, geology and proximity to large bodies of water.⁵⁰ A dry, temperate and brisk climate was deemed to be best, free from excessive heat, unhealthy exhalations from the earth and undue humidity.⁵¹ Correspondingly, health hinged upon location and climate, and there was a strong identification of places with good or bad health.⁵² Spas, for example, typically gained reputations for being situated in healthy locations, as the excellence of the area manifested itself through the health-giving waters.⁵³ As wind purified the air, mountain regions, particularly Switzerland, were seen as healthy.⁵⁴ In contrast, swampy, estuarine and marshy regions, such as the Campania, were deemed to be bad.⁵⁵

As James Riley has charted, proponents of medical geography across Europe firmly believed that via careful and scientific observation they would be able to map out healthy and unhealthy regions across Europe, predict the advent of diseases and direct people to healthy regions.⁵⁶ This took place on a micro and macro scale, ranging from global climate zones to areas in individual towns. As the opening examples to the chapter demonstrate, Grand Tourists, tutors and their families undertook a similar process of mapping out the healthy and unhealthy regions of Europe. Pembroke, Spence, Walpole and Gray clearly demarcated the temporal and geographical boundaries of malaria. Florence and the Duchy of Tuscany was 'healthy'; Rome and the Papal State was 'unhealthy'. October to July was 'safe'; August to September was 'unsafe'. Much has been said about the Grand Tourist and traveller's perception of the insidious nature of the Italian climate. Far less attention has been paid to the perception of northern and central European regions, beyond Chard briefly noting that the northern Europe climate was understood as bracing and invigorating.⁵⁷ This would

Porter, "Eighteenth Century," in *Western Medical Tradition*, 406-07; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 54.

⁵⁰ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 21; Golinski, *British Weather*, 138-40.

⁵¹ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 409.

⁵² Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, 216-18; Porter, "Eighteenth Century," in *Western Medical Tradition*, 406-07; Jenner, "Environment," in *Healing Arts*, 289.

⁵³ Jenner, "Environment," in *Healing Arts*, 289, 292.

⁵⁴ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 409.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ See Riley, *Campaign to avoid disease*; Wrigley, "Mapping 'mal'arai," in *Pathologies of Travel*, 208, 210-11; Porter, "Eighteenth Century," in *Western Medical Tradition*, 406-07; Jenner, "Environment," in *Healing Arts*, 300-01.

⁵⁷ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 119, 123; Dolan, *Ladies*, 150.

suggest that Grand Tourists would associate time spent in such climates and locations with increased health. While tutors, families and Tourists rarely made blanket statements concerning northern and southern climates, they did label certain locations in northern and central Europe as healthy. For example, Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle believed that Aix-en-Provence had ‘the best [climate] in Europe’, William Coxe described Colmar as ‘a very healthy situation...I have indeed great faith in this air’, Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke praised the ‘Belgie air’ from The Hague, while Stevenson reported that as Lewisham’s health was ‘in full Bloom’ it was almost worth travelling so far for the Parisian climate.⁵⁸ Switzerland’s climate drew particular praise. In 1743, Richard Aldworth noted the ‘Air of Health’ amongst the Swiss people, while in 1779 Yorke praised the ‘wholesome’ and ‘excellent air of Switzerland’ as ‘extremely good’ in several of his letters.⁵⁹

A simple north/south binary cannot be enforced. Perceptions of healthy and unhealthy locations were unstable and subject to personal opinion. While Coxe believed Colmar to be a healthy location, he was equally convinced that Strasbourg, only a few miles away, was very unhealthy.⁶⁰ In 1741, Wortley Montagu complained that the air of Geneva did not agree with her as she found many of the complaints had returned which had been absent in Italy.⁶¹ She was not the only one to see Italy’s warm climate as containing health benefits, a belief that gained medical and popular currency from the late eighteenth century onwards.⁶² As early as 1729, Stephen Fox, 1st Earl of Ilchester wrote to his brother that

I asked Wigan’s advice of not being in Italy as the heats have very much embarrass’d me; Ld Hervey presses to be gone and to Spa as soon as possible, but at the same time I am persuaded he thinks nothing can establish his health but passing the summer in some hot Climate⁶³

⁵⁸ BL, Add. Ms. 32726 f. 98, 3rd February 1752, Newcastle, Hanover, to the Earl of Cardigan; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 5th January 1776, William Coxe, Colmar, to Lady Pembroke; BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 363, 15th July 1779, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 18th May 1777, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth.

⁵⁹ Berkshire RO, Ms. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville’s Grand Tour Journal, 1743-44; BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 357, 20th June 1779, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke; BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 359, 7th July 1779, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.

⁶⁰ See for example, WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 5th January 1776, Coxe, Colmar, to Lady Pembroke.

⁶¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 1., 258.

⁶² Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 167 discusses Naples’ benign climate. Wrigley, “Mapping,” in *Pathologies of Travel*, 218-20.

⁶³ BL, Add. Ms. 51417, 21st May [1729], Stephen Fox, 1st Earl of Ilchester, [Rome?], to Henry Fox, later 1st Lord Holland.

Fox's letter summarises the confusion that could be involved in passing judgement on climate, topography and health. He simultaneously identified his belief that the southern climate was harmful to his health and John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey's desire to access a reputedly beneficial northern climate and location (Spa), alongside Hervey's conflicting belief that a hot, southern climate would also be effective. Yet, while it could be easy to flounder amidst the bewildering array of opinions on the respective healthiness of various locations and geographies, I would contend that northern climates were broadly perceived as positively contributing towards one's health.

Just as the individual had to ensure the correct balance of non-naturals, they also had to ensure that they lived in the correct climate for their bodies. Dwelling, even temporarily, in a healthy climate would result in increased health and was a common prescription for those who could afford such mobility.⁶⁴ Medical opinion seemed divided over whether travelling through lots of climates was good for the body. As Coleman observes, rapidly changing one's climate was deemed dangerous.⁶⁵ In September 1750, Horace Mann was relieved to hear that Thomas Pelham, 1st Earl of Chichester had reached his destination safely, as the 'exceptional heats' and 'the fatigue of travelling so fast made me extremely anxious for you'.⁶⁶ Yet, Vladimir Jankovic has contended that contemporaries believed that a healthy body could be trained to withstand the disorientating changes in environment.⁶⁷ Naturally, those of a higher social class were typically identified as most likely to be able to resist.⁶⁸ The elite culture surrounding the Grand Tour demonstrated some awareness of this. For example, when Holroyd reluctantly decided to send his servant, William, back to England, he explained that as 'his Constitution not being calculated for flying post thro' different Climates I was extremely liable to his being laid up on the road, that was very near happening when I passed thro' France'.⁶⁹ In contrast, Holroyd himself had no such difficulties. Equally, William Whitehead was pleased to report from Rome that George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of

⁶⁴ Lane, "The Doctor Scolds Me," in *Patients and practitioners*, 241.

⁶⁵ Coleman, "Health and hygiene," 409.

⁶⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 33087 f. 34, 5th September 1750, Horace Mann, Florence, to Thomas Pelham, 1st Earl of Chichester.

⁶⁷ Janković, *Confronting the Climate*, 3, chapt. 5.

⁶⁸ Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 10; Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 123.

⁶⁹ BL, Add. M. 34887 f. 149, 12th April 1764, John Holroyd, 1st Earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker.

Jersey and George Simon Nuneham, later 2nd Earl of Harcourt ‘thank God, continue mighty well through all their change of Climate & Seasons.’⁷⁰

As Sir John Perceval’s quote suggests, the act of travel itself, dwelling in and moving through lots of different countries and climates, was understood to result in good health if handled correctly. I would contend that the differing climates of Europe were harnessed to the Grand Tour’s health regime in two key ways. Firstly, the health and exercise regimes discussed earlier were typically undertaken in northern climates, suggesting that the two were seen to mutually enhance their beneficial effects. Time spent in the ‘bracing’ climates of northern and central Europe, particularly locales such as Switzerland, enabled Grand Tourists to develop physically strong, healthy bodies. In their discussion of Switzerland’s healthy climate, Grand Tourists and tutors frequently gestured towards their strengthened health. Edward Gibbon and Holroyd both claimed that their health had never been so ‘robust’ or uninterrupted during their time in Lausanne in 1764, with Holroyd claiming, ‘The regularity of these Countries agree well with the Elegance of my Constitution’.⁷¹ Equally, Lewisham and Stevenson’s correspondence transparently linked their increasing good health to Switzerland. While reporting that their health had been uninterrupted during their journey there, Stevenson explicitly anticipated that ‘the Tour of Swisse...ought rather to increase than diminish it’, particularly as they were making it on horseback.⁷² Writing mid-way through their tour, Lewisham linked their excellent ‘health and spirits’ to their constant riding and to Switzerland’s climate.⁷³

Stevenson concluded that their time in Switzerland left them with ‘a wonderful magazine of Health to build upon’ as they prepared to enter Italy.⁷⁴ This points to the second way in which the Grand Tour cemented the health of its participants. Having increased their health and developed physically strong bodies in northern and central European climates similar to Britain’s, Grand Tourists then entered into the more hazardous climates of Italy. Stevenson’s description of a ‘wonderful magazine of Health’ directly echoed Perceval’s ‘Stock of health’ and created a military image of collecting and storing up health that was to be expended in an ‘attack’ against the Alps. This characterised the Alps and the land beyond it as

⁷⁰ LMA, Acc. 510/248, 27th December 1755, William Whitehead, Rome, to Lord Jersey.

⁷¹ BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 63, 17th February 1764, Edward Gibbon, Lausanne, to Dorothea Gibbon nee Patton; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 151, [undated, 1764], Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker.

⁷² SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 1st July 1777, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

⁷³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

⁷⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 10th September 1777, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

a potentially dangerous threat that could be neutralised with the correct weapons and preparations.⁷⁵ As such, the Grand Tour's health regime ideally resulted in a physically healthy body that would not only serve Grand Tourists upon their return to England, but also endured and resisted the health-related dangers of Italy. Thus, while the regimes and climates outside of Italy ideally ensured Grand Tourists could travel through the Italian climate with safety, the Italian climate tested the extent to which the Grand Tourist had attained robust health through his earlier travels and regimes.

Correspondingly, a number of Grand Tours followed a narrative arc, whereby the Grand Tourist either began with good health and went on to even greater health, or had a poor or weak state of health that became stronger. For example, Lincoln began his Grand Tour in 1739 with slower and shorter stages of travel as 'he is not of so strong a make'.⁷⁶ He had frequently been ill as a child, and illness had resulted in the premature death of his siblings and parents.⁷⁷ His childless uncle, who named Lincoln as his heir, was protective and anxious. He demanded constant health updates from Lincoln and Spence, causing Lincoln to eventually exclaim, 'I am better in heath at present than ever I have been, and have by no means any thoughts of dying abroad'.⁷⁸ Yet this unpromising theme of health-related fears was gradually superseded by an opposing theme of increasing bodily health. As discussed earlier Lincoln thoroughly engaged in a daily routine of physical exercise at the *Accademia Reale* in Turin, an Alpine location despite being in Italy.

In 1740, Lincoln severely sprained his leg through a jumping competition. As discussed in earlier chapters, he used the incident to boast of his physical prowess and his social connections, but his letter was also a confession of health-related follies, which in turn was used to highlight his improved constitution, strength and maturity. Prior to the jumping, Lincoln had ridden twenty miles in the rain to join de Riverols' pleasure party.⁷⁹ Soaked to the skin, he accepted a change of clothes from the Count de Trinité even though they were too large, making him 'a very ridiculous figure' at dinner. Having responsibly (and unusually, in his uncle's opinion) put his health first, Lincoln laughingly claimed he had compromised his

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ "23rd September 1739, Spence, Paris, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 221.

⁷⁷ Klima, "Introduction," in *Letters*, 8.

⁷⁸ "September 1740, Lincoln, Acqui, to Newcastle," in *Letters*, 315; Example of Newcastle's demands for updates on health "4th February 1739, Newcastle, London, to Lincoln," in *Letters*, 250; Example of update, "7th September 1739, Spence, Turin, to Andrew Stone [Newcastle's secretary]," in *Letters*, 309-10.

⁷⁹ "2nd September 1740, Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle," in *Letters*, 306-08.

masculine standing in becoming the butt of ‘many jokes’, therefore he had to jump in order to regain honour. Significantly, Lincoln did not suffer any ill effects from the rain. Its inclusion, the deliberate absence of any illness and a demonstration, through the jumping competition, of his physical fitness all pointedly highlighted his now robust health and his stronger, improved constitution that was directly owed to the regime undertaken at the Academia Reale. Rehabilitated by the baths of Acqui, Lincoln and Spence were able to continue their Grand Tour. By July 1741, having travelled through the summer heats of Italy and southern France, they arrived at Montpellier, where Lincoln’s mother had brought her young family in an attempt to improve their health before they died. Lincoln’s health was now a cause for celebration, as Spence triumphantly reflected the family would ‘be surprised to see how much stronger and better he is grown now.’⁸⁰

Similarly, Herbert began his Grand Tour in 1775 still suffering from the effect of childhood ague, and had a particularly bad bout at Strasbourg. After relocating temporarily to the healthier location of Colmar, he returned and continued his regimes in Strasbourg, as his tutors repeatedly emphasised the steady improvement to his health. Upon taking a short excursion around Switzerland, Herbert’s health began to bloom, as Coxe reported that ‘Lord Herbert continues remarkably well, and is a very stout traveller’.⁸¹ Herbert went on to travel to Russia, Finland and Denmark without an apparent illness. As discussed in Chapter Three and the start of this chapter, by the end of his tour, he was able to travel through Italy in the height of summer with no ill effects and used this as an opportunity to boast of a hardy (and healthy) body, that was able to endure heat, hard beds, upset stomachs and walks in the rain without harm.

While physical health was at the centre of these narratives, understandings of climate interlocked the body and health with wider discourses concerning the body politic, race and identity. As Roxann Wheeler observes, climate theory was the secular rationale for various skin colours, behaviours, abilities and national traits. Human characteristics, such as health, temperament, disposition and body, were believed to be formed over time by external forces. Theoretically, all bodies responded similarly to the environment, so some climates were better than others for fulfilling human potential. From the classical period onwards, it was believed that the world contained three climates: northern/frigid, temperate and torrid. Each climate produced nations with particular casts of humors and correspondingly different societies, cultures and political systems. The temperate zone of the Mediterranean produced

⁸⁰ “31st July 1741, Spence, Antibes, to Mrs Spence,” in *Letters*, 400.

⁸¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/2, 19th August 1776, Coxe, Sion, to Pembroke; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 5th August 1776, Coxe, Lucerne, to Lady Pembroke.

the best people and government. The torrid south produced feeble bodies and increased sexual desires, but intellectual and creative minds, typically resulting in a lazy people under tyrannical governments. The frigid north produced strong bodies, fierce spirits, but dull minds and phlegmatic dispositions best suited to manual labour.⁸² Climate theory and the boundaries of these zones shifted over time to suit the shift in political power to the northern parts of Europe. By the seventeenth and eighteenth century, two modified arguments prevailed. In some versions, the temperate zone had shifted away from the Mediterranean up to Britain.⁸³ In others, Britain remained in the northern zone, but shed the negative traits and instead focused upon the positive traits of industry, commerce, strong bodies, steady natures and fierce independent spirits.⁸⁴ Italy either became a peripheral region of the temperate zone, or slipped into the torrid, and so became increasingly linked with passion, sexual desire and tyranny.⁸⁵ A theoretical hierarchy on a global scale was established, where proximity to northern Europe was key.

On one hand, Brant has highlighted the extent to which climate arguments were fragmented, illogical and contradictory.⁸⁶ Even the basic points of north, south, east and west were unstable categories, relative to each individual and society.⁸⁷ On the other hand, climate theory was the common sense of the day, driven by prejudice but easily adapted to new conditions and arguments.⁸⁸ It was a highly popular theory with numerous Enlightenment writers, including Adam Ferguson, Montesquieu and Oliver Goldsmith, devoting time to expounding its apparent logic.⁸⁹

While developed to address how people and nations developed when fixed within certain climate zone, climate theory was also preoccupied with what happened to the body, temperament and disposition of someone who moved from one zone to another. Understandings of complexion, body and identity were far more fluid than in the nineteenth

⁸² Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 21-23; Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 7-8.

⁸³ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 7-10.

⁸⁴ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 23-24.

⁸⁵ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 8-9.

⁸⁶ Clare Brant, "Climates of gender," in *Romantic Geographies: discourses of travel, 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 132-33, 136.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 129-30.

⁸⁸ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 24.

⁸⁹ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 7-10.

century, and it was reckoned that within ten generations a white man would become black in a torrid zone, and vice versa.⁹⁰ By changing location, one's very identity and body could fundamentally change. These fears related to travels much closer to home. As Wheeler observes, British trading houses and government were concerned that if they transplanted their staff to Ireland, they might become gay and thoughtless like the Irish.⁹¹ It is within this context that the various and often repeated cries of alarm that the French and Italian climate and society would easily effeminise young elite Grand Tourists unable to hold onto their bodies and identities circulated.

Elite families sought to minimise this threat through ensuring that Grand Tourists developed well-formed and healthy bodies, minds and identities in northern European climates prior to entering Italy. This engaged with the theory that a healthy body could resist the physically and medically disorientating effects of climate and travel, and suggested that this theory was linked to the ability to resist more than just disease.⁹² For example, Lady Pembroke's concerns about Herbert's bodily health were closely intermingled with fears about his moral development, passions, and the formation of his identity. As discussed in Chapter One, she exerted considerable efforts to ensure that he went to Vienna before entering Italy. This discussion took place within the context of trying to decide on the healthiest environ for Herbert following his ague attack. Both parents gave Coxe and John Floyd unlimited powers 'in case of illness, to go N, S, E, or West according to advice'.⁹³ While 'Southwards', with a dry and warm climate, would have been ideal if Herbert was in a 'consumptive habit', as he had ague Lady Pembroke felt that Vienna would be the best option.⁹⁴ In doing so, she characterised northern-Eastern Vienna as a city of health, morality and fashionable elegance juxtaposed against the unhealthy, immoral and corruptive influences of southern Italy. This conflated fears over the body with fears concerning moral formation, sexual conduct and the distortion of identity. She also focused upon correct timing as, if Herbert entered the southern climate too early, 'the turn he takes then, may remain very, very long, if not for ever'.⁹⁵ Any changes wrought there in his temperament, disposition and body would be very difficult, if not impossible, to reverse.

⁹⁰ Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 4-6, 22.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹² Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, 10; Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 123.

⁹³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Lady Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

It was not a matter of denying Herbert access to Italy. Both sets of tutors and parents were unanimous that he should go, but it was a matter of judging 'the exact time'.⁹⁶ As Coxe wrote: 'I perfectly agree with you, in every circumstance, and think your ladyship much in the right for wishing Italy may be ye last place before his return home.'⁹⁷ In insisting that Herbert's regime in Strasbourg and the time spent in Switzerland, Vienna and the even more northern climates of Russia, Sweden and Denmark came before Italy, Lady Pembroke and Coxe were ensuring his body, mind and soul were sufficiently prepared to resist the potential changes wrought by the southern climate. By the time Herbert finally entered Italy, Lady Pembroke's and Robert Keith's letters indicate a strong belief that he was fully prepared to encounter a torrid zone. Lady Pembroke wrote 'I think I am now too sure of your good principles to be afraid of your being hurt in Italy either by their bad morals, or want of Religion,' citing his time in the Catholic Netherlands as preparation against the ridiculousness of the Catholic faith.⁹⁸ Keith expressed his confidence that Herbert's hardy body would be able to travel through the 'fiery Furnace' of Italy's summer climate without harm, and was comforted by the thought that 'All Italy combined will not make a macaroni of you.'⁹⁹

Similarly, while William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth was pleased with Lewisham and Stevenson's report of the physical, moral and medical benefits of Switzerland, his reply turned their attention towards the moral and behavioural dangers ahead. Italy would be 'smooth' and 'Luxurious', but Lewisham needed to 'keep on his guard'.¹⁰⁰ Dartmouth was confident that his experiences north of the Alps had prepared him for that, but also challenged him 'to maintain the prudence & sagacity, which you have hitherto observed', indicating that constant vigilance was required in fending off the effects of the Italian climate.¹⁰¹ It is therefore significant that, poised to enter Italy, Stevenson provided evidence of their ability to store away the positive bodily and virtuous changes wrought by travel and climate, while also resisting the negative effects. Stevenson noted that riding in Switzerland each day had physically changed their appearance by tanning their skin. 'Ld L is the Colour of the best old Jamaica Mahogany; I flatter myself with being no bad counterpart to his Majesty at the Close of his Reviews.'¹⁰² This physical change operated as proof of their health and

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 17th March 1776, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke.

⁹⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 20th April [1779], Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

⁹⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/26, 12th August 1779, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert.

¹⁰⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 30th September 1777, Dartmouth to Lewisham.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 10th September 1777, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

happiness, but darker skin could hold problematic associations with savagery. Stevenson was careful to assure Dartmouth that the change was a temporary one: 'We intend however being very Clear & handsome before we attack the Alps, as we have a wonderful magazine of Health to build upon.'¹⁰³ In assuring Dartmouth that Lewisham's skin would be clear before reaching the civilised setting of Turin, Stevenson gestured towards their ability to travel through Italy without permanent change.

Grand Tourists, tutors and their families were well aware of the dangers presented by the southern climate, but, as this section argues, they sought to respond to this as they conceptualised the Grand Tour as an opportunity to improve and strengthen health. Through undertaking health regimes and travels in temperate and northern climates, they prepared the Grand Tourist's body and identity, and reaped a store of health. This ensured that they could pass through Italy and the southern climate unharmed and unchanged. Not only were the northern climates associated with a positive opportunity to gain in health, travelling through the southern climate could function as proof that the Grand Tourist had attained, and could maintain, health and identity in different environs.

Masculine Identity and the Sick/Health Body

To a certain extent then, the issue of health on the Grand Tour was part of the wider narrative and process of masculine formation. The Grand Tour was a means of strengthening the body and health, as well as a means of imbuing young elite men with the positive properties associated with the northern climates and the ability to resist the dangers of a southern climate. Yet this can be pushed too far. The following section balances this through a consideration of the relationship between masculine identity, sickness and health.

When examining how Grand Tourists and tutors reported on health and illness, it is apparent that their attitude was markedly different to that of older travellers, travelling for the sake of their health. These travellers typically recorded detailed and regular updates on their health, including crises, such as Laurence Sterne's graphic account of breaking a vessel in his lung during the night in Paris in 1762, alongside daily fluctuations.¹⁰⁴ Given their

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ See for example, Laurence Sterne, *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. Lewis Perry Curtis, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 163-64, 180; Tobias Smollett, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, ed. Lewis Knapp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 117-18, 126; BL, Add. Ms. 40759, Sir P. Francis' Travel Journal, 1772; BL, Add. Ms. 30867 f. 85, 21st June 1753, Thomas Potter, Spa, to John Wilkes.

motivation for travel, this focus is understandable and in keeping with wider cultural practices of older men.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps revealing a generational difference in attitudes towards health and illness, the letters and diaries of Grand Tourists and their tutors were only interested in illness when it infringed upon their consciousness as either they or their companions became unwell. While they might exclaim over good health, they demonstrated little interest in regularly observing their bodies.

When Grand Tourists did fall ill, the reports given by tutors and themselves were often stoic and cheerfully reassuring in nature. For example, when Yorke caught malaria in Rome in 1779, the illness was clearly very severe. Wider reports circulated concerning his near-death. For example, Herbert was told by their old Harrow master that 'Yorke is just returned from Italy, where [he] has been dangerously ill of a Fever, peculiar to some part of that Country,' while Yorke wrote that upon his arrival back at The Hague, Sir Joseph Yorke and his other acquaintances were surprised 'not to find me thinner than I am'.¹⁰⁶ At points he was unable to correspond at all and even in the later stages of recovery the weakness and uncertainty of his handwriting revealed his physical weakness.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, his letters and diary dealt lightly with any element of physical suffering and consistently sought to identify improvements.¹⁰⁸ Even during his immediate recovery, when he struggled to walk up and down the stairs, he simply stated that the struggle had given him an excellent appetite, and that while it had been 'irksome to me of late not to be allowed to read', Wettstein and various friends 'have been kind enough to read to me some book or other that requires no great attention'.¹⁰⁹ Subsequent letters and diary entries rarely mentioned the illness even though it continued to affect him. On the first day of travelling from Rome, he commented that they had travelled slowly 'in order not to make too great a difference at first in my regimen'. While clearly exhausted, going to bed immediately after sunset to recover, he claimed 'I begin already to feel the salutary effects' of the journey.¹¹⁰ His illness and treatments were always discussed in light of a presumed positive outcome. For example, in Basil he wrote how a sore throat was now 'considerably diminished', and he was certain that if the weather had been good, it would have disappeared entirely. The local physician had

¹⁰⁵ Lane, "The Doctor Scolds Me," in *Patients and practitioners*, 212-13.

¹⁰⁶ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 15th September 1779, Thomas Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert; BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 359, 7th July 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.

¹⁰⁷ See for example, BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 331, 24th March 1779, Yorke, Rome, to Hardwicke.

¹⁰⁸ BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 359, 7th July 1777, Yorke, The Hague, Hardwicke.

¹⁰⁹ BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 331, 24th March 1779, Yorke, Rome, to Hardwicke.

¹¹⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 14th April 1779, Yorke's Journal.

prescribed a regime for travelling that he was sure would assist, and if it did not, then he would divert to Spa and 'consult Dr Congalton who having followed my illness from the beginning will be able to give me better advice than anybody else.' Yorke expressed a steady written confidence that his health would improve.¹¹¹ This attitude of cheerful, reassuring stoicism fits into a wider masculine culture of illness identified by scholars such as Hannah Newton, Joan Lane and Stolberg.¹¹² This was partly influenced by a concern for those receiving the news. For example, Horace Mann confessed that he had underplayed the severity of Walpole's illness at Reggio, telling his contacts that it was just a cold to avoid alarming Walpole's father, Sir Robert.¹¹³ However, it also corresponded with the masculine expectations and idealisation of stoicism discussed in earlier chapters.

Yet while a stoical attitude might have been expected in relation to illness and while a healthy body might have formed an idealised marker of masculinity, this can be taken too far. Alison Montgomery's research into masculinity, health and illness amongst Scottish and English men in the eighteenth century found that while the healthy, 'robust' male body was an idealised concept in contemporary medical literature, men did not perceive their illnesses as shameful or as indicative of a failed masculinity.¹¹⁴ For example, having fallen ill in Rome with malaria, there was no indication that Yorke's family and friends believed him to have failed a test of masculinity or that his masculine status had lessened. This, intriguingly, would suggest a disconnection between sickness, health and masculinity that perhaps reflected a degree of practical acceptance that no matter what precautions and regimes one undertook, illness was an inescapable element of life. Strikingly, however, Yorke's slow, painful recovery continued to follow the narrative arc of increasing health identified earlier. As discussed above, Yorke claimed that traveling made him stronger, that he benefited from moving into the Swiss Alpine climates, and that he surprised his family and friends at The Hague by presenting a far healthier appearance than expected. This, he claimed, was because 'I have been fortunate enough to pick up my quota of flesh & strength in the excellent air of Switzerland.'¹¹⁵ Triumphs were celebrated, but illness was not regarded as a failure. This, combined with the stoical attitude he took towards his illness and recovery, suggested that

¹¹¹ BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 357, 20th June 1779, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke.

¹¹² Newton, *The sick child*, 143, 156; Lane, "The Doctor Scolds Me," in *Patients and practitioners*, 210-11, 217; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 17.

¹¹³ "30th May 1741, Mann, Florence, to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 17, 51-52.

¹¹⁴ Alison Montgomery, "(The) man, his body, and his society: masculinity and the male experience in English and Scottish medicine, c.1640-c.1780," (PhD dissertation, University of Durham, 2011), 63-76, 156, 159.

¹¹⁵ BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 359, 7th July 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.

one's masculinity was judged less upon falling ill and more upon how such incidents were dealt with. Young elite men were still expected to manifest virtues of self-control, endurance and courage even when ill.

It is therefore intriguing to turn briefly towards the attitudes held towards mental and emotional afflictions. Wider medical culture and practice recognised the 'passions of the mind' as a key factor in sickness and health. While from the 1750s onwards, nervous and emotional complaints became more common amongst patients, there was also a common practice of tracing the advent of illness back to an incident of fear, shock or distress.¹¹⁶ Yet amongst the Grand Tourists studied in this thesis, there is a general silence on illnesses connected to emotional or mental issues. While physical sickness might have been disassociated from judgements of successful elite masculine performances, these struggles were not seen the same way. Travel had the capacity to be disorientating and, while it was understood to be able to cure certain afflictions such as melancholy, it could also result in other disorders linked to travel and change, such as nostalgia (also known as *heimwehe*, *maladie du pays*, *maladie de Swiss* or homesickness). Nostalgia's symptoms included sadness, disturbed sleep and appetite, immobility, fever, wasting of the body and, if untreated, resulted in death. It was believed to be caused by a deep attachment to home and family and an inability to 'accustom themselves to any foreign manners or way of life', and could only really be cured by returning the sufferer to their native land.¹¹⁷ The Swiss physician, Johannes Hofer argued in 1678 that 'young people living in foreign lands' were most susceptible to it. Despite this association with youth, discourses more commonly identified sufferers as provincial, rustic and un-enlightened, such as soldiers, sailors, servants and villagers.¹¹⁸ It was therefore a problematic ailment for Grand Tourists to be diagnosed with. Young elite men were, ideally, the precise opposite of the typical nostalgia sufferer. They were meant to have a cosmopolitan outlook, an adaptability to multiple foreign settings, and were undertaking a form of travel deliberately designed to separate them from family.¹¹⁹ As the

¹¹⁶ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 43-44 and Part III; For a discussion on the popularisation of nerve theory, see G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 3-23.

¹¹⁷ George Rosen, "Nostalgia: a 'forgotten' psychological disorder," *Psychological Medicine* 5:4 (1975): 341.

¹¹⁸ Rosen, "Nostalgia," 341; Helmut Illbruck, *Nostalgia: Origins and Ends of an Unenlightened Disease* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012), 5-7, 20; Frances Clarke, "So lonesome I could die: Nostalgia and debates over emotional control in the Civil War north," *Journal of Social History* 41:2 (2007): 253, 275n24.

¹¹⁹ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 2002), 57-58.

Elizabethan Robert Burton observed when talking about nostalgia under the term banishment, "Tis a childish humor to hone after home".¹²⁰

Correspondingly, Grand Tourists deliberately associated nostalgia with Swiss peasants. After encountering 'the inhabitants' of a Swiss mountain, Lewisham reported that their mountain singing produced an 'ardent desire...to return to their mountains when they hear it sung in other countries on this account it has been forbidden in France under capital penalties.'¹²¹ Writing a year later, Yorke discussed the love held by the 'common people' for Switzerland, noting that 'The common soldier in foreign services are frequently afflicted with the *mal du pays*, & I have been told that when that happens there is no other remedy than immediately giving them leave to return home.'¹²² When Grand Tourists were in turn afflicted with homesickness and other mental and emotional struggles, these remained carefully unlabelled, with the occasional rare exception. A normally cheerful correspondent, Holroyd sent his aunt a letter that could not conceal his 'dismal' mood.¹²³ Concluding that 'I find myself in such an unpleasant humour at present I shou'd not have espistolized you... I have attempted to squeeze out some gaiety but I find the dismal has prevailed', he sought to reassure her by parting with a joking 'recommendation to make yourself merry'.¹²⁴ Equally, having met the Sardinian ambassador in Paris, who knew his father and had very English manners and ways, Lewisham experienced a bout of longing for home and would have been 'monstrously glad' to hear from his mother.

I am persuaded that the more one sees the greater will be the pleasure to return home, & to sit down quiet & undisturbed, happy to find oneself at anchor in ones native country, and additionally happy to think over what one had seen & done; nor do I imagine that I shall ever experience a single regret when I reflect that the scene is over.¹²⁵

Lewisham was careful to frame his longings within a correct context. Home was a pleasure to be enjoyed *after* one had travelled. Similarly, anticipating that he would battle nostalgia upon starting his first proper stretch of travelling post-to-post, Nuneham requested that his family stopped writing during this period until he was settled in one location for a

¹²⁰ Quoted in Illbruck, *Nostalgia*, 6-7.

¹²¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 9th September 1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

¹²² BL, Add. Ms. 35378, f. 212, 4th July 1778, Yorke, Basil, to Hardwicke.

¹²³ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 172, 4th June 1765, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10th December 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

period of time.¹²⁶ Letters, ‘the pleasure that of all others is the most sensible one to me’, formed an important emotional crutch for him and he acknowledged he ‘should be very miserable’ if he spent six weeks in constant expectation and uncertainty over the post.¹²⁷ Sometimes, the mental struggles undergone by Tourists and tutors were only fully acknowledged in hindsight. Writing to Lincoln a couple of years after their Tour, Spence referenced ‘the ‘sort of gloom as I contracted in endeavouring to serve you in Italy, and I shall never forget the melancholy kind of pleasure I felt when you was so good as to ease me from it, in part, in our walk by the Monte Testaceo’.¹²⁸ The incident in question had followed a period when neither had received any letters for a considerable period of time. Upon receiving letters from Spence’s mother, both had reacted emotionally. According to Spence, Lincoln had cried while he read his unexpected letter: ‘you can’t imagine how kindly he spoke of you. We have both of us suffered a good deal’.¹²⁹ Lincoln, Spence, Nuneham, Holroyd and Lewisham endured significant emotional and mental lowness during their travels. While they might use emotive description, they avoided giving these experiences medical labels and typically sought to exert a degree of self-control over the situation.

I would suggest that this was because such ailments were not culturally acceptable in young elite men. Parents expressed sympathetic concern over physical illnesses but seemed disinclined to encourage displays of mental lowness. For example, Pembroke wrote to Coxe, expressing his hope that ‘now [Herbert] is of a certain age, a certain Parresse or Faineantise, & all Sulks, or Ill humoured obstinacy have entirely left him. When a boy, he was, now, & then, attacked by these formidable foes.’¹³⁰ ‘Faineantise’, which came from the French, *feignant* or *fainéant*, was a particularly negative term for laziness.¹³¹ ‘Parrasse’ could refer to another French term for laziness and abnormal slowness (*paresser*, *parresseux*) but could also have been a misspelling of *paresis* or *paralysis*, which by the nineteenth century had associations

¹²⁶ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-4, 9th August 1756, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, Reims, to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Spence, *Letters*, 378n4.

¹²⁹ “22nd April 1741, Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence” and “29th April 1741, Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence,” in Spence, *Letters*, 376-79.

¹³⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 28th March 1779, Pembroke, Wilton House, to Coxe.

¹³¹ “faineantise, n.,” *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67672?redirectedFrom=Faineantise#eid>, (accessed 04 September 2013) “fainéant, n. and adj.,” *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67671#eid4651816>, (accessed 04 September 2013).

with various mental illnesses.¹³² In discussing how Herbert was ‘attacked by these formidable foes’, Pembroke described these afflictions using imagery common to those describing mental illnesses, such as melancholy, and many of the symptoms of melancholy matched Herbert’s traits.

If nostalgia was the ailment of the provincial, the English malady, otherwise known as the spleen, hysterical disorder or melancholy, was considered a sophisticated and fashionable complaint, resulting in a languor, boredom (or *ennuyée*) and peevish lowness of spirits and sense of disillusionment.¹³³ In 1729, Hervey tacked a postscript onto a letter that his lover, Fox, was writing to Fox’s brother, in which he most unusually associated himself with nostalgia and melancholy.

we dont talk of leaving this place ‘till the end of august but if you will have my private opinion upon that Head; it is that we shall be very near England by that time, for la maldais de Swiss, & la maladis of a fine English Gentleman (c’est a dire L’ennuiee) are so prevalent at present in our Constitutions that I am apt to think we shall never hold it out ‘till ten in Florence¹³⁴

As he emphasised, it was considered a peculiarly English ailment, stemming from an English constitution, topography and climate. Physicians blamed the disease on the rise of luxury and urban consumerism living, strongly associating it with middling and elite decadence and shortcomings.¹³⁵ Melancholy’s link with rank, worldliness, and travel indicates that it would have been a suitable ailment on the Grand Tour. It formed a central theme in several key travel publications, such as Laurence Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), Tobias Smollett’s *Travels through France and Italy* (1766) and Anna Jameson’s *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826).¹³⁶ Yet, despite this, Grand Tourists and their families rarely identified it.

¹³² “Paresis, n.,” *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/137859?rskey=XLHGUI&result=5&isAdvanced=false#>, accessed 04 September 2013).

¹³³ Oswald Doughty, “The English malady of the eighteenth century,” *The Review of English Studies* 2:7 (1926), 258.

¹³⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 51417, 24th June 1729, Fox, Florence, to Fox.

¹³⁵ Eric Gidal, “Civic melancholy: English gloom and French enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37:1 (2003): 24, 26; Porter, “Civilisation and disease: medical ideology in the Enlightenment,” in *Culture, politics and society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 154-83; Andrews, “Letting Madness Range,” in *Pathologies of Travel*, 28.

¹³⁶ Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (London, 1768); Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (London, 1766); Anna Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (London, 1826).

There is some indication that Lord and Lady Pembroke did diagnose Herbert's struggles as melancholy, but they evidently expected Herbert to overcome these difficulties through self-control. Lady Pembroke's demand that Herbert should be 'perfect, & to act & speak exactly right' was, as discussed in earlier chapters, made in the context of social pressures, yet she was also addressing concerns relating to his mental and emotional stability, contending that he needed to be perfect 'whether you are plagued or not, & reason or no reason to be discontented, that's all, & perhaps that may not be a very easy matter.'¹³⁷ While she acknowledged the challenges involved, Pembroke wrote rather more brutally that unless Herbert found some measure of control 'ye will grow into being, I fear, an unhappy man'.¹³⁸ He further commented that:

I am not surprised, that the Heats disagree with you bodily, but I hope, that you are pleased to be comical as to what you say about your temper, & humour. You would be a melancholy, terrible creature indeed, if, at your age, the sight, or manner of this, of that, or t'other was to affect yr Lordship's humour, & temper. Cela ferait pitie, & rire en meme temps.¹³⁹

Elsewhere, Pembroke urged his son to protect his physical health from the heats of Italy but here he strongly indicated that complaints over mental distress, caused by the same heat, were an unsuitable affliction for young males. Such trials should be dealt with and overcome through applications of self-control and similar masculine virtues, and splenic outbursts avoided.

While the image of a strong, healthy masculine body formed a clear ideal in masculine culture, the sick masculine body and mind formed a more complex reality. The evidence considered in this section suggests that physical ailments did not compromise one's masculine standing, whereas illness connected to mental and emotional states were far more problematic. Revealingly, in both circumstances, there remained a persistent expectation that Grand Tourists would exhibit the key masculine virtues of stoicism and self-control.

The Grand Tour and Cultures of Medical Care

¹³⁷ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 10th October 1779, Lady Pembroke, Brighton, to Herbert.

¹³⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

¹³⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 21st June 1779, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert. The French translates as 'that would be pitiful, and make [me] laugh at the same time' (trans. Robin MacDonald, 28th May 2014).

Thus far, this chapter has explored how the issues of health and sickness in travel were approached as a positive opportunity to increase health. Yet, it would be difficult to deny that the dangers surrounding fears surrounding illness were grounded in reality. A number of Grand Tourists and tutors received news of the death of close family members while travelling, while some of them in turn died abroad.¹⁴⁰ While it is noticeable that Grand Tourists tended to maintain a stoical narrative of their personal experiences of illness, they, their families and friends were often far less restrained in expressing their concerns for others. Pembroke's horror at hearing Herbert had travelled into the malaria was symptomatic of his and Lady Pembroke's writing. He had already expressed their concerns over Herbert travelling through the Italian heats several times prior to this, urgently warning him, 'Do be as carefull as you can. Don't travel whenever you find the heat inconvenient for fear of your health, which is allways the first consideration.'¹⁴¹ When Herbert was taken ill with ague fits in Strasbourg, Lady Pembroke's written reaction was distraught. 'I was really in an agony...felt terrified to death & undone to be with him'.¹⁴² The Pembrokes were not alone in giving voice to their distress and fears. Upon discovering that Walpole had fallen dangerously ill at Reggio in 1741, Richard West, Henry Seymour Conway and Thomas Ashton each sent letters reflective of their fears and concerns. While West wrote that 'I heard the bad and good news both together, and so was afflicted and comforted both in a breath', both Conway and Ashton's letters reflected the difficulties awaiting news of recovery.¹⁴³ Conway wrote:

After the alarm you gave us by the first news of your illness, *and* the anxiety we have remained under ever since by your continued silence, you can't imagine with what satisfaction I saw an account of your entire recovery in a letter to Mrs Grosvenor... we were very apprehensive about [you] and I own I think had great reason for our fears...

¹⁴⁰ Black, *British Abroad*, 200 discusses deaths abroad. For example, Richmond's mother and uncle, the Duke of Albemarle, died, as did the younger brother of Herbert's tutor, John Floyd. See "9th March 1740, Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle," in *Letters*, 259; BL, Add. Ms. 32725, ff. 119, 223, 5th September 1751, Newcastle, Newcastle House, to Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond; WSHC, 2057/F4/31, 18th February 1779, Lady Pembroke, Wilton House, to Herbert).

¹⁴¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 21st June 1779, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert; See also WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20th May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

¹⁴² WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 18th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, [location unknown], to Coxe.

¹⁴³ "22nd June 1741, Richard West, London, to Walpole," in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West and Thomas Ashton*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1948), vol. 13, 243.

I was ingenious too in tormenting myself and drew even from your silence to me a new cause of anxiety.¹⁴⁴

Conway eloquently evoked the mental disturbance caused by silence, and his torments in imagining death. Ashton's letter reflected the on-going thirst for information. 'Since the last letter I received from you, which though it gave me the pleasure of your recovery did not however rid me from the fear of a relapse, I have not been able till this week to pick up one syllable relating to you... Tell me, for God['s] sake, all your intended motions and let 'em be homeward all.'¹⁴⁵ Similar expressions of concern were sent from the Continent to Britain. Nuneham's complaint to his sister, that 'I must own I expected but that you & I should not stand on Ceremony but that you would inform me of your Papa's health, whose complaint in the Ear I was very anxious about', was representative of a common cry for news concerning the health of relatives and friends.¹⁴⁶

In October 1764, Gibbon wryly pointed out to his father that 'The concern you and Mrs Gibbon express in her last letter [over the sickness in Naples] make it my duty to avoid the appearance as well as the reality of danger.'¹⁴⁷ As Gibbon suggests, the distances involved and slow forms of communication exacerbated concerns about health, as people were left to imagine the health of friends and family and gather news and gossip from different sources. Lady Pembroke lamented how 'dreadfull' it was that letters took such a long time to reach the recipients, while correspondents compulsively scanned newspapers for personal news.¹⁴⁸ This practice could also be extremely distressing. Lincoln told Newcastle off for being dishonest about his health as '...[we] read in the papers that you have been so ill as to keep house', while Dartmouth found out about his mother's death via the gazettes when his sister's letter miscarried and a letter from his step-father reached him too late.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ "ca 23rd June 1741, Henry Seymour Conway, [location unknown], to Walpole," in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Mrs Harris*, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: YUP, 1974), vol. 37, 100.

¹⁴⁵ "25th July 1741, Thomas Ashton, Acton, to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13, 246-47.

¹⁴⁶ CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-25, 31st November 1756, Nuneham, [Salzburg?], to his sister.

¹⁴⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 75, 9th October 1764, Edward Gibbon, Rome, to Edward Gibbon.

¹⁴⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 17th November 1775, Lady Pembroke, London, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 10th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe.

¹⁴⁹ "25th November 1739, Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle," in *Letters*, 229; SRO, D(W)/1778/V/815, 2nd January 1752, Dartmouth, Leipzig, to Mr Baron Legge.

While Black highlights many legitimate health-related dangers and traumas on the Grand Tour, this final section reassesses his central contention that the Grand Tour isolated its participants from their normal networks of medical support and that the Continent constituted an alien, unfamiliar, untrustworthy medical space. The sense of distance and the impact that had upon correspondents' imaginations and fears is very striking; nevertheless this section looks beyond this in assessing what the Grand Tour's culture of medical care looked like. As Stolberg's recent study of lay medical culture has shown, this 'proved by and large to transcend state borders'.¹⁵⁰ Stolberg's study drew upon patients from Germany, France, Austrian, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Britain and found very little difference between nations, and even from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, in identifying shared lay and learned notions of disease and medicine.¹⁵¹ The medical world of the Continent was not significantly different to that of home, and Grand Tourists and tutors continued to experience familiar diagnoses, treatments and attitudes towards illness. Furthermore, through the presence and care of tutors, servants, Continental social circles and Continental physicians, the Grand Tour did not result in isolation. Rather, it was an experience strongly supported by several social networks that consciously compensated for the lack of family units.

Recent scholarship has strongly emphasised the importance of the family in providing medical care. As Lisa Smith argues, families played a crucial role in what was essentially a three-way medical relationship between the family, patient and doctor. They had set obligations in monitoring, treating and physically caring for the patient, a significant say in what treatments were used, and frequently worked in conjunction with the patient to make sense of the illness and treatment options based on an inherited family understanding of illness.¹⁵² Most scholars have approached historical cultures of care in gendered terms. For example, Amanda Vickery and others have outlined how mothers and other females undertook the brunt of the physical nursing, to the extent that most letters relating to family illnesses were written by men, as women could not be spared from the bedside.¹⁵³ Equally,

¹⁵⁰ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 11-12.

¹⁵¹ See Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*.

¹⁵² Lisa Smith, "The Relative Duties of A Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca. 1685-1740," *Journal of Family History* 31.3 (2006): 245; Smith, "Society for the social history of medicine student millennium prize essay reassessing the role of the family: Women's medical care in eighteenth-century England," *Social History of Medicine* 16.3 (2003): 327-28, 330, 333; Elaine Leong, "Making Medicines in the early modern household," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82:1 (2008): 145-68; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 55-56.

¹⁵³ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: women's lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: YUP, 1998), 117, 123, 286.

studies have argued that eighteenth-century patriarchal duties involved elements of medical care. An effective spouse, father and head of household should be able to oversee the medical welfare of his family and staff, undertaking duties such as selecting and communicating with doctors, deciding on the best course of medical treatment, and even preparing remedies.¹⁵⁴ Recently, scholars have complicated these divisions, as they have identified women taking a leading role in communicating with doctors and choosing medical options, and men, often fathers, assisting in physical nursing.¹⁵⁵ As Margaret Pelling argues, the gender divide of sicknursing was 'rigid and fluid depending on the context and nature of the nursing tasks'.¹⁵⁶

Far less attention has been given to how cultures of care operated outside of family units, which has perhaps led to the presumption that separation from this unit would result in a dangerous isolation. This is problematic given that there were multiple scenarios in which a man or woman might find themselves separated from the care unit of their family, including various homosocial scenarios, such as university, bachelor life and the Grand Tour. Pelling's argument suggests that in these environments different patterns would be found. The Grand Tour leaves behind a large depository of material that provides valuable insight into how one homosocial culture of care might have operated.

Fathers, mothers, uncles and other guardians sought to remain involved in their children's medical lives. They asked probing health-related questions and sent lengthy medical advice in return. Trusted British medicines, such as Hulse's Powders, James' Powders, and Fothergill's Rhubarb pills, were sent across the Continent while British-based and often fashionable physicians, such as John Wigan, George Cheyney, Edward Hulse, Peter Shaw and John Fothergill, were consulted on the Tourist's behalf.¹⁵⁷ This attempt at intervention had varying levels of success, and the realities of distances and delays were frequently acknowledged to be too great to allow effective involvement. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the tutor clearly emerges as the primary caregiver in *loco parentis*. They

¹⁵⁴ Smith, "The Relative Duties of A Man," 237-38.

¹⁵⁵ See Smith, "The Relative Duties of A Man," 237-38; Newton, *The sick child*, 93, 102-03, 105, 113; R. M. James and A. N. Williams, "Two Georgian fathers: diverse in experience, united in grief," *Medical humanities* 34.2 (2008): 70-79.

¹⁵⁶ Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot: sickness, medical occupations, and the urban poor in early modern England* (London: Longman, 1998), 182.

¹⁵⁷ See for example BL, Add. Ms. 51417, 24th June [1729], Fox, Rome, to Fox; BL, Add. Ms. 51417, [16th June 1729], Fox [location unknown], to Fox; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 16th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe; [WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 9th January 1776, Lady Pembroke, Althorp, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 1st March 1776, Lady Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 7th April 1778, Pembroke, London, to Coxe.

undertook many of the duties typically characterised as paternal in nature; deciding on and calling out the best physicians and taking decisive actions over medical treatments and courses of action. The tutor was hired by and answerable to the family, and this was reflected in the many detailed and frequent medical updates sent to parents and guardians and in some of the medical choices they made. However, they clearly took the lead role in decision making, particularly when emergencies left them little leisure to consult. For example, when Charles fell ill with jaundice in Brussels in June 1776, Stevenson called physicians and decided on a course of treatment without consulting Dartmouth. It was only when his opinion directly conflicted with the physicians that he consulted Dartmouth on whether he was happy for Stevenson to go against their assessment that Charles needed to undergo spa treatments. Had this conflict not arisen, Stevenson 'should not have troubled' Dartmouth with any decisions.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, when Lincoln injured his leg, Spence immediately responded in selecting a surgeon and confidently making immediate medical decisions. As Lincoln recovered, Spence had to decide between several differing medical opinions and wrote to Andrew Stone, Newcastle's secretary to inform him about the choices involved. Mr Villetes, the British Envoy in Turin, recommended the baths near Asti while Master Claude the surgeon and Dr Carlo Richa, the chief physician to the King, thought there was no occasion for them, and Lincoln himself was against the idea.¹⁵⁹ Spence did not ask for Newcastle's opinion, but did decide in favour of the baths after all.¹⁶⁰ Tutors evidently walked a careful tightrope between embracing their responsibilities and making medical decisions that would please the family.

The question of who provided the physical care – bathing, changing sheets, and administering medicines such as clisters and emetics – remains more vexed. Within wider discussions of cultures of care, scholars have found this difficult to resolve as the evidence used often leaves the question of physical involvement, as opposed to witnessing, open. In the case of families, Smith and Newton have both contended that 'given the intensive nature of caring for the sick, when a family member became ill, everyone in the family needed to help out where possible'.¹⁶¹ While scholars have convincingly shown that male heads of households were deeply involved in the medical processes of their households and emotionally invested in the outcomes, they have been unable to convincingly demonstrate

¹⁵⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

¹⁵⁹ "7th September 1739, Spence, Turin, to Stone," in *Letters*, 309-10.

¹⁶⁰ "September 1740, Lincoln, Aqui, to Newcastle," in *Letters*, 315.

¹⁶¹ Newton, *The sick child*, 93, 102-03, 105, 113; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 55.

that they were directly involved in the physical nursing.¹⁶² Pelling has suggested that sources such as inventories and accounts might provide evidence of sheets being laundered, extra servants being hired for short-term nursing tasks, or servants being paid extra for unusual nursing duties.¹⁶³ Within a homosocial environment, she has sensibly argued that male bodyservants were most likely to take on nursing roles.¹⁶⁴

As the Grand Tour's culture of care was substantially shaped by its predominantly homosocial environment, I would agree that Pelling's suggestion is most likely correct. However, there is some evidence that might indicate that physical care was also undertaken by tutors and Grand Tourists when necessary. For example, when Spence found Walpole ill with quinsy, a severe swelling of the throat, with ineffective servants who had failed to call for a physician and allowed their master to self-medicate, he arranged to stay with Walpole until and after the physicians arrived. This might simply point towards him more effectively directing servants in their physical care of Walpole, but it could also indicate that he undertook these tasks himself.¹⁶⁵ Equally, the accounts covering the period of Charles' illness record payments to physicians and apothecaries, but do not record any extra servants hired or increased pay for existing servants. Furthermore, their main servant, Cornwall, was sent home during this period, which would perhaps suggest that Stevenson and even Lewisham provided some care.

The presence and involvement of tutors and servants in the medical lives of Grand Tourists reveal an important replacement for the nucleus of family who would have supported them through similar experiences in Britain. Yet, the wider social communities that they engaged with on the Continent also frequently supported tutors and Grand Tourists through experiences of illness. Within a British context, scholars have observed that physicians gained respect and trust through their social abilities and their connections to elite clientele.¹⁶⁶ Trust in physicians and treatment rested upon a shared social network of recommendation. In examining the collection, circulation and use of medical recipes, Leong and Pennel have highlighted the importance of 'kin-based sociability, and the familial and

¹⁶² See Smith, "The Relative Duties of A Man," 237-38; James and Williams, "Two Georgian fathers," 78.

¹⁶³ Pelling, *Common Lot*, 191-92, 200.

¹⁶⁴ Pelling, *Common Lot*, 182; Stolberg's research into wills and autobiographies seconds the importance of servants in this role, Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 55-56.

¹⁶⁵ "29th May 1741, Spence, Bologna, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 387-88.

¹⁶⁶ Lane, "The Doctor Scolds Me," in *Patients and practitioners*, 218, 228-29; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 67-68, 231-34.

communal relationships through which credibility was maintained and reinforced.’¹⁶⁷

Grand Tourists and tutors conformed to similar patterns on the Continent. The majority of physicians used by Grand Tourists were recommended by the local courts and societies in which they were residing or by British ambassadors. Spence and Stevenson, for example, both used physicians and surgeons recommended by the royal courts at Brussels and Turin.¹⁶⁸ Society abroad clearly formed a crucially important network that enabled Grand Tourists and tutors to feel supported throughout difficult experiences of illness. For example, Stevenson and Lewisham’s letters were dominated by grateful references to the support received from Brussels’ elite society. Lewisham described how they experienced great civilities from Prince Charles & the Prince & Princess of Starenberg’, who asked them to supper and dine with them regularly.¹⁶⁹ Stevenson described how W. Nedham, the British minister at Brussel, ‘to whom we are indebted for some more than Civility, offers his assistance’ in escorting Charles to Aix or Spa if necessary, and ‘never left us’ during the illness.¹⁷⁰ Likewise, while Yorke was shaken when his tutor, Colonel Wettstein, fell during a stag hunt at Anspach, the kindness and attention shown by the Margrave and court did much to reassure him.¹⁷¹ In both case, their gratitude was caused by offers of practical aid and access to trusted and reliable medical care, alongside the important offer of emotional support and encouragement. While Tourists and tutors were removed from the immediate support of their families, the social dimension of the Grand Tour ensured that they remained within a substituted supportive network. As Stolberg notes, illness was perceived as a communal, public and even sociable affair, where visitors were expected and advice and discussion shared within the community.¹⁷² Upon the Continent and already part of their local elite communities, Grand Tourists were swallowed up into that culture.

Finally, the Grand Tourists and tutors investigated in this thesis typically expressed their confidence, trust in, and respect for the physicians, surgeons and other medical practitioners

¹⁶⁷ Leong and Sara Pennell, “Recipe collections and the currency of medical knowledge in the early modern medical marketplace,” in *Medicine and the market in England and its colonies, c. 1450-c.1850*, ed. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 137-39.

¹⁶⁸ “17th August 1740, Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence,” and “7th September 1740, Spence, Turin, to Andrew Stone,” in *Letters*, 300, 309; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

¹⁶⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth.

¹⁷⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 8th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

¹⁷¹ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 18th August 1779, Yorke’s Journal; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 84, 1st September 1777, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke.

¹⁷² Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 53-54.

encountered in The Hague, Brussels, Frankfurt, Anspach, Strasbourg, Spa, Basle, Turin, Florence, Rome and Naples. While there were disagreements over how best to treat the patient or examples of British physicians being simultaneously consulted by correspondence, these occurrences fit within larger trends of behaviour identified by scholars within the context of British medical cultures and were not linked to any xenophobic expressions of doubt over the physician's abilities. On the contrary, Tourists and tutors appeared either to neutrally accept the ability of their Continental physicians or to explicitly pointed towards their abilities and credentials. For example, Spence described the Savoyard surgeon, Master Claude, as 'a very famous old surgeon... recommended by our Minister here', and praised Florence's Dr Antonio Cocchi's excellent medical and linguistic ability, complimenting his ability to speak 'English like an Englishman'.¹⁷³ Coxe and Floyd described how 'We are both very well satisfied with the Physician [in Strasbourg] - He is a sensible Man, an enemy to [purgative] medicine, and had no cant of his profession, and we think Lord Hebert cannot be in better hands'.¹⁷⁴ Likewise Stevenson described how the physician of the Court of Brussels 'has a high Reputation'.¹⁷⁵ Even the unnamed Savoyard physician covertly selected by Lincoln to remove a pimple from his face was described by Newcastle as 'a very honest man [who] would not try any tricks'.¹⁷⁶

As discussed earlier, the non-naturals and air were key to understanding illness and treatment in the eighteenth century. Grand Tourists, tutors and families were no exception. They made little attempt to differentiate between the nervous, mechanical and humoral theories. For example, Stevenson and Lewisham were relieved to report that Charles had been diagnosed with jaundice, an illness that could essentially be remedied by an increase of fruit and vegetables in his diet.¹⁷⁷ Likewise, when Paris was struck by a bad epidemic of influenza in 1776, Stevenson attributed this to 'the moist, foggy & unseasonable weather, which for some weeks has been viewed as Capacious'.¹⁷⁸ When Herbert fell ill with ague in the winter of 1775-76, Coxe expressed a firm belief that the return of Herbert's ague was due to the unhealthy situation of Strasbourg, 'it being situated in a damp marshy soil, and

¹⁷³ "29th May 1741, Spence, Bologna, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 387-88; "17th August 1740, Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 300.

¹⁷⁴ WSHC, 2057/F4/27, [?] December 1775, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke.

¹⁷⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 8th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

¹⁷⁶ "4th February 1740, Newcastle, Newcastle House, to Lincoln," in *Letters*, 250.

¹⁷⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

¹⁷⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 4th January 1776, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth.

peculiarly unwholesome to any one who is subject to agues'.¹⁷⁹ While better in dry frosts, he felt it would be particularly unhealthy in the 'great heats'.¹⁸⁰ The only real solution was to move location. He and Floyd did this temporarily, moving Herbert to Colmar, 'a very healthy situation - All the Soldiers who have ague are sent here from Strasbourg and the other garrisons, and always receive great benefit.'¹⁸¹ Surrounded by mountains, Coxe declared 'I have indeed great faith in this air; and I flatter myself, that it will entirely re-establish Lord Herbert'.¹⁸² Upon returning to Strasbourg, Coxe wrote of how much Herbert's health had benefited from the change in location to the extent that:

I do not foresee ye least prospect of being obliged to change our situation; and should he have a slight return of his ague, we can decamp for Colmar at a minute's warning, and stay there, till he is perfectly re-established. But I do not think this will happen.¹⁸³

This framework of understanding was clung to even when it appeared to contradict itself. For example, Yorke caught malaria, allegedly the most seasonally and topographically bound of diseases, out of its 'expected' season, having sensibly visited Rome during the winter and spring of 1778/9. Despite the failure of medical topographical theories, he continued to adhere to them in explaining the illness and in striving for recovery. For example, he explained how he initially caught malaria out of season through an 'extreme drought' and the 'driest spring that has been recorded for upwards of two centuries'.¹⁸⁴ It 'rendered the air in the neighbourhood of Rome extremely unwholesome', gave the spring sky 'the same appearance as in the middle of summer', and thickened the air via 'the quantity of vapours' and dust.¹⁸⁵ At the same time, he believed his recovery would be assisted by the Swiss climate and by the regime of sea bathing, prescribed by Dr Congalton at Spa and undertaken as Scheveling.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 24th January 1776, Coxe, Colmar, to Lady Pembroke.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 5th January 1776, Coxe, Colmar, to Lady Pembroke.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 17th March 1776, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke. See also: WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 24th January 1776, Coxe, Colmar, to Lady Pembroke.

¹⁸⁴ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 312, 10th February 1779, Yorke, Rome, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36259, [First Entry, no date], Yorke's Journal.

¹⁸⁵ BL, Add. Ms. 36259, [First Entry, no date], Yorke's Journal.

¹⁸⁶ BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 357, 20th June 1779, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 359, 7th July 1779, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.

Britain and the Continent drew upon the same theoretical understandings and practical applications of the body, disease and healing at a lay and professional level.¹⁸⁷ While regional variations have been noted, scholars have identified the extent of trans-European exchanges.¹⁸⁸ British physicians were frequently trained at Leiden, Parisian and Germany universities while even minor physicians, such as Avignon's Espirit-Claude-François Calvert conducted professional correspondence with physicians from Lyons, Paris, Bayreuth, Minorca, Sicily, Constantinople and Saint-Dominique.¹⁸⁹ Grand Tourists, tutors and families knew and celebrated internationally famous medical authorities, such as Boerhaaven and Conglaton. Through this, they signalled their awareness and trust in the pan-European nature of eighteenth-century medicine. Correspondingly, Grand Tourists and tutors found that their British lay understanding of illness and medicine aligned with Continental professional understanding. None of the diagnoses or treatments pronounced by physicians came as a surprise, all fitted comfortably within their understanding, and, as medical reports were written in Latin, language barriers were often negated. For example, Stevenson and Lewisham were pleased to report that Charles had been placed on a vegetable and fruit diet. Charles took to this new diet with enthusiasm, causing Lewisham to wryly write, 'for the sake of the country I think it much to be wished that he should resume his meat diet entirely, for if he was to stay long in a place we would most certainly expect a dearth in vegetables and fruit.'¹⁹⁰ Stevenson contended that 'in ten Days time he will...be even better than when he left England.'¹⁹¹ Equally, the British Dr Fothergill and the Strasbourg physicians essentially prescribed the same remedies for Herbert's ague in recommending a change in location and seeking to rebalance various non-natural factors, via a strict regime of drinking Hungarian

¹⁸⁷ See Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 11-12.

¹⁸⁸ Riley, *Campaign to avoid disease*, 51; Dacome, "Living with the chair," 14; Wrigley, "Mapping 'mal'arai,'" in *Pathologies of Travel*, 218-20; L .W. B. Brockliss, *Calvet's Web: enlightenment and the republic of the letter in eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 155, 143-50; Otmar Keel, "The politics of health and the institutionalisation of clinical practices in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century," in *William Hunter and The Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, ed. W. F. Bynum and Porter (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 207-58; Andrew Cunningham, "Medicine to calm the mind: Boerhaaven's Medical system and why it was adopted in Edinburgh," in *The Medical Enlightenment of Europe*, ed. Cunningham and R. K. French (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 40-66.

¹⁸⁹ Lisa Rosner, *Medical education in the age of improvement: Edinburgh students and apprentices 1760-1826* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 16; Brockliss, *Calvet's Web*, 157.

¹⁹⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth.

¹⁹¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

mineral water, taking purgatives such as the bark, a commonly accepted fever remedy, and an emetic.¹⁹²

Disagreements over the correct course of treatment did take place, alongside families and tutors undertaking a dual consultation with British and other Continental physicians. For example, drawing on the advice of Fothergill, Lady Pembroke felt Herbert should be taking bark differently to how the physician in Strasbourg prescribed.¹⁹³ Equally, Stevenson and Dartmouth looked with disfavour upon on the physicians' view that Charles needed the Aix and Spa waters.¹⁹⁴ They also expressed exasperation over the medical behaviour of

The Gentlemen, in whose hands Charles is at present, would have amused themselves a fortnight longer, in inspecting & analysing all the Solids & Fluids he discharges in the Course of each Day, had they not seen we were determined to leave Bruxelles, as soon as Cornwall returned.¹⁹⁵

Both were deeply committed to the evangelical faith, and their medical outlook may have been shaped by John Wesley's *Primitive Physic* (1747).¹⁹⁶ Wesley was deeply critical of clinical observation, which placed too much focus on hypothesis and dangerous compound medicines.¹⁹⁷ Stevenson and Dartmouth's exasperated denunciations closely mirrored his attitude.

Disagreements and dual consultations were a common feature of eighteenth-century medical culture. Pioneered by Nicholas Jewson, and developed further by Porter and other scholars, the concept of the 'medical market' has formed a key element in the history of medicine since the 1980s. Essentially unregulated by any central body, medical practice and treatments formed an 'open market' and patients with money essentially had 'the relative freedom to choose the medical practitioners they liked,' according to their estimation of

¹⁹² WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 16th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, [undated 1775], Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 146.

¹⁹³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 16th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe; WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 9th January 1776, Lady Pembroke, Althorp, to Coxe.

¹⁹⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Madden, *Wesley's Primitive Physic*, 3.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 99-102, 120-21, 171-72.

effectiveness, cost or manners.¹⁹⁸ Within this context, consulting other practitioners after or even during an initial consultation was normal.¹⁹⁹ Equally, scholars such as Porter and Stolberg have similarly observed that the practice of questioning and challenging the physician's orders was also extremely common.²⁰⁰ The cognitive distance between medical and lay knowledge was much smaller in the eighteenth century than it is today.²⁰¹ The disagreements between tutors, Tourists and their Continental physicians were not therefore indicative of a distrust of the foreign, but part of a wider contemporary medical culture. These disagreements were not split exclusively along British-Continental lines, but bisected them. For example, Spence was an admirer of Dr Boerhaave, whose lectures he attended in 1737 while at The Hague. He wrote approvingly of the simplicity of his prescriptions, noting that he was 'a great enemy to loading people with powers and vials'.²⁰² Spence's attitude towards illness clashed with Lincoln's uncle, Newcastle, who was a great advocate of purgative medicines, particularly Hulse's Powders.²⁰³ Equally, for all his commitment to vegetables and Methodism, Stevenson paid a considerable sum to procure an emetic he believed that Charles should take, demonstrating that he and the Dartmouths were not completely against purgative and other medicines. They picked and mixed between different medical approaches and options.²⁰⁴

By and large, the medical faculty of the Continent was perceived as sound, reliable and talented in their profession, to the extent that there are several examples of Tourists and tutors choosing their advice over those of their fellow British. For example, Herbert's account of Mr Herbert's illness mentions the efforts of four Savoyard physicians Apiotti, Arnulfi, Ranzoni and Alioni, with a total absence of any doubt in their ability.²⁰⁵ Even when the British

¹⁹⁸ Roy Porter, "The patient's view," *Theory and society* 14:2 (1985): 189-93; Porter and Porter, *Patient's progress*, 9, 26-27; For revisions of this term, see Jenner and Wallis, "The Medical Marketplace," in *Medicine and the Market*, 2.

¹⁹⁹ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 74.

²⁰⁰ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, 69-71; Porter and Porter, *Patient's progress*, 78-83.

²⁰¹ Stolberg, "Medical Popularization," in *Cultural approaches*, 90.

²⁰² "11th June 1737, Spence, The Hague, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 170-71.

²⁰³ Slava Klima, "Introduction," in *Letters*, 8; "16th March 1740, Newcastle, Newcastle House, to Lincoln," in *Letters*, 366.

²⁰⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, [undated], Stevenson, [no location], to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 10th July 1776, Stevenson, Amsterdam, to Dartmouth - "Accounts and bills".

²⁰⁵ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 10th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

Envoy, Lord Mountstuart and others recommended a British medicine, James' Powders, Herbert recorded the 'four wise Men agreed tonight that it would be as efficacious a Remedy as a Pistol'. He accepted their verdict and refrained from using the medicine unless as a last resort.²⁰⁶ Equally, on his return journey to The Hague, Yorke went via Spa specifically to consult Dr Congalton, 'who having followed my illness from the beginning will be able to give me better advice than anybody else.'²⁰⁷ Yorke, his tutor and his family not only took the advice and ministrations of physicians in Rome and Basil, they had also chosen to undertake correspondence with another Continental physician, rather than one based in Britain.

Negative and distressed reports of illness on the Continent certainly existed but were often intensified by situations of social isolation. For example, in May 1740, Walpole was alone in Reggio. His Grand Tour was unusual, as he was unaccompanied by a tutor. At this point, he had quarrelled with Gray and parted company. Equally importantly, he had no connection to Reggio's local community. When he fell ill with quinsy he was left unable to talk or call for a doctor and with no one to care for him or act as an intermediary. In this circumstance, he was truly isolated from all of his normal networks of support. By a fortunate chance, Spence and Lincoln came to Reggio on a whim and found him unattended, having seen no doctor and having self-medicated.²⁰⁸ As Spence later reflected, 'You see what luck one has sometimes in going out of one's way: if Lord Lincoln had [not] wandered to Reggio, Mr. Walpole (who is one of the best-natured and most sensible young gentleman that England affords) would in all probability have been now under the cold earth.'²⁰⁹ Spence immediately took charge of Walpole's medical care. He sent for the best local physician in Reggio, as well as for Dr Antonio Cocchi, a Florentine physician. Spence had known Cocchi since his first Grand Tour, and viewed him as 'a very good one [physician] and my particular friend'.²¹⁰ Spence and Lincoln's timely arrival reconnected Walpole to a trusted network of (in this particular case, British-Florentine) support that was vital for effective cultures of caregiving and survival in this period. Walpole's experience highlights how extremely unusual it was for Grand Tourists of a certain status to become so isolated, but it also revealed the crucial importance of more immediate and personal support networks.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ BL, Add. Ms. 36258, June 20th 1779, 2nd July 1779, 7th July 1779 Yorke's Journal.

²⁰⁸ "29th May 1741, Spence, Bologna, to Mrs Spence," in *Letters*, 387-88.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 388.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 387.

This section has outlined a culture of care that placed Grand Tourists as children. At times, however, circumstances forced Grand Tourists to undertake a greater degree of medical responsibility and interest in the welfare of their peers. For example, between December 1779 and January 1780, Herbert's diary recorded in detail his experience of caring for a dying acquaintance, Mr Herbert. As several people can be identified as physically caring for Mr Herbert and his body, this diary reveals the collective masculine effort that could go into caring for an individual. One of Herbert's earlier entries recorded that Mr Herbert had 'taken an Emetick without any good effect' and explicitly stated that a mutual friend, Jarret, had been 'his Doctor' in this procedure.²¹¹ The night before Mr Herbert's death, the physicians 'again administered James' Powders'.²¹² Once Mr Herbert had died, Laurent, Herbert's servant, found that his body had been carelessly thrown into the coffin. Fetching some bran, he carefully packed and prepared the body for its journey to burial, an act of practical compassion that might suggest that he had been involved with key elements of physical care while Mr Herbert was alive.²¹³ Finally, Jarrett, the Physicians and Herbert himself, are all depicted as undertaking the exhausting task of observing and attending the patient.

Herbert performed lengthy bedside vigils, eventually missing several days of diary entries due to the intense nature of the sickroom.²¹⁴ This closely echoes descriptions of mothers and wives being unable to find the time and energy to write.²¹⁵ Increasingly familiar with his friend's body, Herbert's bedside attendance appeared to include a direct involvement with witnessing, if not administering, medication:

Tonight as the last resource, we gave Herbert James' Powders, which had no effect but two Clysters give immediately one after the other caused a most immense and putrid evacuation, since which though quite senseless his head seems somewhat debarrassed. God knows, how it will proceed.²¹⁶

It is impossible to tell whether the 'we' meant that Herbert was actually physically involved, or just a witness. Either way, this rather graphic description reveals the sensory novelty of this experience and Herbert's deep discomfort with this particularly intimate medical

²¹¹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 22nd December 1779, Herbert's Journal.

²¹² WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 14th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

²¹³ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 15th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

²¹⁴ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 14th-9th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

²¹⁵ See, as referenced earlier, Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, 117, 123, 286.

²¹⁶ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 11th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

responsibility. Physical medical care was clearly not a skill that Grand Tourists were expected to learn during their travels. However, this is a vivid example of the possible 'context' described by Pelling that might force flexibility in what were normally gendered roles. It was a highly unusual scenario linked to the unpredictability of travel.

Herbert's diary also depicts him willingly and confidently undertaking some of the more typically masculine medical roles. For example, he was actively involved in Mr Herbert's medical decision-making process: he 'advised to send for a Physician', acted as interpreter, broadened the consultation by asking for more physicians to become involved and discerned with Jarrett between different treatment options.²¹⁷ Upon Mr Herbert's death, he continued to shoulder responsibilities, such as reading the Will, arranging the funeral, temporary burial and transportation of the body back to England, and paying the medical bills.²¹⁸ In contrast to his uncomfortable account of physical nursing, his diary presents an assertive figure, calmly recommending courses of action or refusing to pay extortionate bills, such as the surgeon's, which he reduced by two thirds.²¹⁹

This aspect of Herbert's experience was less unusual. Grand Tourists frequently undertook to visit unwell friends encountered during travel.²²⁰ Equally, those who found themselves travelling with ill friends demonstrated a similar sense of loyalty and concern. For example, Holroyd met a Mr Ridley at Lausanne and the two decided to travel around Italy together. Holroyd knew that Ridley had suffered 'very much in Germany from The Rheumatism & was brought from thence with difficulty', yet found him 'very clever & agreeable'.²²¹ Ridley's health impacted upon the pace of their travels, delaying them in Leghorn, Rome and Naples. Holroyd related the various treatments he had been given and agreed to change routes and locations in order to ensure Ridley's health.²²² Demonstrating a

²¹⁷ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 23rd December 1779, 9th-10th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

²¹⁸ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 14th-16th, 18th-19th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

²¹⁹ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 19th January 1780, Herbert's Journal.

²²⁰ For example, on his way to Naples, Yorke recounted that 'The Marquis de Chatelet and the French abbé who were overturned two posts from hence were lodged in this town till the abbés broken arm was well enough from him to be carried to Rome. We made them a visit in the evening & found the abbé much better than we expected.' BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 296, 12th January 1770, Yorke, Naples, to Hardwicke. Lewisham described a similar visit in SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 12th August 1775, Lewisham, Lyons, to Dartmouth.

²²¹ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 140, 2nd February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker.

²²² BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 158, 2nd October 1764, Holroyd, Florence, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 162, 5th December 1764, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 168, 8th March 1765, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 172, 7th May 1765, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd.

sympathetic awareness of Ridley's illness, by Naples he became actively involved, writing that he had been making many enquires about passage to the south of France and was 'anxious for the departure as a sea voyage is recommended for the Heath of my fellow traveller'.²²³ Like Herbert, Holroyd's acquaintance with Ridley was fairly casual. Unlike Herbert, the medical situation was not so urgent as to require dramatic and binding intervention. Holroyd's decision to remain with a fellow Tourist who significantly slowed his progress was perhaps reflective of a masculine code of friendship and loyalty. Having decided to travel with Ridley, Holroyd then felt honour-bound to see the journey through.

The material relating to the Grand Tour provides an intriguing insight into how homosocial networks of friendship and support operated not just within the confines of travel, but also at home in Britain, and how young unmarried men lived outside the normal family unit. Grand Tourists frequently asked about the health of their family but rarely offered medical advice in response. Amongst one's peers, however, it was a different matter. Letters between Grand Tourists and their male friends frequently included medical updates, advice and probing queries over each other's health.²²⁴ For example, both Walpole and Conway exhibited concern and involvement over the illness of George Selwyn. Walpole sent medical and lifestyle advice from Rome, while Conway appeared to have significant involvement in Selwyn's care, visiting him regularly and receiving updates from the physicians concerning his status and medication.²²⁵ Conway also turned to Walpole for emotional support, admitting 'I don't know how I can excuse myself to you for taking such pains to give you concern and to be the messenger of bad news, but you are so good that I know you will indulge me in endeavouring to alleviate my sorrow by sharing it with you'.²²⁶

²²³ BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 172, 7th May 1765, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd.

²²⁴ For example, Thomas Bromley, a teacher at Harrow informed Herbert that 'Yorke is just returned from Italy, where [he] has been dangerously ill of a Fever, peculiar to some part of that Country' in WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/33, 15th September 1779, Thomas Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert. See for further examples, "29th May [1739], Gray, Paris, to Ashton," "25th August [1739], Gray, Rheims, to Ashton," "18th September 1739, Gray, Lyons, to West," "16th July 1740, Gray, Florence, to West," in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 110-11, 115, 119, 167-68; SRO, D(W)1778/V/892, 20th December 1775, J. Gooch, Christ Church College, to Lewisham; NRO, WKC 7/46/15, 4th April 1741, Thomas Dampier, Amsterdam, to the Bloods; "23rd April 1740, Walpole, Rome, to Conway," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 56.

²²⁵ "23rd April 1740, Walpole, Rome, to Conway," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 56; "12th February 1741, Conway, [London], to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 88; "16th February 1741, Conway, [London], to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 89.

²²⁶ "12th February 1741, Conway, [London], to Walpole," in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 37, 88.

He evidently felt himself to be partaking in an emotional support network and received comfort from imaginatively suspending the distances between them.

All of these examples point towards a more complex homosocial culture of care that provided emotional, medical and, upon rare occasions, physical care and advice. This gives a fascinating insight into the strength of homosocial bonds, and strongly suggests a keen awareness of the importance of supportive networks during illness and a conscious effort to substitute this when individuals were left vulnerable. It can also tentatively suggest that the Grand Tour was a setting where the patriarchal medical responsibilities described by Lisa Smith and others could be mimicked, tested and attained. If such responsibility was an inherent part of patriarchal duty and therefore effective manhood within a family and household setting, these particular medical skills and interests only came into play upon marriage and family life as they linked to a very specific aspect of masculine identity. Nevertheless, as with other aspects of adult manhood such as clubability, the military, and sociability, the Grand Tour and homosocial peer friendships gave the occasional opportunity to imitate and practise adult medical responsibilities.

Conclusion

When Herbert and Charles fell ill, their experiences were only a year apart and took place around roughly the same age. Their illnesses were of a comparable severity, and their families were of similar status. They both took place in locations well supplied with competent physicians and both boys were supported by tutors, brothers and servants they had known throughout their lives. Yet their parents reacted to the news with vastly different levels of fear and anxiety. While Lady Pembroke was distraught with 'agony' and 'terrified to death', Lord and Lady Dartmouth received the news calmly.²²⁷ Equally, Dartmouth later wrote that the younger children had caught the 'tedious disorder' of whooping cough, but that 'the business [Lady Dartmouth] has had with attending her sick children, & keeping the healthy at a distance from them: her cares have stir'd her blood & done her good'.²²⁸ They evidently suffered a degree of alarm when Lewisham's servant, Cornwall, arrived unexpectedly back in England, but as such arrivals normally heralded an unexpected disaster,

²²⁷ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/27, 18th December 1775, Lady Pembroke, [location unknown], to Coxe.

²²⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 30th September 1777, Dartmouth to Lewisham.

this was understandable and was in no way comparable to Lady Pembroke's reaction of intense anxiety.²²⁹

Taken side by side, these two responses from families of similar status, age and situation undermine any blanket theory that travel to the Continent automatically resulted in an intensification of health-related fears. Tutors, family and Grand Tourists themselves exhibited a wide range of reactions to the trauma of illness. Reactions to the news of illness were often highly personal, influenced by a family attitude towards illness and medicine, the patient's track record of illness and frailty, and by the recipient's personal attitude towards handling illness, stress and emotion. Lady Pembroke, for example, suffered from various disorders, including melancholy, which may have made her more sensitive to the possibility of illness than other parents might be.²³⁰

The Grand Tour did encompass a number of serious medical dangers, yet this chapter has begun to unpack the more complex interactions between illness, health, and the Grand Tour. It suggests that the vast majority of medical hazards and dangers sat within the normal scale of eighteenth-century British medical experiences and culture. The dangers of malaria aside, Grand Tourists, tutors and families viewed much of the Continent as secure and familiar landscape in terms of its health hazards. It followed the same medical rules and theories as at home, contained physicians who were trustworthy and skilled, and societies and networks who would support them in times of difficulty. As importantly, Grand Tourists, tutors and servants moved within their own immediate framework of support that connected them to the wider support and safety offered within the Continent.

Equally, this chapter has also demonstrated that the Grand Tour was perceived as offering a crucial opportunity to establish a strong, healthy body and constitution through merging climate, travel and health regimes together. Each of these, like the road, the mountain, sportsfield and battlefield, were approached as transformative dangers with the potential to improve as well as to harm. As with the hazards of gambling discussed in Chapter One, this evidently came with its risks, but even the most anxious of guardians, such as the Pembrokes and Newcastle, felt this was an opportunity worth embracing.

²²⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, 15th June 1776, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, [undated], Stevenson, [no location], to Dartmouth.

²³⁰ WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/31, 30th December 1779, Lady Herbert, Wilton, to Herbert.

Conclusion

The Grand Tour took place *because of*, not *in spite of*, the danger and risk involved. Through examining the role of danger in the Grand Tour in conjunction with neglected curricula, geographies and rationales, this thesis has sought to revise overall scholarly understanding of the Grand Tour. If the Grand Tour is viewed as a formative coming of age ritual, it can also be conceptualised as a series of tests that took place beyond the controlled conditions of school or university in the “real world”. These tests were tied to the different geographies, societies, cultures and histories of France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. Acknowledging the mutual importance of these varied destinations and activities in achieving the Grand Tour’s overall purpose and rationale allows us to understand that the Grand Tour was not limited to advocating one narrow conception of elite masculine identity and culture, but instead was a versatile institution that could be adapted to create elite men who were well rounded in every facet of elite life.

Travelling from country to country, city to city, Grand Tourists were repeatedly confronted with new scenarios that tested their taste, judgement, skill and virtues, as they were watched and appraised by wider social circles. They were tested intellectually at different universities, institutions and academies, as well as socially as they met individuals, courts and fashionable circles throughout Europe. Their aesthetic taste and command of classical *virtu* were tested as they laid out money on art that was to decorate seats that were important, lasting symbols of prestige. Their health, bodies and their command of internal masculine virtues, such as courage, self-control and endurance, were tested as they engaged with martial activities, sports, challenging mountain terrains, the road’s hardships and dangers, and Europe’s different climates. Exposure to danger and hardship was therefore a crucial component of the Grand Tour’s purpose, culture and rationale in the formation of elite masculine identity.

Over the course of five chapters, this thesis has investigated the Grand Tour’s relationship to the dangers connected with socialising, war, the road, sports, mountains and sickness. Drawing on a wide variety of manuscript evidence, published material and relevant historiography, it has gone beyond earlier scholarly accounts of danger and travel by placing its analysis of these dangers within their wider cultural context. In the case of sickness and social hazard, this has resulted in a more nuanced understanding that has revealed that these dangers were not always approached with the degree of alarm suggested by scholars. In the case of hazards related to war, climate and mountains, my research has shown how they were deliberately incorporated into the Grand Tour’s curriculum of masculine formation. The

participants in the Grand Tour and wider elite society approached these dangers as part of, to take Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke's phrase from Chapter One, *les jeux de société*. The dangers examined in this thesis were not simply to be endured and overcome. They were viewed as *hazards* in the eighteenth-century understanding of the term. They were to be chanced, gambled with and even enjoyed. While they risked the possibility of harm, via physical injury, death, loss of reputation or of finance, they also had the potential to improve the Grand Tourist's social standing, advance their prowess, virtues and skills, increase health and consolidate their masculine reputation. Even the threat of death from disease could be flipped on its head as travel also offered the possibility of health. Danger on the Grand Tour was not therefore a negative or neutral concept, but a transformative force.

As *les jeux de société* suggests, society, in the shape of family, friends and broader elite society, was important in shaping the individual's perceptions and judgements of what danger was, how one should interact with it and how subsequent responses and reactions should be framed. As Chapter Five has shown, society also provided a safety net to minimise the negative effects of dangers gone wrong. As Chapter One laid out and as subsequent chapters reiterated, the impetus and pressure to prove one's self to society in its multiple forms formed a crucial context for the Grand Tourist's engagement with danger. Engagement with hazards such as gambling was often necessary to enter into fashionable mixed society, whereas drinking, rowdy behaviours and sexual misconduct could be deemed necessary to enter into spheres of impolite and/or homosocial society. Investigating the dangers surrounding war, sports and mountains within this context has revealed a collection of hardy and martial masculine identities and behaviours that were shared by elite men from British and Continental backgrounds. These masculinities could only be fully proved through undertaking certain risky pursuits, such as hunting, participation in the military and mountain climbing. In order to gain acceptance into societies that held these types of masculinity in esteem, Grand Tourists had to confront and engage with danger in its appropriate forms.

Unpacking the importance of social success on the Grand Tour has highlighted one aspect of the Grand Tourist's relationship with danger. However, danger was not just a tool for gaining social acceptance, it was also a valued instrument in elite masculine formation as the virtues that gave men the ability to confront, operate and thrive in the presence of danger remained extremely important in eighteenth-century constructions of masculinity. As Chapter Two showed, the Grand Tour offered the opportunity to train young elite men for future roles as military leaders, through giving them access to the formal curricula and training of the Continental military and elite academies, alongside access to its armies, military sites and commanders. It also exposed them to the hardships, discomforts and

dangers of the road, various elite sports and, increasingly, to the mountain's challenging terrain. As discussed in Chapter Three, this exposure was understood to cultivate internal masculine virtues, such as courage, endurance, stoicism and self-control. These were traditionally linked to the qualities of martial command but had also become more broadly associated with wider elite leadership. As importantly, as Chapter Five makes clear, these activities, combined with a judicious use of health regimes and Europe's climates, also provided an opportunity to harden and strengthen the young elite male's body and health.

This was a crucial component in understanding the eighteenth-century elite's commitment to the Grand Tour. In a period of substantial change, as the British Empire, industries and commerce ballooned and as the military and other instruments of state expanded and professionalised, contemporary commentators repeatedly highlighted the need for strong, virtuous, manly leaders. The capacity of the elite to provide this was increasingly questioned as the key tools used for the formation of elite men, such as the Grand Tour, were derided as producing effeminate men corrupted by foreign influence and disconnected from the political, social and economic needs of Britain. Strikingly, then, this thesis has explored how those elite families and society believed that the Grand Tour achieved the precise opposite. Through encounters with various forms of danger and hardship, the Grand Tour held the ability to construct hardy, manly men with strong, physically able bodies and key internal masculine virtues and skills that were deemed fundamental to leadership.

To a certain extent, it could be concluded that this aspect of the Grand Tour developed in response to contemporary challenges. As Chapters Two and Three discuss, Grand Tourists certainly became more overt in vocalising their fitness to provide martial leadership in the 1770s, while the engagement with the challenging terrain of mountains was clearly being deliberately yoked to wider masculine discourses of hardship, endurance and the military. But at the same time, this thesis has demonstrated how these attitudes and activities linked to much older elite understandings of masculinity. This suggests strong continuity within elite masculinity and masculine formation across the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that danger, risk and hardship had always held a degree of importance in the cultivation and promotion of masculine standing. Even as Grand Tourists engaged with other social and cultural discourses, such as the sublime and sentimentalism, this preoccupation with hardiness and the confrontation of danger remained a persistent thread that intertwined with other contemporary themes.

The establishment of a successful masculine identity demanded both the actual experience and an effective narration. Performances were essentially useless unless

witnessed or accepted by others. The Grand Tour created opportunities for its participants to record and publicise their experiences of danger. The letters, diaries and reports from Grand Tourists, tutors and others were circulated, closely scrutinised and treated as evidence of the success of the Grand Tour's various coming of age tests. The effort invested into the careful construction of narratives concerning the Tourist's emotional and physical reactions to danger, as explored in Chapter Four, testified to participants' awareness of the importance of these testimonials. They formed an ideal opportunity to construct and assert one's masculine identity, and constituted crucial evidence of the appropriation of key masculine virtues and abilities that subsequently pointed towards their fitness for leadership. An ideal first opportunity for the next generation of elite males to contribute toward a collective and individual self-fashioning of elite masculinity, the experience and narration of danger and the Grand Tour was an important aspect of the complex eighteenth-century world of elite self-fashioning, power and self-justification.

Uncovering this dimension of the Grand Tour and elite masculine formation contributes towards the on-going revisions of the history of eighteenth-century masculinity. For example, identifying the importance of social pressures in the shaping of masculine formation allows us to attain a clearer understanding of the various dynamics at play in an individual's masculine formation. This thesis has identified the role and importance of curricula and itineraries dictated by parents, guardians and tutors. These represented a deliberate, conscious masculine formation imposed upon the Grand Tourist by others. The pressures and expectations inherent in different social groups constituted an equally powerful, but far less visible, aspect of masculine formation.

In acknowledging that young elite men moved through varied, multiple social spheres and settings and were under pressure to prove themselves in each one, this thesis moves beyond the hegemonic model of masculinity to explore the more complex dynamics of masculine identity and culture. It has tested Alexandra Shepard's suggestion that an individual man might move between multiple masculine identities and has found this to be very much the case in the Grand Tour. A Grand Tourist could alternatively present himself as polite, academic, vivaciously sociable, libertine, martial, sporting and convivial. These shifts were partially related to physical context. For example, a Grand Tourist in the midst of mountains might present a hardy masculinity but in a Viennese ballroom would shift to a polite sociability. However, as discussed in Chapter One, these changes were overwhelmingly influenced by social context. Chapters Two and Three have shown that the desire to impress groups and individuals manifesting more martial masculinities could impel Grand Tourists to engage with danger to prove their courageous martially-inspired masculine identity. Having examined how many of the Grand Tourists used in this thesis engaged with a wide variety of

different masculine identities and social scenarios, the demands of versatility levelled upon the eighteenth-century elite man become clear.

The Grand Tour not only taught its participants the skill of versatility, in itself it was versatile in nature. In proving that the Grand Tour was not just an institution of polite masculinity, this thesis has focused upon delineating the significance of hardy masculine cultures. This was a pervasive masculine culture that was difficult for Grand Tourists to entirely ignore. For example, through his memoirs, Edward Gibbon constructed a masculine identity that vehemently rejected the physical and courageous aspects of masculinity in order to more strongly associate with sedentary, intellectual pursuits. He wrote this into his recollections of his Grand Tour, recalling ‘In the exercises of the body which have been reduced to a polite art, I was less successful than in those of the mind’.¹ Yet this disengagement was not straightforward. Gibbon ignored how his younger self begged his father for riding, fencing and dancing lessons.² Equally, even in his memoirs, his rejection of hardy, martial and physical masculine ideals remained entangled with his admiration for them. Despite rejecting the ‘exercises of the body’ and country sports, he celebrated his ability to pass through the Continent disguised as ‘a Swiss Officer in the Dutch service’.³ Through noting the success of this disguise, Gibbon made a quiet claim concerning the nature of his bearing and physique. Equally, it is perhaps significant that he felt the need to justify the sedate nature of his month-long tour of the Alps in 1755, that did not include ‘climbing the Mountains or exploring the Glaciers (which were not yet famous or fashionable)’.⁴ As Chapter Three has shown, Gibbon’s claim was not entirely correct and even when he returned to Switzerland in the 1760s, he failed to join his friend, John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, in his interactions with the Alpine landscape. As the opening passage of this thesis demonstrated, despite his refusal to present a hardy or martial masculinity, Gibbon clearly idealised it. Not only did he admire the ‘indefatigable’ traveller, he also celebrated the civic bravery of the militiamen. For example, during the Gordon Riots, Gibbon imagined Holroyd as embodying the very image of civic masculinity as he performed ‘very bold and able service’, among the flames with the Northumberland militia’.⁵

¹ BL, Add. Ms. 34874 C, “Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon,” 14-15.

² BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 5, 1st March 1755, Gibbon, Lausanne, to Edward Gibbon.

³ BL, Add. Ms. 34874 C, “Memoirs,” 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 15, 41.

⁵ Gibbon, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon*, ed. John Baker-Holroyd, 1st Earl of Sheffield (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1827), vol. 2., 212.

Gibbon and Holroyd's friendship demonstrates the co-existence and interaction between elite men that adhered to very different masculinities, as does the friendship between Horace Walpole and Henry Seymour Conway, or Nuneham's admiration for his father, Harcourt's martial exploits. This is important evidence that the Grand Tour and elite masculine society advocated an array of masculine cultures that were held within the spectrum of elite masculinity. A Grand Tour following roughly the same routes and itineraries could result in Nuneham and Villiers, who advocated masculinities centred upon the Man of Feeling and the extremes of fashion, Walpole and Thomas Gray, who focused upon their literary personas, and those such as Holroyd and Herbert, whose masculine identities centred upon the hardy and the martial. As an institution that was inherently part of elite culture, the Grand Tour supported the construction and affirmation of elite young men that mirrored all the complexity and versatility of the adult elite male spectrum.

This thesis maps out fresh territory in terms of scholarly understanding of the Grand Tour and the dynamics influencing the formation, performance and construction of masculine identities. Like all new research, it has left various avenues unexplored and opened up new areas for further questioning. In covering a wide array of historiographies and approaching the conjunction between danger, the Grand Tour and masculinity in multiple ways, certain regions, themes and methodological approaches have not been fully explored. For example, the precise nature, timeline and practicalities of the Grand Tour's martial curricula, involvement with academies, universities, and mountains could all be more fully delineated, while more could certainly be said on the extent of interaction and familiarity between British and Continental authorities in medicine, or about the exchange between middle, gentry and aristocratic strata of society via the relationship between the tutor and the Grand Tourists. As discussed in the Introduction, little space has been given to the hazards surrounding politics and religion on the Grand Tour. Catholicism and the Stuart Court are perhaps two of the most obvious examples of this hazard, yet more could also be said about the radical end of Protestantism and Republicanism, while the Grand Tourist's involvement in and awareness of the political machinations and power plays of the different Continental powers also merits closer consideration. This in turn could complement a further testing of my hypothesis regarding the socio-political importance of the Grand Tour's social agenda, and the political influence of the relational network it contributed upon international and domestic political, martial and diplomatic activities. Having addressed the significance of non-Italian destinations throughout my thesis, I must also acknowledge that these geographies also held many attractions that were not linked to socialising, the military or to hazard. Equally, further work could be done on the extremities of Europe, which were only briefly addressed in relation to Herbert, Coxe and Floyd's Scandinavian near-shipwreck. At the same time, the Grand Tour's visual dimensions might also be fruitfully explored,

particularly in relationship to Vesuvius, which has also received little attention. For example, Jakob Philipp Hackert and Pierre-Jacques Volaire's depictions of the Vesuvius eruptions in 1774 both show British and French Grand Tourists placing their bodies in close physical proximity to the lava, eruption and terrain of the volcanoes. While artistic licence must be taken into consideration, this could provide an interesting new insight into the physical and sensory experience of danger on the Grand Tour.

The Grand Tour did not exist in isolation. Many of the various conclusions reached here could be fruitfully tested in the context of elite and other masculine cultures in Britain. Did elite men retain this degree of versatility and co-existence back home, and were social dynamics as influential in shaping masculine identities in other social strata? Did concepts of danger and physical testing remain important to elite men throughout their lives? Finally, to finish by looking beyond the elite male traveller, little has been said on the role of danger, hardship and physicality in other cultures of eighteenth-century travel. Did older elite male travellers retain their youthful attitudes to danger or did the pressures of proving one's masculinity alter as one grew older? Did men from the middling sorts hold similar attitudes, or did their masculine identity demand different performances? Equally, would it be correct to presume that female travellers would shy away from physical and courageous confrontations with hazard? Both Rosemary Sweet's analysis of female travellers and Vesuvius, and Simon Bainbridge's discussion of women and mountains in Britain suggest a more complex answer. Did danger continue to hold formative properties across the broad array of British travellers, or was it perceived differently?

Finally, Gibbon's reflections on the ideal traveller were written on the cusp of the French Revolution. Scholarly discussions of British masculinity during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars have drawn attention to its increasingly martial and courageous nature. Equally, scholars dealing with the subsequent cultures of Romantic travel and masculinity have emphasised the central role of transformative experiences of danger. While this thesis has outlined the continuities between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it would be interesting to pursue in more detail the continuities between the eighteenth-century elite man and Grand Tour and their late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century successors.

Appendices

Appendix 1

The Grand Tours of Joseph Spence

Joseph Spence (1699–1768) was a literary scholar. His father, Joseph (*bp.* 1661, *d.* 1715), was precentor of Winchester cathedral. Spence was ordained in 1726 and elected to the Oxford chair of poetry in 1728. He undertook three Grand Tours as a tutor throughout the 1730s and 40s. The main primary sources for all three tours come from the printed edition of Spence's manuscript letters to his mother, Mirabella, his Grand Tour journals, and letters between Lincoln and the Duke of Newcastle, edited by Slava Klima.

The Grand Tour of Charles Sackville, Lord Middlesex (later 2nd Duke of Dorset), 1731-33

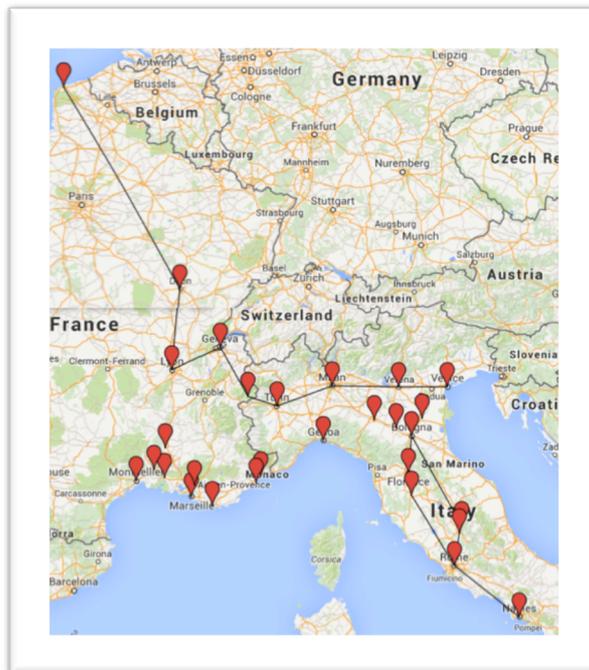


Fig. 10. Map of Middlesex and Spence's Grand Tour, 1731-33

Middlesex (1711–69) was the eldest son of Lionel Cranfield Sackville, first duke of Dorset (1688–1765), and Elizabeth (1687–1768), the daughter of Lieutenant-General Walter Philip Colyear. His father undertook a Grand Tour in 1706–07.¹ Middlesex was educated at Westminster School (1720–28) and Christ Church, Oxford.²

¹ John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven: YUP, 1997), 307.

² G. F. R. Barker, "Sackville, Charles, second duke of Dorset (1711–1769)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/24443, (accessed 9 July 2015).

His Tour began at the academies of Dijon and Lyon, where he and Spence spent February-September 1731. The rest of the Tour focused upon Italy and southern France. Alongside reputedly founding a masonic lodge in Florence in 1733 and gaining a passion for Italian opera, Middlesex and Spence made a number of friendships that became the foundation of the Society of the Dilettanti.³

Upon his return, Middlesex had a political career but was more passionate in promoting arts.⁴ His marriage resulted in no children, and the title descended to his nephew, John Frederick Sackville (1745–99), who undertook a Grand Tour in 1777-71.⁵

The Grand Tour of John Morley Trevor, 1737-38

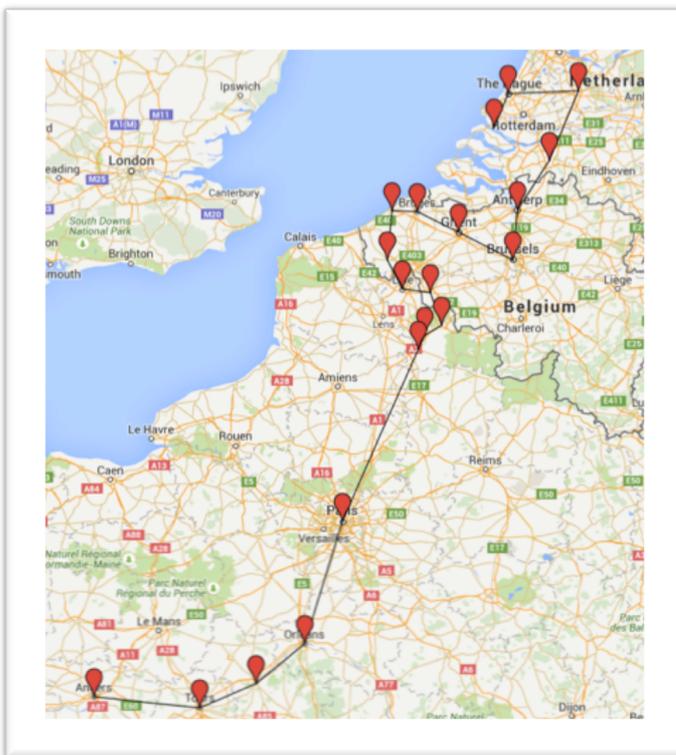


Fig. 11. Map of Trevor and Spence's Grand Tour, 1737-38

Little is known about Trevor (1717–43), who was a distant relative of the Duke of

³ Slava Klima, "Introduction," in Joseph Spence, *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 3-7.

⁴ Barker, "Sackville," *ODNB*.

⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 306; Gerald M. D. Howat, "Sackville, John Frederick, third duke of Dorset (1745–1799)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/24445, (accessed 10th July 2015).

Newcastle. His Tour focused upon the Netherlands, Flanders and France. It had a premature end when Trevor was hastily recalled to Britain to run for a contested seat in a by-election.⁶

The Grand Tour of Henry Fiennes Pelham- Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln and 2nd Duke of Newcastle under Lyme, 1739-41

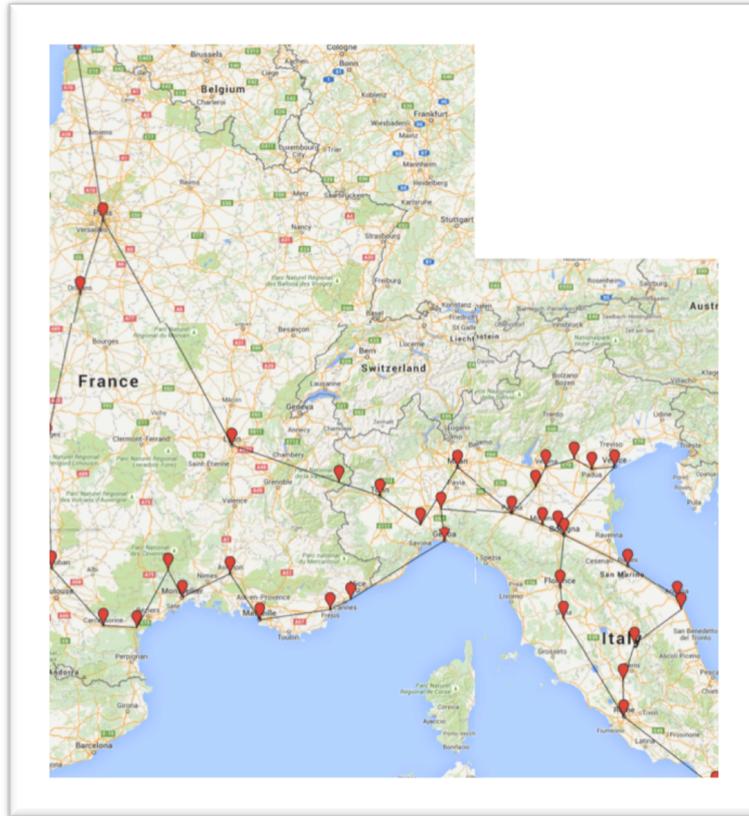


Fig. 12. Map of Lincoln and Spence's Grand Tour, 1739-41

Lincoln (1720–94) was the second son and only surviving child of Henry Clinton, seventh earl of Lincoln (1684–28) and Lucy (1692–1736), daughter of Thomas, first Baron Pelham. Part of the powerful Pelham family, upon his father's death, he was adopted by his childless uncle, Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (1693–1768), key leader of the Whig party and later prime minister. He was educated at Eton College and Clare College, Cambridge.⁷

⁶ James Sambrook, "Spence, Joseph (1699–1768)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/26111, (accessed 9th July 2015); Klima, "Introduction," in *Letters*, 7.

⁷ Klima, "Introduction," in *Letters*, 8; S. M. Farrell, "Clinton, Henry Fiennes Pelham-, ninth earl of Lincoln and second duke of Newcastle under Lyme (1720–1794)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/5683, (accessed 9th July 2015).

Lincoln and Spence's Tour began with a lengthy stay at the *Accademia Reale* in Turin from October 1739-September 1740. This was followed by a tour of Italy. They reached Rome in December 1740 and Venice by June 1741. Newcastle had become increasingly anxious over the escalation of the War of Austrian Succession and Lincoln's vulnerability as heir to a key British minister. Lincoln and Spence thought his concerns exaggerated, but he ordered their return via the south of France. They reached Paris by September 1741, where they lingered, despite Newcastle's protests, until October.

As Klima observes, Lincoln and Spence's time in Italy was augmented by the presence of other Grand Tourists and British travellers, such as Walpole, Gray, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Lady Pomfret and her family. This had favorable outcomes but also resulted in complications, as Lincoln fell in love with the Pomfrets' daughter. Fortunately for the Pelhams, he reached Britain love-lorn but unpromised.⁸

Upon his return, Lincoln took his seat in the House of Lords and followed the political lead of his uncles, Newcastle and Henry Pelham. He was appointed lord lieutenant of Cambridgeshire in 1742, and received a series of lucrative offices from his uncles throughout his life. He married his first cousin, Catherine Pelham (1727–60) and preferred the pleasures of sport and the country to a life of politics.⁹ Spence directly benefited from the Pelhams' patronage. In 1742, he became regius professor of modern history at Oxford and in 1748 Lincoln gave him the lifetime use of a house in Surrey.¹⁰

⁸ Klima, "Introduction," in *Letters*, 8-10.

⁹ Farrell, "Lincoln," *ODNB*.

¹⁰ Sambrook, "Spence," *ODNB*.

Appendix 2

The Grand Tour of Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray and Henry Seymour Conway, 1739-41

Families and Early Education

Walpole (1717–97) was the younger son of Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford (1676–1745), a leading Whig politician and prime minister, and Catherine, *née* Shorter (*d.* 1737), the daughter of a dealer in the Baltic trade. His cousin, Henry Seymour Conway (1719–95), was the second son of Francis Seymour Conway, 1st Baron Conway (1679–1732), and his third wife, Charlotte, *née* Shorter (*c.*1683–1734). Thomas Gray (1716–71) was the son of Philip Gray (1676–1741), a scrivener, and Dorothy Antrobus (1685–1753).¹¹

All three attended Eton College, where Walpole, Gray, Thomas Ashton, and Richard West formed the ‘quadruple alliance’, a close friendship bound by strong literary inclinations. Conway and Walpole maintained a strong friendship, as well as befriending others, such as George Selwyn, Charles Lyttelton, and George Montagu. From 1734–38, Walpole and Gray attended Cambridge, and in 1737, Conway was commissioned lieutenant in the 5th dragoons.¹²

¹¹ Paul Langford, “Walpole, Horatio, fourth earl of Orford (1717–1797),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28596, (accessed 9th July 2015); John D. Baird, “Gray, Thomas (1716–1771),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/11356, (accessed 9th July 2015); Clive Towse, “Conway, Henry Seymour (1719–1795),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/6122, (accessed 9th July 2015).

¹² *Ibid.*

Grand Tour

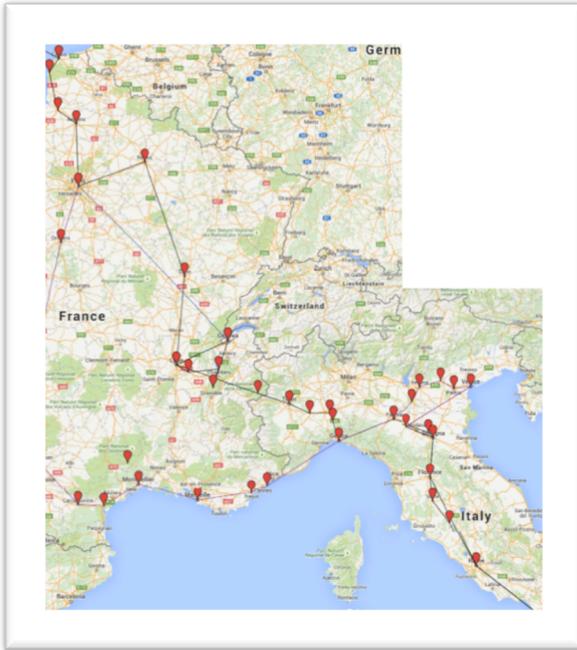


Fig. 13. Map of Walpole, Gray and Conway's Grand Tour, 1739-41

(Note: The blue line shows Conway's route after separating from the others. The red line shows Walpole's route after separating from Gray.)

Walpole and Gray began their Grand Tour in March 1739, and were joined by Conway in May. They stayed in Paris for two months, before attending an academy in Rheims from June-August. They travelled to Genoa, where Conway remained from October 1739-February 1740, before returning home via Paris. Walpole and Spence proceeded into Italy. They reached Florence in December 1739 and spent March-July 1740 in Rome and Naples, before returning to Florence for a protracted stay from July 1740-April 1741. Walpole and Gray's relationship had become increasingly frayed. They argued bitterly at Reggio in May 1741. Gray proceeded to Venice, while Walpole remained and was taken seriously ill. They were forced to share a house in Venice but Gray returned to England alone while Walpole travelled with Lincoln and Spence through southern France. Walpole's route might initially have been planned to cover Austria, Germany and the Netherlands, but this was abandoned. Like Newcastle, Walpole's father had become increasingly anxious over the War of Austrian Succession.¹³ The main primary sources for this Grand Tour come from the printed editions of Gray's correspondence with his family and others (edited by Paget Jackson Toynbee and Leonard Whibley) and Walpole's extensive correspondence (edited by W. L. Lewis).

¹³ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 425-26, 974-76; Langford, "Walpole," *ODNB*.

Future Careers

Conway went on to an active political and military career. He was in the Netherlands from 1742 onwards, and served as aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, Field Marshal George Wade in 1744, and Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland in 1745, as well as distinguishing himself in the battle of Fontenoy on 30 April 1745, where only twenty-four of his company survived.¹⁴ In contrast, Walpole sat in parliament but largely confined his role in politics to that of observer and commentator. He instead focused upon social, literary and aesthetic pursuits.¹⁵ Gray returned to Cambridge and established himself a scholar, becoming professor of Modern History in 1768, and a poet, publishing, amongst other works, his famous *Elegy Written in A Graveyard* (1751).¹⁶

¹⁴ Towse, "Conway," *ODNB*.

¹⁵ Langford, "Walpole," *ODNB*.

¹⁶ Baird, "Gray," *ODNB*.

Appendix 3

The Common Room Club, c. 1738-44

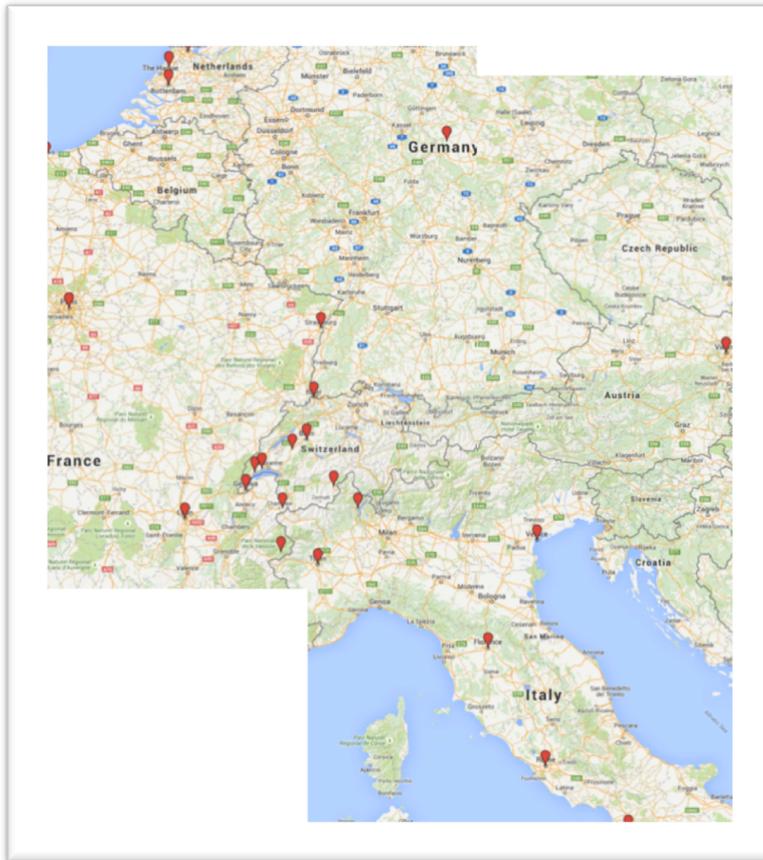


Fig. 14. Map of the Common Room club's Grand Tour destinations, c. 1738-44

(Note: The sporadic nature of this group's Grand Tour material means that plotting routes is not possible.)

The Common Room was a homosocial club established by English, Scottish and German Grand Tourists and tutors in Geneva in the late 1730s and early 1740s. Alongside evenings spent in a communal 'Common Room', they engaged in a wide variety of pursuits. The following section details the biographies and Grand Tours of members of the Common Room who played a key or particularly vocal role in the club. Other members not discussed here included John Hervey, Earl of Bristol, and Walter Chetwynd. The main primary sources for the Common Room are as follows: The Norfolk Record Office holds correspondence and papers relating to the Common Room and the Windham family. The Berkshire Record Office holds Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour diary, and the British Library contains Richard Pococke's letters and diaries. The publications of Pococke, William Coxe, and Peter Martel [and William Windham] also deal with the Common Room club's members and activities.

William Windham and his tutor, Benjamin Stillingfleet, 1738-42

Windham (1717–61) was the only son of Ashe Windham, a Norfolk landowner. Ashe Windham undertook his Grand Tour in 1693–96, with his tutor, Patrick St Claire. Windham was tutored by St Claire and Stillingfleet before his travels. Stillingfleet (1702–71) was the only son of Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), bishop of Worcester. Educated at Cambridge, he was a skilled botanist. Windham and Stillingfleet’s Grand Tour covered Paris, Lyon, Switzerland, parts of Italy, and Vienna.¹⁷

Robert Price, 1738–41

Price (1717–61) was the son of Uvedale Tomkins Price (1685–1764) and his wife, Anne, the daughter of Lord Arthur Somerset. Uvedale undertook a Grand Tour c. 1711. Price followed suite. He met Windham and Stillingfleet in Geneva, and travelled through Italy with them. He was taught to draw in Rome by Giovanni Battista Busiri, whose work he smuggled back into Britain in his viola case. He left Geneva in 1741, and was in Paris by November.¹⁸

Richard Aldworth Neville, c.1739–45

Aldworth (1717–93) was the only son of Richard Aldworth of Stanlake, and Catherine, daughter of Richard Neville MP, of Billingbear. He was educated at Eton College and Oxford. He travelled to France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. Alongside his friendship with the Common Room, he was well-acquainted with Lincolns, Spence, and Walpole, alongside Walpole’s relative, Horatio Walpole, and others.¹⁹

Benjamin Tate and his tutor, Thomas Dampier, c.1739–41

Known largely through their lively correspondence with the other ‘Bloods’ after they left Geneva, Tate and Dampier’s Grand Tour included Germany and Netherlands.

Thomas Hamilton, seventh earl of Haddington, his brother, the Hon. George Baillie, and their tutor, Rev. John Williamson, c.1739–41

Hamilton (1720/21–95) and Baillie were the sons of Charles Hamilton, Lord Binning (1697–1732), and Rachel, *née* Baillie (1696–1773), and the grandchildren of the formidable Lady Griselle Baillie. Little is known of their Grand Tour beyond their involvement with the Common Room.²⁰

¹⁷ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 1011.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 787.

¹⁹ G. Le G. Norgate, “Neville, Richard Neville Aldworth (1717–1793)”, *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/19960, (accessed 9th July 2015); Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 12.

²⁰ Richard B. Sher, “Poker Club (*act.* 1762–1784)”, *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/75536 (accessed 9th July 2015).

Richard Pococke

An older and far more experienced traveller, Pococke (1704–65) was not a Grand Tourist. By 1734, he was already a vicar-general, and undertook a series of European travels between 1733 and 1736 with his cousin Jeremiah Milles. His next journey, from 1737-40, covered the Near East. Upon his return, he went to Naples and twice climbed Vesuvius. In the summer of 1741, he stopped briefly in Geneva, but enjoyed the company of the Common Room so much that he extended his stay. His diary entries provide an interesting insight into the Common Room and its members. He returned to England in 1742, and published his *Description of the East* (1743, 1745). In 1756 he was appointed Bishop of Ossory, and became a travel and antiquarian authority.²¹

Later Careers

The Common Room maintained a sense of cohesiveness upon its return to Britain. They made enthusiastic attempts to promote the artists, musicians and scientists they had discovered during their travels, and recreated the Common Room during their bachelor days in London.²² They remained friends throughout their lifetimes, acting as guardians to their children and executors to their wills. Price, Haddington, Tate and Windham settled into undistinguished lives as country gentlemen and local figures. Haddington, who took ‘no part in public affairs’ was a member of Edinburgh’s Poker Club, which agitated for the establishment of a Scottish militia.²³ Dampier became a lower master of Eton College and dean of Durham, while Stillingfleet received an annuity of £100 a year from the Windham family, and furthered his literary and scientific pursuits.²⁴ The Linnaean system gained wider recognition through his *Miscellaneous Tracts* (1759).²⁵

In 1747, Aldworth became MP for Reading. He served in a number of political offices, and was involved in the 1762 Paris peace negotiations. He lost office when Rockingham came to power and afterwards was relatively uninvolved in politics.²⁶ He married Magdalen

²¹ Elizabeth Baigent, “Pococke, Richard (1704–1765),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22432, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

²² I. D. Hughes, “Stillingfleet, Benjamin (1702–1771),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/26525, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

²³ Sher, “Poker Club,” *ODNB*.

²⁴ E. S. Shuckburgh, “Dampier, Thomas (*bap.* 1749, *d.* 1812),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7086, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

²⁵ Hughes, “Stillingfleet,” *ODNB*.

²⁶ Norgate, “Neville.”

Calendrini, the daughter of Francis Calendrini, the first syndic of Geneva. It is most likely that they met while he was in Geneva. Of all subsequent careers, Windham's appeared to generate the most disappointment. Unable to apply himself, he failed to make any public mark and committed the social solecism of breaking a marital engagement. He lived with various mistresses until marrying Sarah Lukin in 1750. His failures were partly redeemed by his involvement the campaign for a national militia.

It seems fair to say their children attained far greater status. For example, Price's son, Sir Uvedale Price (1747–1829) undertook a Grand Tour c.1767-78, and established a reputation as an aesthetic critic and rural improver.²⁷ Windham's son, William Windham (1750–1810) continued the family interest in boxing, the militia, and travel, undertaking an extensive Grand Tour in the 1770s. He was publically acknowledged as one of the gifted young men of his generation, vacillating between love of academic study and the duties of a public career.²⁸

²⁷ David Whitehead, "Price, Sir Uvedale, first baronet (1747–1829)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22769, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

²⁸ David Wilkinson, "Windham, William (1750–1810)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29725, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

Appendix 4

The Grand Tour of Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny his brother, George Lennox, and Abraham Trembley, 1750-55

Family and Early Education

Richmond (1735–1806), was the heir of Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny (1701–50) and his wife, Sarah (1706–51), the daughter of William Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan.²⁹ His father undertook a Grand Tour in 1719-22.³⁰

Grand Tour

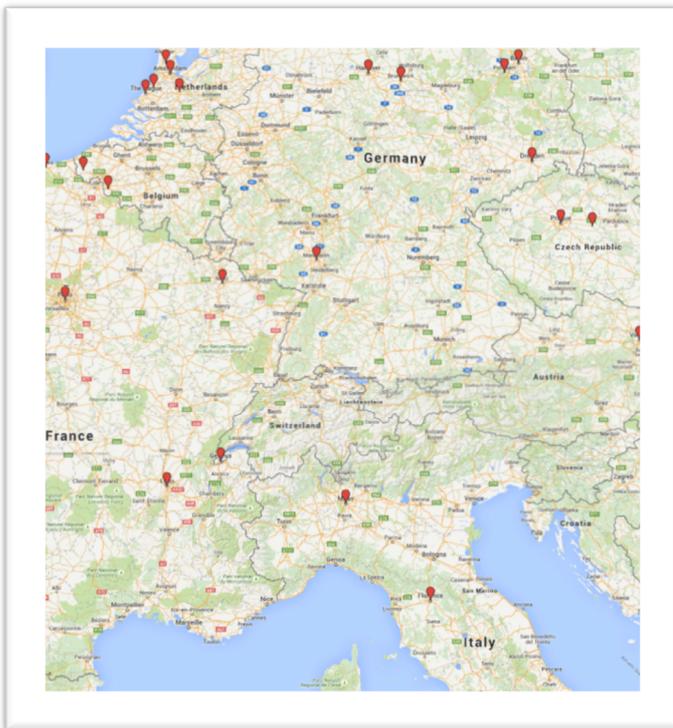


Fig. 15. Map of Richmond's Grand Tour destinations, c. 1750-55

(Note: The sporadic nature of Richmond's Grand Tour material means that plotting routes is not possible.)

Richmond was at Westminster School before moving to Geneva with his tutor, Trembley in 1750. His father and mother died in 1750 and 1751, and he and his siblings were

²⁹ William C. Lowe, "Lennox, Charles, third duke of Richmond, third duke of Lennox, and duke of Aubigny in the French nobility (1735–1806)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16451, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

³⁰ Timothy J. McCann, "Lennox, Charles, second duke of Richmond, second duke of Lennox, and duke of Aubigny in the French nobility (1701–1750)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16450, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

placed under the joint guardianship of Henry Fox, 1st Baron Holland of Foxley (1705-74), who was married to his sister, Lady (Georgiana) Caroline Lennox (1723-74), and was secretary of war; William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle (1702-54), who was married to his aunt, Lady Anne Lennox (1703-89), and was the Ambassador to Paris; Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768), who was the prime minister and a close family friend; alongside James Fitzgerald, 20th Earl of Kildare (1722-1773), who was married to Richmond's sister, Lady Emily Lennox (1731-14), Charles Cadogan, second Baron Cadogan of Oakley (1684/5-1776), and the lawyer George Hill.³¹

He remained in Geneva, with visits to Hanover, until 1752, when he was removed amidst concerns that he had become entangled with a low Genevan woman. He went to Paris to Albemarle until February 1753, when he briefly returned to England. In May 1753, he began his 'proper' Grand Tour, attended by Trembley and Captain Carleton. They began in Tournai and the south of France, before moving on to the German Courts. In November 1753, he was Manheim with Dartmouth and North. From c. January-May 1754, he attended Leiden University, and was joined by his brother, Lord George Henry Lennox (1737-1805) for the rest of the Grand Tour. Prior to this, George had been in Paris under the care of Albemarle. In May 1754, they started a tour of northern Holland, and by October, they had reached Vienna via Berlin. They spent most of 1755 in Italy before returning to Paris.

The main primary sources for this Grand Tour come from the BL's manuscript collection of Newcastle's correspondence, which includes correspondence with Richmond, Trembley, and Richmond's parents and guardians.

Later Career

Richmond and George followed their father into the army. He had divided his time between a military and political career.³² Richmond followed suite. By 1756, he was lieutenant-colonel in the 33rd foot (1756), and served in the Netherlands and Germany. In 1758 he was colonel of the 72nd foot and took part in the raid on Cherbourg. In 1759, he was at Minden as aide-de-camp to Prince Frederick of Brunswick. He left active service in 1760, but retained a lifelong interest in military and militia affairs, serving as lord lieutenant of Sussex in 1763. He was one of the most visible and erratic political figures of his generation and maintaining a passionate interest in art, sports and scientific agriculture. He had a childless but happy marriage with Lady Mary Bruce (1740-96), the daughter of Charles

³¹ Lowe, "Richmond," *ODNB*.

³² McCann, "Lennox, Charles, second duke of Richmond," *ODNB*.

Bruce, 3rd Earl of Ailesbury.³³

George had a long military career, and George III held a high opinion of him as a soldier. He campaigned in Germany in 1757, and took part in the 1758 expedition to Cherbourg. In 1760-61, he served in Germany and in 1762 was made aide-de-camp to the king. Lennox became major-general in 1772, lieutenant-general in 1777, and constable of the Tower of London in 1783. He had an active political career under his brother's patronage. He married Louisa Kerr, the daughter of William Henry Kerr, Lord Ancram. Their son, Charles Lennox (1764-1819) succeeded as 4th Duke of Richmond.³⁴

³³ Lowe, "Richmond," *ODNB*.

³⁴ W. A. J. Archbold, "Lennox, Lord George Henry (1737-1805)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16455, (accessed 1 Feb 2013).

Appendix 5

The Grand Tour of Frederick North, 2nd Earl of Guilford and William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, 1751-54

Family and Education

North (1732–92) was the eldest son of Francis North, then 3rd Baron and later 1st Earl of Guilford (1704–90) and his first wife, Lady Lucy Montagu (*d.* 1734), daughter of George, 1st Earl of Halifax. Francis North undertook his own Grand Tour c. 1722.³⁵ Dartmouth (1731–1801), was the second and only surviving son of George Legge, Viscount Lewisham (1704–32), and his wife, Elizabeth (1707–45), the daughter and heir of Sir Arthur Kaye.³⁶ There is no mention of his father’s Grand Tour, but his grandfather, William Legge, 1st Earl of Dartmouth, undertook his in 1691-93.³⁷ Dartmouth’s father died in 1732 and North’s mother died in 1734. In 1736, Francis North and Elizabeth Legge married. The two boys became step-brothers and life-long friends. When Elizabeth died in 1745, Dartmouth remained part of the North family. Educated together at Eton, Westminster and Oxford, they also undertook their Grand Tours together.³⁸

³⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 712.

³⁶ Peter Marshall, “Legge, William, second earl of Dartmouth (1731–1801),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16360 (accessed 26 June 2012).

³⁷ Stuart Handley, “Legge, William, first earl of Dartmouth (1672–1750),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16359, (accessed 28 May 2015); Marshall, “Dartmouth,” *ODNB*.

³⁸ Peter D. G. Thomas, “North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792),” *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20304, (accessed 28 May 2015); Marshall, “Dartmouth,” *ODNB*.

Grand Tour

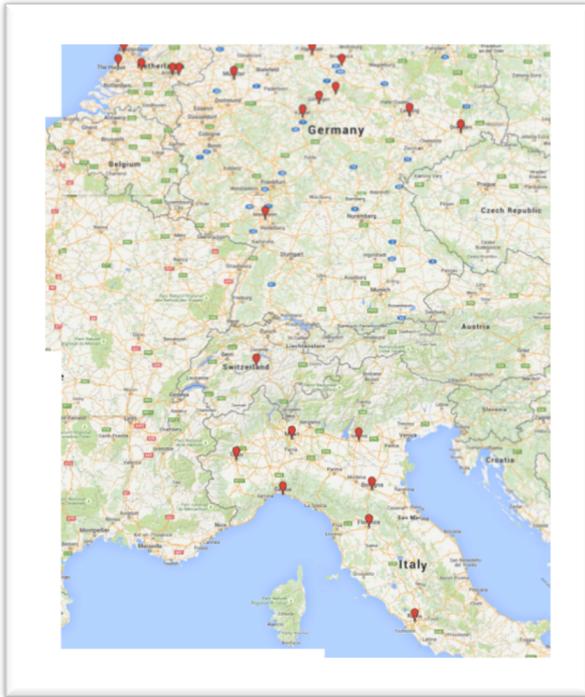


Fig. 16. Map of North and Dartmouth's Grand Tour destinations, 1751-54

(Note: The sporadic nature of their Grand Tour material means that plotting routes is not possible.)

Beginning in the Netherlands and several months of studying at Leipzig University, North and Dartmouth's Grand Tour covered Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and France.³⁹ The key primary source for their Grand Tour comes from the BL's collection of Newcastle's correspondence, which includes letters from North and Dartmouth. The BL and SRO also hold letters from North and Dartmouth to other recipients, and Dartmouth's Grand Tour journal.

Later Career

In 1756, North married Anne (1739/40–97), daughter of George Speke.⁴⁰ Dartmouth married Frances Catherine (1732/3–1805), the daughter Sir Charles Gunter Nicholl, in 1755. Both enjoyed extremely happy marriages. Dartmouth and Frances were united by powerful evangelical religious conviction. He sat in the House of Lords but initially showed little political will. His decision in 1765 to join the Rockingham ministry as president of the Board of Trade occasioned general surprise, and he was closely involved in the politics surrounding the War of American Independence. In 1776, he became lord privy seal and his direct political

³⁹ Marshall, "Dartmouth," *ODNB*.

⁴⁰ Thomas, "North," *ODNB*.

involvement faded.⁴¹ In contrast, by 1759, North had leap-frogged minor offices by becoming a lord of the Treasury. Despite supporting Newcastle, he served under the Grenville ministry (1763–65), moved into the front rank of parliamentary debaters, and took lead role in the *North Briton* case. By 1770, he had become party leader and was to be prime minister for the next twelve years. He remained politically active throughout his life.⁴²

Several of North and Dartmouth's sons undertook Grand Tours. Dartmouth's heir, Lewisham, and his second and third sons, William and Charles, undertook a Grand Tour in 1775-78 (See Appendix 10). Lewisham and Stevenson recorded meeting up with North's three sons, George, Francis and Frederick, while in Switzerland in 1777, while John Ingamells suggests they were also abroad in the early 1790s.⁴³

⁴¹ Marshall, "Dartmouth," *ODNB*.

⁴² Thomas, "North," *ODNB*.

⁴³ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 712.

Appendix 6

The Grand Tour of Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, 1751-54

Family and education

Pembroke (1734–94), was the only child of Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke and 6th Earl of Montgomery (c.1689–1750), and his wife, Mary Fitzwilliam (1707–69), the daughter of Richard Fitzwilliam, 5th Viscount Fitzwilliam.⁴⁴ His father undertook a Grand Tour in 1711-13.⁴⁵ Pembroke attended Eton College.⁴⁶

Grand Tour

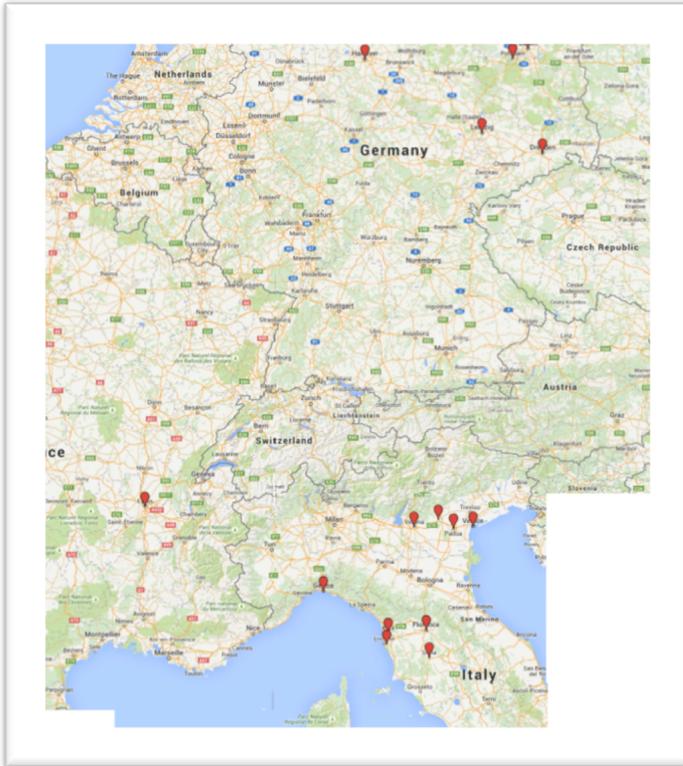


Fig. 17. Map of Pembroke's Grand Tour destinations, 1751-54

(Note: The sporadic nature of his Grand Tour material means that plotting routes is not possible.)

Pembroke's Grand Tour certainly covered France, Germany, Austria and Italy, but

⁴⁴ J. E. O. Screen, "Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke and seventh earl of Montgomery (1734–1794)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13034, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁴⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 486.

⁴⁶ Screen, "Pembroke," *ODNB*.

may have also included the Netherlands and Switzerland.⁴⁷ Newcastle's correspondence with Pembroke and other Grand Tourists show that he was part of a group of elite young men who constantly met up in different European cities or travelled together for short periods of time. He travelled a lot in later life, spending periods of the 1770s and 1780s abroad.⁴⁸ The key primary source for his Grand Tour comes from the BL's collection of Newcastle's correspondence, which includes correspondence with Pembroke and his mother.

Later Career

In 1752, Pembroke was appointed a cornet in the 1st King's dragoon guards. He served in Germany during the Seven Years' War and was promoted major-general in 1761 and put on the staff. This was rapid advancement, even for a rich aristocrat. Pembroke was present at the battles of Warburg (31 July 1760) and Vellinghausen (15–16 July 1761) and acquired a good reputation. He was promoted lieutenant-general in 1770 and general in 1782. Other appointments included colonel of the Wiltshire militia (1770-78) and governor of Portsmouth from June 1782.⁴⁹

Pembroke first sat in the House of Lords in 1755. He and his wife were very much part of court circles, and he increasingly hated and voted against North's politics in the 1780s. He married Lady Elizabeth Spencer (1737–1831), the second daughter of Charles Spencer, 3rd Duke of Marlborough. Described by his son as 'perhaps ... the most unaccountable of all human beings', Pembroke was erratic and libertine in nature.⁵⁰ His marriage was fraught with difficulties that manifested in his son's Grand Tour. In 1762 he scandalously eloped abroad with Elizabeth Catherine (Kitty) Hunter, the daughter of Thomas Orby Hunter MP. Lady Pembroke took her husband back in March 1763, but they lived much apart and he was often abroad.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 753.

⁴⁹ Screen, "Pembroke," *ODNB*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Appendix 7

The Grand Tour of George Bussy Villiers, later 4th Earl of Jersey, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, and tutor, William Whitehead, 1754-56

Families and Early Education

Nuneham (1736-1809) was the eldest son of Simon Harcourt, 1st Earl Harcourt (1714–1777), and Rebecca (*d.* 1765), the daughter of Charles Sambourne Le Bas.⁵² Harcourt undertook a Grand Tour in 1730-34.⁵³ His career that mingled court, politics and the military. He was present with the King at the battle of Dettingen, raised a regiment during the 1745 Jacobite rising of 1745, and became a general in 1772.⁵⁴ Between 1772-77, he was the Irish Viceroy.⁵⁵ Villiers (1735–1805) was the second but only surviving son of William Villiers, 3rd Earl of Jersey (*d.* 1769), and Anne (*d.* 1762), daughter of Scrope Egerton, 1st Duke of Bridgewater. His grandfather, William Villiers, 2nd Earl of Jersey, made the Grand Tour in c. 1702-03, his father in c. 1728-29, and his uncle, Thomas Villiers, 1st Earl of Clarendon in 1733-34.⁵⁶

⁵² Martyn J. Powell, "Harcourt, Simon, first Earl Harcourt (1714–1777)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12245, (accessed 28 May 2015).

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 558, 909; A. F. Pollard, "Villiers, Thomas, first earl of Clarendon (1709–1786)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28302, (accessed 28 May 2015).

Grand Tour

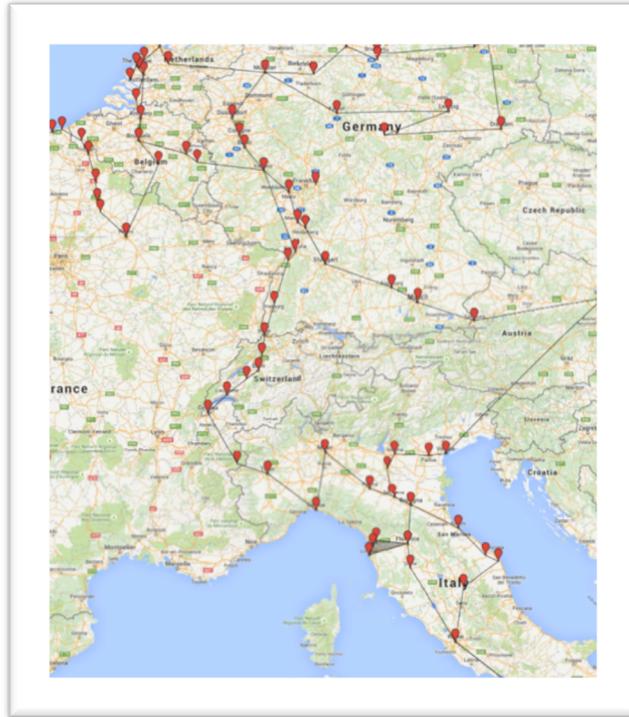


Fig. 18. Map of Villiers and Nuneham's Grand Tour, 1754-56

Beginning in France, Villiers and Nuneham, attended by the future poet laureate William Whitehead (bap. 1715-85), spent the summer of 1754 at an academy in Rheims, before touring the Netherlands and Germany. They proceeded to Leipzig University, where they spent c. November 1754-June 1755. This was followed by another round of German courts, which culminated at Vienna in September 1755. November 1775-June 1756 was spent in Italy. They travelled via Switzerland and Brussels to The Hague, which they reached by September 1756. The key sources for this Grand Tour are Nuneham's letters to his sister (held at the CBS), Villiers and Whitehead's correspondence with Lord and Lady Jersey, and Villier's Grand Tour journals (both held at the LMA).

Later career

Villiers entered the House of Commons as an MP, and was elevated to the House of Lords in 1769. He followed the Duke of Grafton's political lead, and served under Newcastle and Rockingham's ministries. He held a succession of court posts throughout the 1760s-1800, apart from during the period 1777-82 when he was in opposition. In 1770, he married the notoriously unfaithful Frances (1753-1821) daughter of Philip Twysden, bishop of Raphoe.⁵⁷ Far less has been said about Nuneham's subsequent career. He married Elizabeth Venables-

⁵⁷ H. E. Maxwell, "Villiers, George Bussy, fourth earl of Jersey (1735-1805)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28295, (accessed 14 August 2014).

Vernon, daughter of 1st Baron Vernon, in 1765, and inherited his father's title in 1777.⁵⁸

Whitehead published *Epistles* (1757), which had been inspired by his travels, and furthered his career as a poet. The continental tour was his last office as tutor but he lived with the Jerseys as a companion until 1762. Even after this, he remained a constant guest of the Jerseys and Harcourts.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 718.

⁵⁹ Rosemary Scott, "Whitehead, William (*bap.* 1715, *d.* 1785)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29294, (accessed 14 August 2014).

Appendix 8

The Grand Tour of Edward Gibbon, 1753-58 and 1763-65

Family and Early Education

Gibbon (1737–94) was the son of Edward Gibbon (1707–70), MP and farmer, and his first wife, Judith (1709/10–47). He attended Westminster School and Oxford University.⁶⁰

Grand Tour

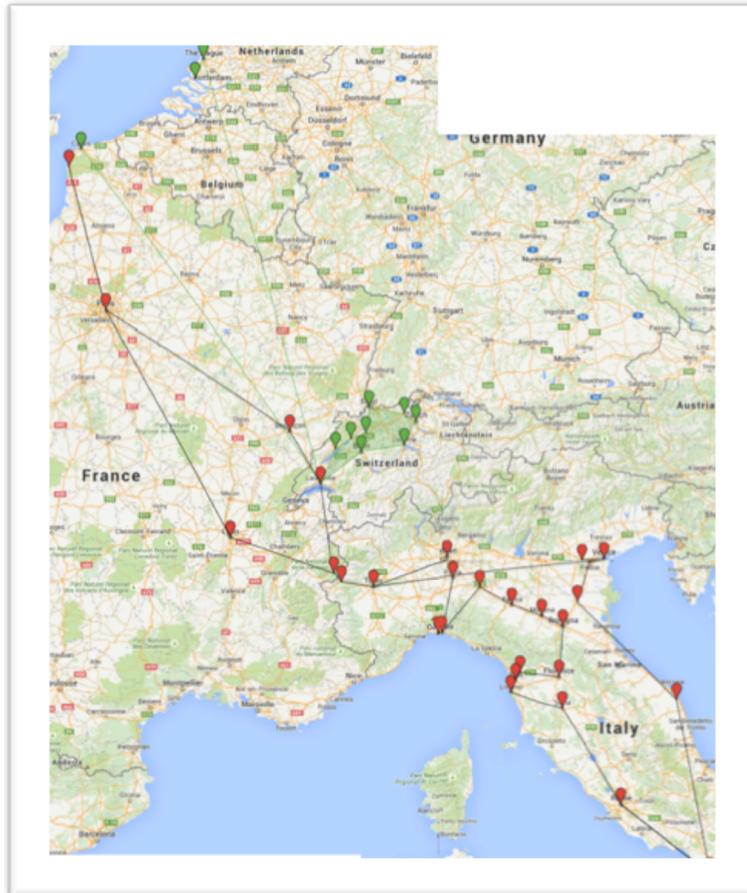


Fig. 19. Map of Gibbon's Educational Travels and Grand Tour, 1753-58 and 1763-66

(Note: The green markers denote his 1753-58 travels, and the red markers indicate his 1763-66 travels.)

Gibbon had two periods abroad. In 1753, following his erstwhile conversion to Catholicism, he was sent to Lausanne under Monsieur Pavilliard, a Swiss Reformed minister who took charge of his education and reconversion to Protestantism. In 1755, they undertook a tour of Switzerland. Gibbon returned to England in 1758, during the Seven Years War and served as captain to his father's major in the South Hampshire militia until 1762. During this

⁶⁰ David Womersley, "Gibbon, Edward (1737–1794)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/10589, (accessed 14 August 2014).

period, he published his first book, *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature* (1761).⁶¹ In 1763, he set off again. After time in Paris, he spent May 1763-April 1764 in Lausanne, where he befriended Holroyd. He travelled Italy with William Guise, who he also met in Lausanne, covering Florence, Rome, Naples and Venice. He had hoped to tour France but was recalled home by 1765.⁶² The key sources for this Grand Tour are Gibbon's letters to family members and his draft memoirs (held at the BL).

Later Career

Gibbon retained his commission in the militia until 1770, rising to the ranks of lieutenant-colonel, and entered into politics. More famously, he embarked on a literary and academic career with numerous publications, including *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire...*(1776-1781).⁶³

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Appendix 9

The Grand Tour of John Baker Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, 1763-66

Family and Education

Holroyd (1735–1821) was the second son of Isaac Holroyd (1707–78), a lawyer, and his wife, Dorothy Baker (*d.* 1777). He was educated in Dublin and was destined for the army. By 1761, he was a captain but his prospects changed when his elder brother was killed in 1762 and he became heir. In 1768, he also succeeded to the estates of his mother's brother, the Revd Jones Baker, and took the name Baker before Holroyd.⁶⁴

Grand Tour

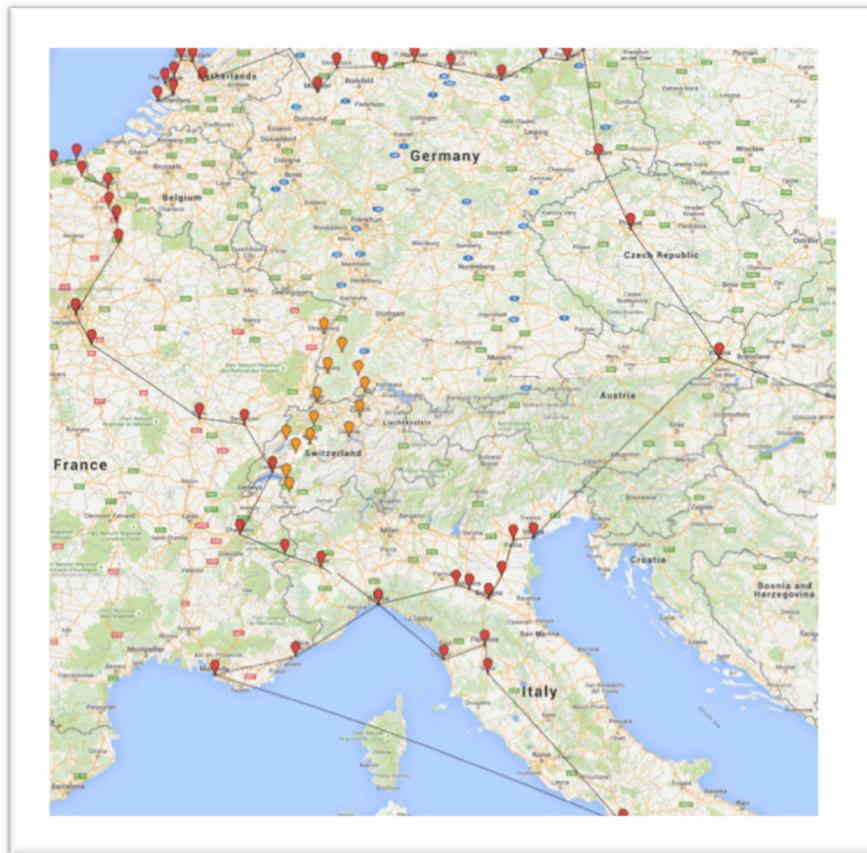


Fig. 20. Map of Holroyd's Grand Tour, 1763-66

(Note: The oranges markers denote destinations visited during his travels in Switzerland. Mapping a coherent route of this part of his travels has not been possible.)

After a brief stay in Paris, Holroyd entered an academy in Lausanne and remained there from August 1763-June 1764. This was broken up by short tours of the Alps. Having made various friends, including Gibbon, he travelled Italy with two other young Grand

⁶⁴ John Cannon, "Holroyd, John Baker, first earl of Sheffield (1735–1821)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13608, (accessed 14 August 2014).

Tourists, Major Richard Ridley (1736-89) and Theophilus Bolton (d. 1765, Genoa). Ridley suffered from rheumatism and his illness slowed their travels several times. Both he and Bolton appear to have fallen ill in Naples. Bolton contracted consumption and eventually died in Genoa, having already said goodbye to Holroyd and Ridley.⁶⁵ Holroyd and Ridley touched the south coast of France, before Holroyd travelled to Venice in September 1765, and into Vienna and Germany, reaching Berlin by October 1765. After travelling through German and the Netherlands, he reached The Hague by January 1766. The key sources for this Grand Tour are Holroyd's letters to family members and his Grand Tour journal (both held at the BL).

Later career

Holroyd had ambitions to play a public role. He finally managed to enter Parliament and supported North's ministry, but had more success in civic military roles. When the American war broke out raised a regiment of light dragoons and became colonel. During the Gordon Riots in June 1780, he prevented Gordon from inciting his supporters and defended the Bank of England from rioters. He received an Irish peerage for his political and military exertions. He married three times, each time into political families, including the Pelham and North families.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 103, 813.

⁶⁶ Cannon, "Holroyd," *ODNB*.

Appendix 10

The Grand Tour of George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, with William Legge, Charles Legge and David Stevenson, 1775-79

Family and education

Lewisham (1755–1810) was the eldest son of William Legge, the 2nd Earl of Dartmouth and his wife (See Appendix 5). He was educated at Harrow School and Oxford.⁶⁷

Grand Tour

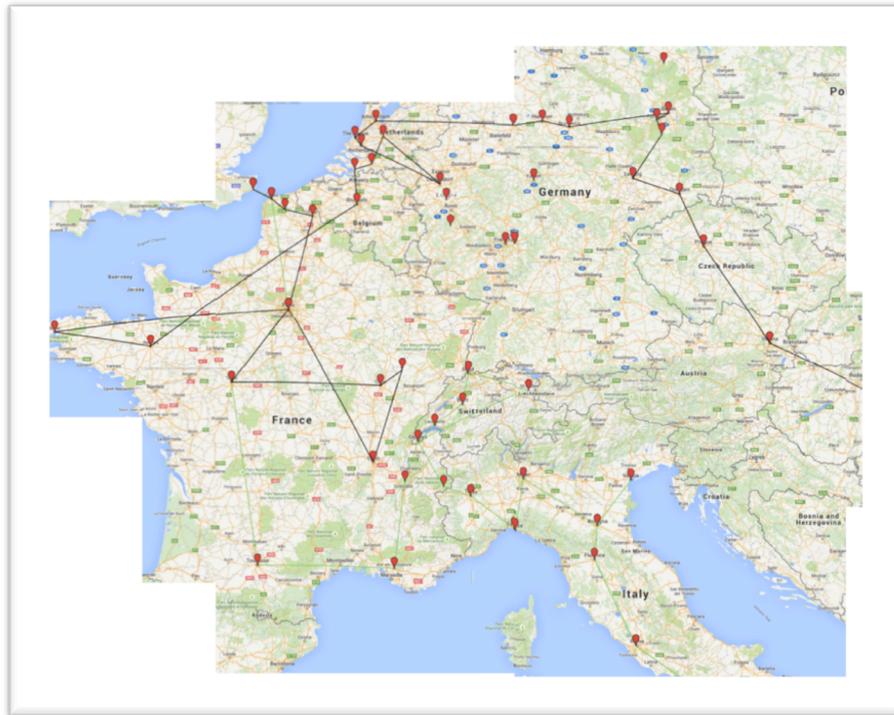


Fig. 21. Map of Lewisham and Stevenson's Grand Tour, 1775-79

(Note: The black lines denote the first stage of their Grand Tour. The orange lines mark the second stage.)

Accompanied throughout by his tutor, David Stevenson, and a servant, Cornwall, Lewisham's Grand Tour had three parts. In 1775, he set off for France with William, his second eldest brother. They spent three months at an academy in Tours, broken up by a trip around the Loire region. By October 1775, they were in Paris, attending further academies. William returned home around mid-December. Lewisham and Stevenson left Paris in March 1776, and were joined by the Dartmouth's third son, Charles, who was destined for the army. They toured the Netherlands, the courts of Germany and reached Vienna in September 1776. Aside from a brief trip into Hungary, they remained in Vienna until at least February 1777.

⁶⁷ J. M. Rigg, "Legge, George, third earl of Dartmouth (1755–1810)," *ODNB*, *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16353, (accessed 14 August 2014).

Lewisham escorted Charles back to England so he could rejoin his regiment. By May 1777, Lewisham and Stevenson set out again. They visited Paris, undertook a tour of southern and central France, followed by a horseback tour of the Alps in August-September 1777. Their time in Italy is far less documented, but they reached Naples by February 1778 and planned to visit Venice. They were probably back in England by February 1779.⁶⁸ The key sources for this Grand Tour are the extensive collections of family correspondence and manuscripts held at the SRO.

Later Career

Lewisham was elected to the House of Commons as an MP in 1778. He gave loyal support to the North administration, but struggled procure a place in government. After the dismissal of Fox and North from office, he lost his seat and undertook an enforced retirement from Westminster politics until Pitt's resignation. Upon his father's death, he became lord steward of the household in 1802 and 1804. He enjoyed office as a trustee of the British Museum (1802–10) and as colonel of the Birmingham regiment of volunteers. In 1782, Lewisham married Lady Frances Finch (1761–1838), the second daughter of Heneage Finch, 3rd Earl of Aylesford.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 600; María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox (ed.), *The English Prize: the capture of the Westmorland, an episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 18-23.

⁶⁹ Rigg, "Legge, George," *ODNB*.

Appendix 11

The Grand Tour of George Augustus Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke with Reverend William Coxe and Captain John Floyd, 1775-80

Family and Early Education.

Herbert (1759–1827) was the only son of Henry Herbert, the 10th earl of Pembroke and his wife (See Appendix 6). He was educated at home and Harrow School.⁷⁰

Grand Tour⁷¹

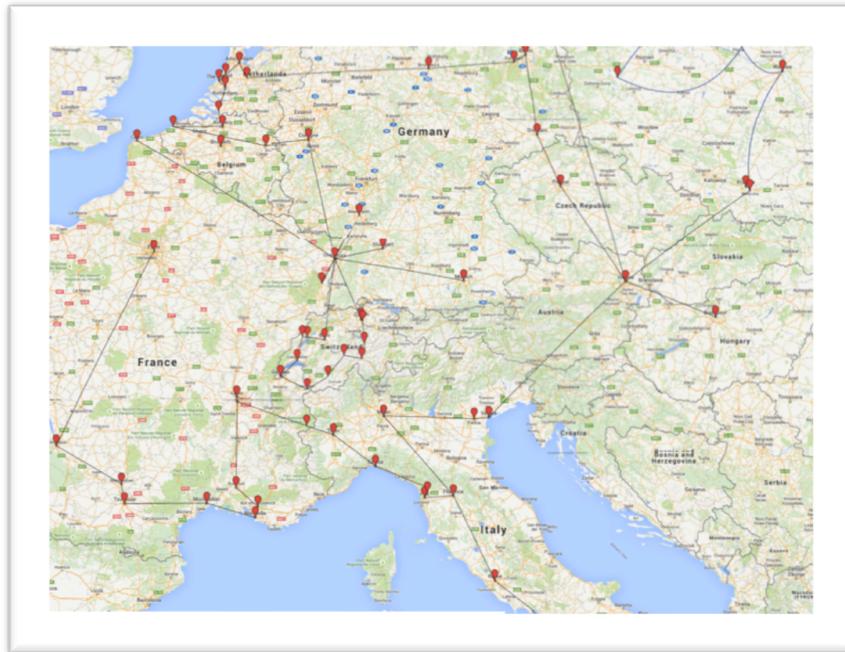


Fig. 22. Map 1 of Herbert, Coxe and Floyd's Grand Tour, 1775-80: The Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Poland, Switzerland, Italy and France

⁷⁰ S. M. Farrell, "Herbert, George Augustus, eleventh earl of Pembroke and eighth earl of Montgomery (1759–1827)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13026, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁷¹ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 485.

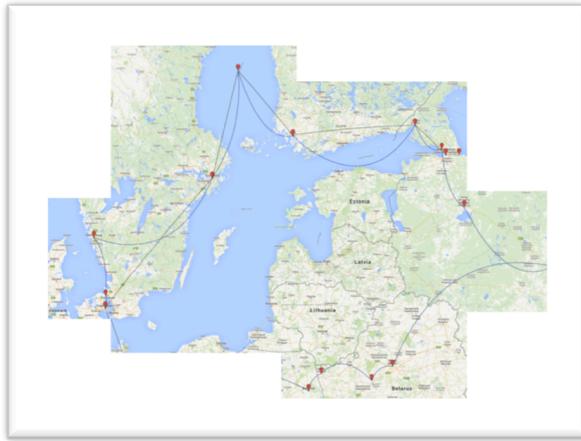


Fig. 23. Map 2 of Herbert, Coxe and Floyd's Grand Tour, 1775-80: Russia and Scandinavia

Aged 16, Herbert began a five-year Grand Tour in 1775 with his two tutors, Reverend William Coxe (1748–1828) and Captain John Floyd, his servant, Laurent, and his dog, Rover. Coxe, Floyd and their families were intimately connected to and patronised by the Pembroke family before and after Herbert's Grand Tour.⁷² November 1775- March 1777 were spent at the military academy in Strasbourg. This was broken up by various trips, including to Colmar (January 1775), Switzerland (Summer 1776), and Mannheim (February 1777). In March/April 1777, they travelled to Ostend to meet the Pembrokes and through the Netherlands and Germany, reaching Vienna in January 1778. Aside from a brief trip into Hungary, they remained in Vienna until June 1778, and then travelled through Poland, into Russia (they were in St Petersburg by December 1778), Finland, Sweden and Denmark. They reached Copenhagen by April 1779. They then returned to Vienna, and headed into Italy. Coxe and Herbert had an increasingly fraught relationship with Floyd. Upon arriving in Venice, Coxe finally split from the party and spent several months travelling around Switzerland before returning to England. Herbert and Floyd travelled to Naples, where Floyd was recalled back to his regiment in August 1779. Herbert travelled alone through Italy to Turin, where he spent December 1779-March 1780 at the Academia Reale, cared for his dying acquaintance, Mr Herbert, and was provided with a new tutor, the Swiss, de Seigneux.⁷³ After travelling through south and central France, Herbert spent May-June 1780 in Paris. The main sources for this Grand Tour are the extensive family manuscripts, including correspondence and journals, held at WSHC, alongside some printed editions of this collection and Coxe's publications.

Later Careers

⁷² See for example, Jeremy Knight, "Coxe, William (1748–1828)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/6540, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁷³ For further details on Mr Herbert, see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 486.

Herbert pursued a active military career. At the start of the French Revolutionary Wars he showed considerable gallantry in skirmishing actions in Flanders, where he commanded the 2nd and 3rd dragoon guards and liaised with the Prussian and Austrian forces. He played an important part in the siege of Valenciennes and Dunkirk in 1793. He was promoted to colonel in 1797, after which he held responsibility for the south-western district of England, and made a general in 1812. He also maintained a political career, having been elected to parliament in 1780, where he sided reluctantly and silently with the whig opposition. On his father's death in 1794, he inherited his titles. He exercised a steady influence in local affairs and succeeded his father as lord lieutenant of Wiltshire. He took his seat in the House of Lords, and thereafter was a staunch, but largely inactive, supporter of the ministry of William Pitt the younger and subsequent tory administrations. He married twice. His heir, Robert Henry, undertook a disastrous Grand Tour c. 1814, which resulted in a marriage to an Italian princess. While Robert succeeded, his father left the bulk of his unentailed and personal estate to his only son by his second wife, Sidney Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Lea.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Womersley, "Gibbon," *ODNB*.

Appendix 12**The Grand Tour of Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke and Colonel Wettstein,
1777-79****Family and Early Education**

Yorke (1757-1834) was the eldest son of Charles Yorke (1722-70), the second son of Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke, and his first wife, Catherine Freeman (d. 1759).⁷⁵ When his father died in 1770, his uncles took over his education. Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke (1720-90), was an important figure in Whig political circles throughout his career. An ample income, poor health, and intellectual leanings disinclined him from an active public life, and he became a prominent figure in intellectual and antiquarian circles.⁷⁶ His younger brother, Joseph Yorke (1724-92), had initially served in the army during the War of Austrian Succession, becoming aide-de-camp to the King by 1749. He then moved into the diplomatic service. Between 1761-80, he was ambassador at The Hague.⁷⁷ Both men had a significant input in Yorke's Grand Tour. Yorke was educated at Harrow School and Cambridge.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Rigg, "Yorke, Philip, third earl of Hardwicke (1757-1834)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/30248, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁷⁶ Stephanie L. Barczewski, "Yorke, Philip, second earl of Hardwicke (1720-1790)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/30246, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁷⁷ H. M. Scott, "Yorke, Joseph, Baron Dover (1724-1792)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/30243, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁷⁸ Rigg, "Yorke," *ODNB*.

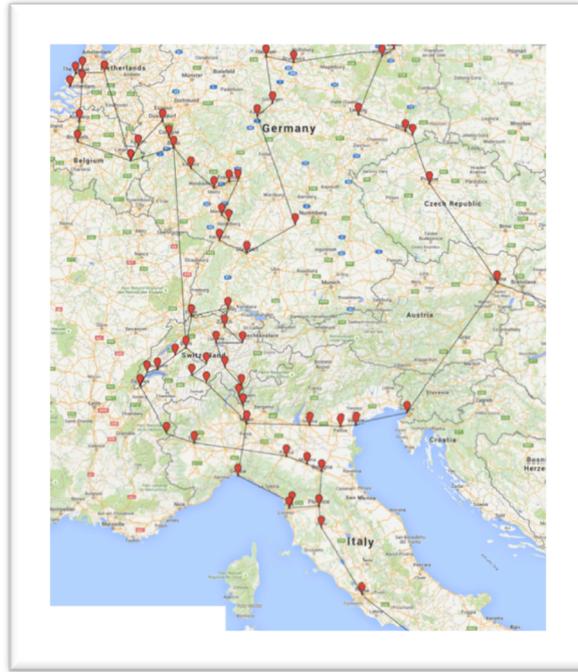


Fig. 24. Map of Yorke and Wettstein's Grand Tour, 1777-79

Yorke began his Grand Tour at The Hague, where he split his time between the capital and Leiden University. Having spent January-June 1777 at The Hague, he was joined by his Swiss tutor, Wettstein, and began his travels through the Netherlands, Germany and Austria. He reached Vienna in November 1777 and remained there until May 1778. He travelled to Venice. June-August 1778 was spent touring the Alps and northern Italy. He reached Rome by October 1778 and spent January 1779 in Naples. He was severely ill with malaria in Rome between February-March 1779. In May 1779 he reached Turin, and spent May-June 1779 in Switzerland, meeting Wettstein's family and friends. Having decided it would be unpatriotic to visit France during the War of American Independence, he diverted to Spa on account of his health, and reached The Hague in July 1779.⁸⁰ Yorke's correspondence with Hardwicke and his Grand Tour journals (both held at the BL) form the key sources for this Grand Tour.

His later career

Yorke moved into politics. While he initially followed Fox, by 1785 he was giving independent support to Pitt's administration. From 1801-06, he was lord lieutenant of Ireland, where he became a supportive convert to Catholic emancipation. He also served as lord lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, and high steward of Cambridge University. He maintained a keen interest in arts, serving as a trustee of the British Museum. He married Lady Elizabeth

⁷⁹ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 1035-36.

⁸⁰ Rigg, "Yorke," *ODNB*.

Lindsay (1763–1858), the third daughter of James Lindsay, 5th Earl of Balcarres. His eldest son, Philip Yorke, Viscount Royston (1784-1808), undertook a Grand Tour that included the Russian Empire, c. 1806.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Appendix 13

The Grand Tour of Sir Francis Basset, later Baron de Dunstanville and 1st Baron Basset and Rev. William Sandys, c. 1777-78

Family and Early Education

Basset (1757–1835) was the eldest son of Francis Basset (1715–69), MP and landowner, of Tehidy, Cornwall, and his wife, Margaret. He was educated at Harrow School, Eton and King's College, Cambridge.⁸²

Grand Tour

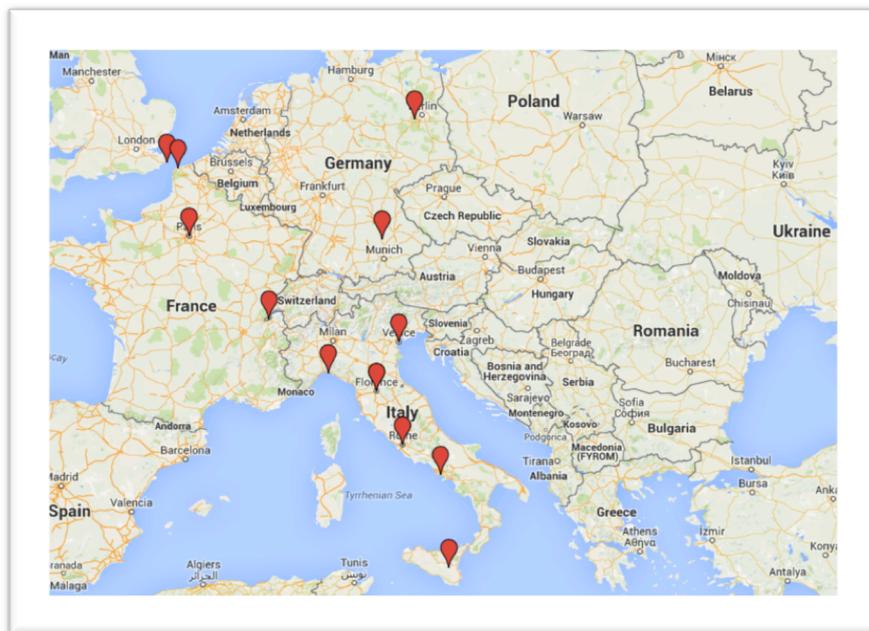


Fig. 25. Map of Basset and Sandys' Grand Tour, c. 1777-78

(Note: The sporadic nature of his Grand Tour material means that plotting routes is not possible.)

Basset's Grand Tour covered France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany, and may well have also included Austria and the Netherlands.⁸³ They left few records of their Grand Tour. The recent *Westmorland* project has identified paintings, books and other purchases brought during the Swiss and Italian branch of their Grand Tour. In Rome in 1777 Basset sat for a full-

⁸² Roland Thorne, "Basset, Francis, Baron de Dunstanville and first Baron Basset (1757–1835)," *ODNB* (OUP: online edn, Jan 2015), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/1637, (accessed 29 May 2015).

⁸³ *Ibid.*

length portrait by Pompeo Batoni (Prado Museum, Madrid).⁸⁴ Several decades after their Tour, Basset and Sandys recounted various anecdotes to the young artist, Joseph Farrington, who carefully recorded them in his diary.⁸⁵

Later Career

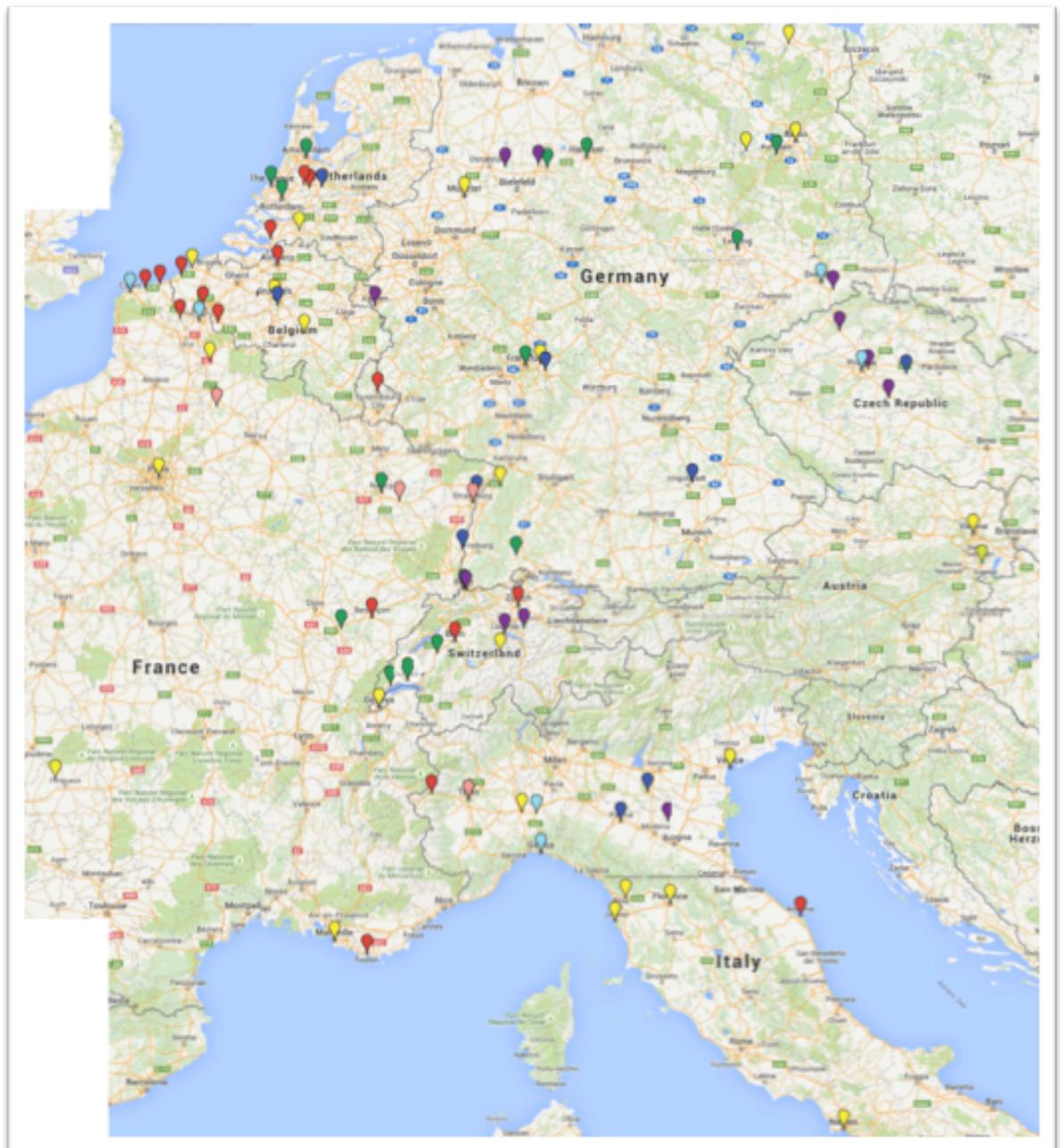
Upon his return, Basset became lieutenant-colonel of the North Devon militia and received a baronet in November 1779 for his part in countering a Franco-Spanish armada by marching the Cornish miners to Plymouth and fortifying the post at Portrait. He continued his militia activities during the 1790s, as he became a major in the Cornish yeoman cavalry and commandant of the Penryn Volunteers in 1794 and 1803. His elevation to peerage was partly due to his militia activities. Basset entered parliament as an MP. He was a supporter of North's ministry but temporarily attached himself to the Foxite whigs. He supported Pitt during the 1790s. He had substantial agricultural, industrial, mining and local governance interests in Cornwall. He married Harriet (1777–1864), fourth daughter of Sir William Lemon, 1st Baronet, of Carclew; they had no children.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Sánchez-Jáuregui and Wilcox (ed.), *The Westmorland*, 17-18.

⁸⁵ Joseph Farrington, *The Diary of Joseph Farrington. Vol. X (July 1809 – December 1810)* ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: YUP, 1982), 3753.

⁸⁶ Thorne, "Basset," *ODNB*.

Appendix 14
Military Tourism, by Place Name



	Viewing static military sites, such as fortresses, fortifications, arsenals, defences and citadels
	Viewing troops, via attending military reviews, or inspecting garrisons and regiments
	Touring historical battlefields
	Sites where Grand Tourists combined viewing static military sites with viewing troops
	Sites where Grand Tourists combined viewing static military sites with viewing troops and observing damages caused by previous sieges and conflicts
	Viewing live camps, marches, musters and battles
	Military Schools visited/attended by Grand Tourists

Fig. 26. Map and key of sites where Grand Tourists engaged with military activity, c. 1730-80

Note on sources: this map and database draw upon Grand Tourists and tutors, but have also used a number of older travellers, including Richard Milles, Andrew Mitchell, Richard Pococke, Sir P. Francis, William Ellis, and Lady Spencer.

Location	Date	Tourist/Tutor, Activity and Reference
Alexandrai	1740	Spence and Lincoln viewed the citadel - Joseph Spence, Letters from the Grand Tour, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 312.
	1779	Herbert viewed the citadel, regiments and a parade - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 10 th December 1779, Herbert's Journal.
Amsterdam	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, 30 th July 1736, Richard Pococke, Amsterdam, to his mother.
	1737	Spence and Trevor attempted to access the arsenal - Joseph Spence, Letters from the Grand Tour, ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 173.
Ancona	1734	Milles visited the fortress - BL, Add. Ms. 15763, Jeremiah Milles' Travel Journal, 49.
Antwerp	1777	Yorke toured the citadel and dined with the commander, General Plunkett, with Herbert and Floyd- BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 56, 20 th June 1777, Yorke, Brussels, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 18 th June 1777, Yorke's Journal.
Baden-Baden	1764	Gibbon toured the citadel and attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 69, 16 th May 1764, Edward Gibbons, Boromeans Islands, to Leger.
Basle	1763	Holroyd toured the regiment and fortifications, escorted by a sergeant - BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 14 th October 1763, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.
Basle	1778	Yorke toured a 1444 battlefield and visited the Swiss guards - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 212, 4 th July 1778, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 2 nd July 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Battle of Dettingen	1743	Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's son participated in this battle - Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Complete Letters of LMWM, Vol. II, ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: OUP, 1966), 273. George Townshend participated in the battle - National Army Museum, Ms. 6806-41-1-2, George Townshend's Autobiographical Account of his Life, 1, 5.
Battle of Parma	1734	Pococke described how Simon Harcourt watched from the ramparts - BL, Add. Ms. 22987 f. 87, 12 th June 1734, Richard Pococke, Milan, to Mrs Pococke.
Battlefield of Aix la Chapelle	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield and site of the peace treaty - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 69, 9 th July 1777, Yorke, Cologne, to Hardwicke.
Battlefield of Campo Santo	1779	Yorke toured the battlefield - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 2 nd May 1779, Yorke's Journal.
Battlefield of Lowositz	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 9 th September 1777, 25 th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.
Battlefield of Luccerne	1778	Yorke discussed Luccerne's military history and battles - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 20 th June 1779, Yorke's Journal.
Battlefield of Minden	1765	Holroyd toured the battlefield - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 187, 10 th January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs

		Holroyd.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles toured the battlefield - SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30 th July 1776, Charles Gounter Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3 rd Earl of Dartmouth
Battlefield of Morgarten	1778	Yorke toured the battlefield and recounted its story - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 19 th , 22 nd June 1779, Yorke's Journal.
Battlefield of Pirna	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 24 th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.
Battlefield of Prague	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield and the military magazine at the Observatory of Tycho Brake - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 27 th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.
Bavaria	1778	Francis Basset visited the Prussian army in the field and engaged in skirmish action - Joseph Farington, The Diary of Joseph Farington. Vol. X (July 1809 – December 1810) ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: YUP, 1982), 3753.
Berlin	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] October 1736, Richard Pococke, Berlin, to his mother.
	1752	Pembroke attended the review – BL, Add. Ms. 32730, f. 116-7, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham visit the arsenal- LMA, Acc. 510/254, George Bussy Villiers, later 4 th Earl of Jersey's Grand Tour Journal, 39.
	1765	Holroyd views the military parades and discipline - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 181, 7 th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 185, 23 rd December 1765, Holroyd, Hanover, to Baker.
	1777	Yorke views the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 101, 23 rd October 1777, Yorke, Dresden, to Hardwicke.
Berne	1743-4	Richard Aldworth Neville and friends visit the arsenal - Berkshire RO, Ms. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour Journal, 1743-44.
	1779	Yorke toured the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 3 rd June 1779, Yorke's Journal.
Bergen-Op-Zoom	1752	Ellis observed and reported on all the Austrian and French frontiers and defences – BL, Add. Ms. 32727, f. 196, 16 th May 1752, W. Ellis, Calais, to Newcastle; BL, Add. Ms. 32728, f. 41-2, 30 th June 1752, Ellis, The Hague, to Newcastle.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles view the fortifications - SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27 th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth.
Besancon	1744	Townshend views the fortress - National Army Museum, Ms. 6806-41-1-2, George Townsend's Autobiographical Account of his Life.
	1763	Holroyd toured the fortifications - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 145, 23 rd February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Holroyd.
	1763	Lady Spencer visited the citadel - BL, Add. Ms. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (nee Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared Travel Journal, 7.
Breda	1737	Spence and Trevor viewed the Prince of Orange's army - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 180.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles view the fortifications - SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27 th June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth.

Brunswick	1777	Yorke views the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 9 th September 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Brussels	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] July 1736, Richard Pococke, Amsterdam, to his mother.
	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the arsenal Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 181.
	1777	Yorke toured the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 25 th June 1777, Yorke's Journal.
Buckeborug	1765	Holroyd views troops - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 187, 10 th January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Holroyd.
Calais	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 29-30.
	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] June 1736, Richard Pococke, Calais, to his mother.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham view fortifications, garrisons and siege marks - LMA, Acc. 510/254, George Bussy Villiers, later 4 th Earl of Jersey's Grand Tour Journal, 1.
	1775	Lewisham and William attend a review - SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 20 th July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.
Cambrai	1731/32	Mitchell visited the citadel and garrison - BL, Add. Ms. 58314, Andrew Mitchell's Travel Journal, 5.
The Camp of Kaltenerber, - War of Austrian Succession	1743	Richard Aldworth Neville and friends attend a live camp - Berkshire RO, Ms. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour Journal, 1743-44.
Camp, Kollin	1754	Richmond visited the military camp of Kollin - BL, Add. Ms. 32736, f. 219-222, 12 th August 1754, Abraham Trembley, Kollin, to Newcastle.
Camp, Moldar/Lfenays Camp - War of Spanish Succession	1707	Compton, Hay and friends stayed at the Moldar Camp and accompanied troops marching to battle stations - BL, Add. Ms. 38507, 18 th July 1707, Dr James Hay, Rotterdam, to the Earl of Northampton; 27 th July 1707, Dr James Hay, the Moldar Camps, to the Earl of Northampton. 15 th August 1707, Dr James Hay, Brussels, to the Earl of Northampton; 7 th August 1707, Dr James Hay, Brussels, to the Earl of Northampton; 15 th August 1707, Dr James Hay, Brussels, to the Earl of Northampton.
Camps, Mantua: French and German military camps, 1734 - War of Polish Succession	1734	Sir Hugh Smithson, Sir Harry Lydall and many English tourists visited both armies in the field - BL, Add. Ms. 22987, 12 th June 1734, Pococke, Milan, to his mother; 21 st June 1734, Pococke, Milan, to his mother; 15 th June 1734, Pococke, Turin, to his mother.
Camp, the Rhine - The Austrian Army on the Rhine, 1744	1744	George Townshend visited the Austrian Army in the field - National Army Museum, Ms. 6806-41-1-2, George Townshend's Autobiographical Account of his Life.
Camp, Utrecht countryside - The Duke of Cumberland's Army,		Pultney and Douglas visited the Duke of Cumberland's army - BL, Egerton 2181, John Douglas' Short Autobiography, 1776-1796.

1744 or 1748[?]		
Chanoise	1778	Yorke toured the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 27 th June 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Dole	1763	Holroyd toured the barracks - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 145, 23 rd February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Holroyd.
Doneschinhen	1763	Holroyd viewed the Prince of Furstenberg's troops - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10 th November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker.
Donay	1775	Lewisham and William visited the arsenal - SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 31 st July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.
Dresden	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] November 1736, Richard Pococke, Dresden, to his mother.
	1765	Holroyd viewed the siege damage - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7 th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
	1777	Yorke viewed the arsenal and siege damage - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 10 th , 16 th , 17 th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.
Dunkirk	1754	Nuneham and Villiers tour a fortification - LMA, Acc. 510/254, 5 th June 1754, Villiers' Tour Journal.
	1763	Holroyd watched English and French armies demolishing the defences - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 124, 29 th July 1763, Holroyd, Paris, to Dr. Rev. Baker.
Eisenstatt	1778	Yorke toured the fortifications and garrison - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 183, 2 nd May 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.
Florence	1732/3	Spence and Middlesex viewed the troops exercising - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 134.
	1764	Holroyd viewed a fortress- BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 3 rd October 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.
	1779	Herbert viewed the regiment - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 9 th November 1779, Herbert's Journal.
Frankfurt	1736	Pococke saw the army exercise - Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] October 1736, Richard Pococke, Frankfurt, to his mother.
Fribourg	1743-4	Richard Aldworth Neville and friends viewed the citadel - Berkshire RO, Ms. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour Journal, 1743-44.
	1763	Holroyd viewed the regiment - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10 th November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker.
"French Flanders"	1753/4	Richmond saw fortifications, mines and other military sites - BL, Add. Ms. 32734 f. 81, 25 th January 1754, Charles Lennox, 3 rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Leyden, to Newcastle.
	1762	Holroyd attended reviews and fortifications across this region - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 122-13, 9 th May 1763, Holroyd, St Quintin, to Baker.
Geneva	1731	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications and garrison - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed.

		Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 70.
	1739	Thomas Grey and Horace Walpole took note of the Genevean's militia - Thomas Gray, <i>Correspondence of Thomas Gray</i> , ed. Paget Jackson Toynbee, Leonard Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 123-25.
	1779	Yorke toured the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 20 th May 1779, Yorke's Journal.
Genoa	1764	Holroyd visited the defence gate and naval port, and reported siege and war stories - BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 10 th August 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.
	1764	Gibbon observed the marks of siege and sites of action - Add. Ms. 34874 C, c. 1789-90, Edward Gibbon's <i>Memoirs</i> , 29.
	1778	Yorke views Lucca as a maritime power - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 238, 22 nd September 1778, Yorke, Lucca, to Hardwicke.
	1779	Herbert viewed the fortifications - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 8 th December 1779, Herbert's Journal.
'Germany'	1776	Lewisham and Charles viewed historical battlefield - SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30 th July 1776, Charles Gounter Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3 rd Earl of Dartmouth.
Graveline	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 30.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham toured a fortifications - LMA, Acc. 510/254, 5 th June 1754, Villiers' Tour Journal.
Hanau	1776	Lewisham and Charles viewed some 'imaginative fortifications' - SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30 th July 1776, Charles Gounter Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3 rd Earl of Dartmouth.
The Hague	1777	Yorke viewed the exercises, reviews, sham fights and manoeuvres - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 43, 16 th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 45, 25 th May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.
Hanover	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] July 1736, Richard Pococke, Hanover, to his mother.
Konigetaisa Fortress	1777	Yorke visits battlefield - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 24 th October 1777, Yorke's Journal.
La Fere	1754	Villiers and Nuneham attempted to see the famous school of artillery - LMA, Acc. 510/254, 9 th June 1754, Villiers' Tour Journal.
Leghorn	1764	Holroyd toured the fortifications and watched troops - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 158, 2 nd October 1764, Holroyd, Florence, to Mrs Atkinson; BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 2 nd , 6 th September 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.
	1779	Herbert viewed the armed ships and arsenal - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 25 th November 1779, Herbert's Journal.
Lausanne	1763	Holroyd discussed the militia - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 130, 20 th October 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Dr Rev. Baker
	1763	Gibbon discussed the militia and attended reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 49, 31 st May 1763, Edward Gibbons, Lausanne, to Edward Gibbon.
Leipzig	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] November 1736, Richard Pococke, Leipzig, to

		his mother.
Lille	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the citadel, and viewed the regiment and siege marks - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 181-82.
	1775	Lewisham and William viewed the fortress and regiment - SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 31 st July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth
Lisel	1754	Villiers and Nuneham toured the citadel and compared French and Dutch troops - LMA, Acc. 510/254, 6 th , 7 th June 1754, Villiers' Tour Journal.
	1763	Holroyd viewed the fortifications - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 122-13, 9 th May 1763, Holroyd, St Quintin, to Baker.
	1763	Lady Spencer visited the citadel and fortifications - BL, Add. Ms. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (nee Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared Travel Journal, 1.
Lucca	1732	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications, arsenal and viewed the regiments - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 123.
	1764	Holroyd toured the ramparts - BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 12 th September 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.
Luneville	1772	Francis viewed the troops - BL, Add. Ms. 40759, f. 2, 22 nd July 1772, Sir P. Francis' Travel Journal.
Luxembourg	1763/67	Lady Spencer visited the fortifications, and her brother visited the fortifications and attended reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry and Poyntz's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (nee Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared Travel Journal, 3.
Marseilles	1733	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortress - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 157.
	1780	Herbert viewed the fortifications, regiments and barracks, and dined with the officers - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/6, 30 th March-1 st April 1780, Herbert's Journal.
Menen	1730/31	Mitchell visited the citadel and magazine - BL, Add. Ms. 58313, Andrew Mitchell's Travel Journal, 16.
	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the fortifications - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 181.
Montfoort	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the fortifications - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 172.
Munster	1751	Dartmouth and North viewed the fortifications, citadel, and regiment - SRO, D(W)1778/V/1108, 4 th July 1751, Dartmouth's Grand Tour Journal
Namur	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications and garrison - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 30.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham toured the fortifications, but noted that the guards were so strict they were not allowed to look to closely - LMA, Acc. 510/254, 2 nd September 1754, Villiers' Tour Journal; LMA, Acc. 510/237, 23 rd June 1754, Villiers, Rheims, to Lady Jersey.
Nancy	1767	Poyntz attended regiment and cavalry reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (nee Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared Travel Journal, 5.

	1772	Francis viewed the fortifications and was shown around by an officer - BL, Add. Ms. 40759, f. 2, 19 th July 1772, Sir P. Francis' Travel Journal.
Naples	1779	Herbert viewed the arsenal and attended military reviews, mock forts and sieges - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 26 th August, 8 th , 15 th September 1779, Herbert's Journal.
New Brandenburg	1776	Lewisham and Charles viewed the troops and fortifications - SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 14 th August 1776, Charles Legge, New Brandenburg, to Dartmouth.
Nieuport [Nieuwpoort]	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 30.
North Holland	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the fortifications - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 173.
Ostend	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 30.
	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] June 1736, Richard Pococke, Ostend, to his mother.
Paris	1763	Holroyd tried to see the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 61979 A, 11 th July 1763, Holroyd's Grand Tour Journal.
	1780	Herbert attended the reviews - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 8 th May 1780, Herbert's Journal.
Poleurre	1741	Tate and Dampier observed the fortifications and troops - NRO, WKC 7/46/13-4. 17 th March 1741, Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier, Strasbourg, to the Common Room club.
Potsdam	1754	Richmond attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 32736, f. 219-222, 12 th August 1754, Abraham Trembley, Kollin, to Newcastle.
	1754	Dartmouth and North attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 32730, f. 163-64, 12 th July 1752, North, Dresden, to Newcastle.
	1765	Holroyd attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7 th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles attended the reviews - SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 11 th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 4 th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 18 th August 1776, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 19 th September 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19 th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.
Prague	1737	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] January 1737, Richard Pococke, Prague, to his mother.
	1754	Richmond attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 32736, f. 219-222, 12 th August 1754, Abraham Trembley, Kollin, to Newcastle.
	1765	Holroyd attended the reviews and examined the siege damage - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 178, 3 rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd; BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 181, 7 th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs

		Atkinson.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles attended the reviews - D(W)1778/V/874, 11 th August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 4 th September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 18 th August 1776, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, 19 th September 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, 19 th September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.
Role	1778	Yorke attended the militia reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 28 th May 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Rotterdam	1736	Pococke attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] June 1736, Richard Pococke, Rotterdam, to his mother.
Strasbourg	1775-76	Herbert attended Strasbourg's military academy - See WSHC Acc. 2057/F4/27-28 for correspondence and memorandum relating to this period.
Susa	1779	Yorke toured the fortress - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 13 th May 1779, Yorke's Journal.
Switzerland	1764	Holroyd wrote a 'Military dissertation' on Switzerland's wars, military and defence - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 147, 15 th March 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Dr. Rev. Baker.
Tortona	1778	Yorke toured the battlefield, fortification and garrison - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 9 th September 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Toulon	1733	Spence and Middlesex toured the defences, war port and saw the men-of-war ships - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 157.
	1741	Spence and Lincoln were guided around the fort, war port, and men-of-war ships - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 401.
	1751-54	Richmond visited the fortifications - BL, Add. Ms. 32734 f. 81, 25 th January 1754, Charles Lennox, 3 rd Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Leyden, to Newcastle.
Tournay	1737	Spence and Trevor visited the citadel and mines - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 182.
Turin	1707	Compton and Hay attended the reviews - BL, Add. Ms. 38507, 3 rd April 1709, Dr James Hay, Turin, to the Earl of Northampton.
	1732	Mitchell visited the fortifications - BL, Add. Ms. 58315, Andrew Mitchell's Travel Journal, 8.
	1734	Pococke visited the fortifications, citadel, underground mines and the armoury - BL, Add. Ms. 22987, 15 th June 1734, Pococke, Turin, to his mother.
	1739/40	Spence and Lincoln visited the citadel, mines, sites of battle and marks of bombardment - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 227-8, 275,

		277, 278.
	1764	Holroyd toured the citadel and mines - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 156, 4 th September 1764, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd.
	1764	Gibbon toured the citadel and was accompanied by an Sardinian officer during the mountain crossing - BL, Add. Ms. 34883 f. 69, 16 th May 1764, Edward Gibbons, Boromeans Islands, to Leger.
	1772	Francis visited the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 40759, f. 2, 13-14 th November 1772, Sir P. Francis' Travel Journal.
	1779	Yorke toured the arsenal, citadel, and viewed regiments - BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 12 th May 1779, Yorke's Journal.
	1780	Herbert toured the fortifications - WSHC, Ms. 2057/F5/7, 23 rd January 1780, Herbert's Journal.
Venice	1731	Spence and Middlesex visited the arsenal - Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 86.
	1772	Francis visited the arsenal - BL, Add. Ms. 40759, f. 2, 13 th August 1772, Sir P. Francis' Travel Journal.
	1778	Yorke viewed the arsenal and attended a naval review - BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 192, 22 nd May 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 204, 3 rd June 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36259, 21 st May 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Vienna	1737	Pococke watched a live mobilisation of the army - BL, Add. Ms. 19939, [no date] March 1737, Richard Pococke, Vienna, to his mother.
Vienna	1777-78	Yorke viewed the arsenal, regiments and preparations for war - BL Add. Ms. 35378 f. 163, 31 st March 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 35378 f. 156, 18 th March 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; BL, Add. Ms. 36258, 1 st , 12 th January, 28 th February, 11 th , 14 th , 24 th , 25 th , 30 th , 31 st March 1778, Yorke's Journal.
Vienna-Dresden	1765	Holroyd visited various battlefields and camps between these sites - BL, Add MS 34887 f. 178, 3 rd October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd; BL, Add MS 34887 f. 181, 7 th November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
Waarden, near Utrecht	1737	Spence and Trevor visited the fortifications Joseph Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. Slava Klima (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 172.
Zurich	1763	Holroyd visited the armoury - BL, Add. Ms. 34887 f. 132, 10 th November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker.

List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
NAM	National Army Museum
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office
WSHC	Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office

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Add. Ms. 22987, Turner Manuscripts, Richard Pococke, 'Travels in the Circle of Upper Saxony...', 1736-37.

Add. Ms. 22998, Turner Manuscripts, Richard Pococke, 'Journals of travels through various countries of Europe, and in Egypt,' 1736-41.

Add. Ms. 30867, Correspondence of John Wilkes, 1739-63.

Add. Mss. 32723-37, Newcastle Papers, General Correspondence of Thomas Pelham Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, 1750-54.

Add. Ms. 33087, Correspondence of Thomas Pelham, 1st Earl of Chichester, 1746-59.

Add. Ms. 34874, Gibbon Papers, Draft Autobiographies of Edward Gibbons, 1788-90.

Add. Ms. 34883, Gibbon Papers, Letters of Edward Gibbon, 1750-774.

Add. Ms. 34887, Gibbon Papers, Grand Tour Letters of John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, 1764-66.

Add. Ms. 35378, Harwicke Papers, Correspondence between Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, his tutor, Colonel Wettstein, and his uncle, Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, 1777-79.

Add. Ms. 35503-22, Hardwicke Papers, Correspondence of Sir Robert Murray Keith, 1752-81.

Add. Ms. 36258-60, Hardwicke Papers, Grand Tour Journals of Philip Yorke, later 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, 1777-79.

Add. Ms. 38507, Townshend Papers, Letters of James Compton, later 5th Earl of Compton, and his tutor, Dr James Hay, to his father, George Compton, the 4th Earl of Northampton, 1707-09.

Add. Ms. 40759, Sir P. Francis' Travel Journal and Letters, 1772.

Add. Ms. 40862, Letters of Metcalf Robinson, 2nd Baronet of Newby, to his father, 1704-05.

Add. Ms. 51345, Holland House Papers, Poem by John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth, to his wife Mary, 1729.

Add. Ms. 51417, Holland House Papers, Correspondence between Stephen Fox, 1st Earl of Ilchester, and his brother, Henry Fox, later 1st Lord Holland, 1728-29.

Add. Ms. 58313-15, Mitchell Papers, Andrew Mitchell, Accounts of travels in Europe, 1730-32.

Add. Ms. 61979 A-B, Sheffield Park Papers, Grand Tour Journal of John Holroyd, later 1st Earl of Sheffield, 1763-64.

Add. Ms. 61980 f. 1, Sheffield Park Papers, Letter of Frederick, Lord North, to John Hallam, 1753.

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WKC 7/46, Ketton-Cremer Papers, Correspondence of the Common Room club, 1739-41.

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D(W)1778/III/365 and D(W)1778/V/858, 895, 896, 901 and 903, Dartmouth Papers, Letters from British Ambassadors to William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, 1775-78.

D(W)1778/V/815, Dartmouth Papers, Letters from William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth to his uncle, Mr Baron Legge, 1752.

D(W)1778/V/840, Dartmouth Papers, Letter from Charles Legge to his mother, Lady Frances Catherine, 1776.

D(W)1778/V/853, Dartmouth Papers, Letters from William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, to his son, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd Earl of Dartmouth, 1772-96.

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Acc. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke Papers, Correspondence of Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke and his son, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke.

Acc. 2057/F4/31, Pembroke Papers, Correspondence of Lady Elizabeth Pembroke and her son, George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke.

Acc. 2057/F4/33, Pembroke Papers, Correspondence of George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke, and friends.

Acc. 2057/F4/34, Pembroke Papers, Correspondence of George Herbert, later 11th Earl of Pembroke, and Rev. William Coxe.

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