



Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

SARAH GOLDSMITH



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Masculinity and Danger on the
Eighteenth-Century
Grand Tour



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Sarah Goldsmith

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Contents

List of figures	vii
List of abbreviations	ix
Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction	i
1. Hazarding chance: a history of eighteenth-century danger	37
2. Military mad: war and the Grand Tour	75
3. Wholesome dangers and a stock of health: exercise, sport and the hardships of the road	111
4. Fire and ice: mountains, glaciers and volcanoes	141
5. Dogs, servants and masculinities: writing about danger and emotion on the Grand Tour	185
Conclusion	209
Appendix	221
Bibliography	237
Index	263

List of figures

2.1	Map and key of sites where Grand Tourists engaged with military activity, c.1730–80.	83
2.2	A two-week daily timetable, written by George, Lord Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke's parents in 1776, for his stay in Strasbourg (Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, MS. 2057/F4/278, 'Instructions', 1776).	88
2.3	Pompeo Batoni, 'Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Thomas Apperley and Captain Edward Hamilton' (NMW A 78, 1768–72).	106
3.1	Pompeo Batoni, 'Alexander Gordon, 4th duke of Gordon (1743–1827)' (NG 2589, 1763–4).	111
3.2	Anon, 'The leap in height with & without a pole' from Christian Salzmann, <i>Gymnastics for Youth...</i> (London, 1800), p. 215.	123
3.3	Pietro Fabris, 'Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st earl of Seaforth 1744–1781 at Home in Naples: Fencing Scene' (PG 2610, 1771).	125
4.1	Joseph Wright of Derby, 'Vesuvius from Portici' (97.29, c.1774–6).	152
4.2	Michael Wutky, 'Eruption of Vesuvius, seen across the Gulf of Naples' (GG-742, c.1790/1800).	153
4.3	Pierre-Jacque Volaire, 'An Eruption of Vesuvius by Moonlight' (CVCSC:0259.S, 1774).	153
4.4	Pierre-Jacques Volaire, 'Vesuvius Erupting at Night' (CVCSC:0343.S, 1771).	154
4.5	Jakob Philipp Hackert, 'An Eruption of Vesuvius in 1774,' (Neg. Nr. M1011, c.1774–5).	155
4.6	Detail of Jakob Philipp Hackert, 'An Eruption of Vesuvius in 1774' (Neg. Nr. M1011, c.1774–5).	155
4.7	Michael Wutky, 'The Summit of Vesuvius Erupting' (GG-390, c.1790/1800).	156
4.8	John 'Warwick' Smith, 'from Album of Views in Italy, [24] Crater [of Vesuvius]' (T05846, 1778).	156

- 4.9 Henry Tresham, 'The Ascent of Vesuvius, 1785–91' (B1977.14.6296, 1785–91). 157
- 4.10 Pietro Fabris, 'Interior view of Crater of Mount Vesuvius ... plate IX', from William Hamilton, *Campi Phlegraei* (Naples, 1776). 157
- 4.11 John Shackleton or James Dagnia, 'William Windham II (1717–61) in the uniform of a Hussar' (NT 1401251, Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1742–67). 161

List of abbreviations

BRO	Berkshire Record Office
BL	British Library
Add. MSS	Additional Manuscripts
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
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>
ROLLR	Record Office of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office
TNA	The National Archives
WSHC	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre

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Winifred Ashcroft and Kathleen Goldsmith

Introduction

Eighteenth-century Britain was a society in constant motion. As the country's trading empire grew, vessels set sail to explore and trade around the globe. Within the British Isles, aristocratic households moved regularly between the town and country, labouring communities migrated for work, and domestic tourism was on the rise. Between the extremities of global and domestic travel lay the destination of continental Europe. Diplomatic, military, trade, intellectual and artistic networks facilitated travel across the channel at almost every level of society. These occupational travellers frequently took the opportunity to enact the role of tourist and were joined by a growing body of travellers from elite and middling backgrounds whose purpose for going abroad rested entirely on reasons of pleasure, curiosity and health. This nascent culture of tourism could result in short week- or month-long trips or in years spent in expatriate communities. It was stimulated by a developing genre of travel writing, which was also highly influential in the diffusion of key cultural trends, including the novel, sentimentalism, the sublime and picturesque, and Romanticism.

In the midst of this was the Grand Tour, a well-established educational practice undertaken by the sons of many eighteenth-century aristocratic and gentry families. The Tour, which dates back to the Elizabethan era, had its roots in a long tradition of travel as a means of male formation, which included the medieval practice of raising young boys in noble households and the Renaissance custom of peregrination. Its participants were young elite men in their late teens and early twenties, often travelling after school, home tutoring or university but before the responsibilities of adult life. As this was the most expensive, time-consuming and socially exclusive of the early modern options of educational travel, a Grand Tourist was typically the family heir, often with companions. These were mostly tutors (part companion, part in loco parentis) and servants, but could also include younger brothers, friends of a lesser rank and older male companions. These groups embarked on journeys that typically lasted between three to four years, although they could be as long as five years or as short as several months. During this time, Grand Tourists received a formal education, through tutors, academies and universities, and an experiential one, via encounters with a wide variety of European countries, societies and cultures. Key destinations included the cities, courts and environs of

'Introduction', in S. Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London, 2020), pp. 1–35. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

France, the Netherlands and Low Countries, the German principalities, Austria, Switzerland and Italy, with occasional excursions further afield.

As a practice of travel that catered exclusively to the young, elite and male, the Grand Tour had a distinctly educational purpose that distinguished it from other cultures of eighteenth-century travel. The Tour was understood as a finishing school of masculinity, a coming-of-age process, and an important rite of passage that was intended to form young men in their adult masculine identities by endowing them with the skills and virtues most highly prized by the elite.¹ As a cornerstone of elite masculine education, it was a vital part of this social group's understanding, practice and construction of masculinity, and of their wider strategies of self-fashioning and power.² This intrinsic relationship between the Grand Tour and elite masculinity is at the heart of *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour*.

Studies of the Grand Tour have typically focused on the destinations of Italy and France, and asserted that the Tour's itinerary and goals prioritized polite accomplishments, classical republican virtue and an aesthetic appreciation of the antique. On the Grand Tour, elite young men were supposedly taught to wield power and social superiority primarily through cultural means. Through this, it is argued, male tourists were formed in a code of masculinity that was singularly polite and civil. This conclusion is influenced by the history of masculinity's early theory – adapted from the sociologist R. W. Connell – which argued that historical understandings of maleness were dominated by a succession of hegemonic expressions of masculinity. As a cultural institution exclusively associated with the polite man, the Grand Tour has been viewed as a tool used to propagate and enforce a hegemonic norm. It is a principal contention of this book that these approaches have masked the full depth, breadth and complexity of the Grand Tour and, correspondingly, of eighteenth-century elite masculinity. As the book's title suggests, it offers a reassessment of the Tour's significance for the history of elite masculinity by investigating its aims, agendas and itineraries through bringing together archival evidence around the theme of danger.

¹ For scholarly discussions of the Grand Tour as a form of initiation, see B. Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1996), pp. 7–9, 14–15; M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), pp. 54–63; R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 23–5.

² H. Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 24–5; S. Conway, *England, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2011), ch. 7.

The Grand Tour was an institution of elite masculine formation that took place in numerous environs across Europe, resulted in myriad experiences, and imparted a host of skills and knowledge. In his memoirs, published after his death in 1794, the historian and MP Edward Gibbon reflected on the ideal capacities of a Grand Tourist. Alongside ‘an active indefatigable vigour of mind and body’ and ‘careless smile’ for the hardships of travel, the Tourist, or traveller, required a ‘fearless’, ‘restless curiosity’ that would drive him to encounter floods, mountains and mines in pursuit of ‘the most doubtful promise of entertainment or instruction’. The Tourist must also gain ‘the practical knowledge of husbandry and manufactures ... be a chemist, a botanist, and a master of mechanics’. He must develop a ‘musical ear’, dexterous pencil, and a ‘correct and exquisite eye’ that could discern the merits of landscapes, pictures and buildings. Finally, the young man should have a ‘flexible temper which can assimilate itself to every tone of society, from the court to the cottage’. In a line later edited out, he concluded that this was a ‘sketch of ideal perfection’.³

Gibbon’s list was wide-ranging, but even so he included only some of the Tour’s agenda. He made no mention of one of the most common expectations surrounding the Tour: that young men would gain an insight into the politics, military establishment, economy, industries and, increasingly, the manners and customs of other nations. The impressive diversity of the Tour’s agenda was intentionally ambitious and unified by a single aim: to demonstrate, preserve and reinforce elite male power on an individual, familial, national and international level. Acknowledging the full breadth of the Grand Tour’s ambition allows one to consider how this goal was achieved through a complex, calculated use of practice, performance, place and narrative. This book starts the process of unpacking the full extent of the Tour’s diversity by offering an in-depth examination of its provision of military education and engagement with war; the Tour as a health regime; Tourists’ participation in physical exercises, sports and the hardships of travel; and their physical, scientific and aesthetic engagement with the natural phenomena of the Alps and Vesuvius. Each episode in this agenda is united by two factors: it was understood to harbour elements of physical risk, and it has been largely neglected by existing scholarship. During these activities, encounters with danger were often idealized and used as important and formative opportunities that assisted young men in cultivating physical health, ‘hardy’ martial masculine virtues of courage, self-control, daring, curiosity

³ British Library (Brit. Libr.), Add. MS. 34874 C, ‘Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon, written c.1789–90’, fos. 29–30.

and endurance, and an identity that was simultaneously British, elite and cosmopolitan.

In identifying the significance of 'hardy', martial masculinities to eighteenth-century elite culture, this book is not arguing that the masculinities of polite connoisseurship were any less important. Rather, it contends that the Grand Tour's diversity of aims, locations and itineraries was intentionally used to form men in multiple codes of elite masculine identity. To have a 'flexible temper' that could be assimilated in 'every company and situation' was not simply a hallmark of polite sociability.⁴ It was evidence of a masculine trait of adaptability. Acknowledging that adaptability and multiplicity were crucial components to elite masculinity as a whole is central to moving the history of masculinity beyond the search for a hegemonic norm. Examining these issues through the theme of danger and hardy masculinity adds another degree of complexity to understanding the types of men that the eighteenth-century elite wished the next generation of British political, military and social leaders to be.

The itineraries, agendas and mentalities explored throughout this book are not easily visible in the contemporary published literature surrounding the Grand Tour and have, for the most part, been recovered through an analysis of archival sources. The Tour's highly prized status has meant that related correspondence, journals, tutor reports and financial records were often carefully preserved. This book draws on research into more than thirty Grand Tours, taking place between 1700 and 1780, and closely follows the experiences and writings of these gentry and aristocratic Grand Tourists, their tutors, companions, servants and dogs. These men exchanged correspondence with a wider range of male and female family members, friends, diplomats and members of a continental elite befriended during their travels; they also wrote diaries and memoirs, commissioned and purchased portraits, artwork and mementos and, in the case of some tutors, published literature based on their travels. Recovering an individual and familial perspective allows one to delve beyond the cultural representation of the Tour into richly textured accounts of lived experience in all its complexity. Probing the differences between published and archival accounts enables a fuller, nuanced understanding of how the British elite as a community understood the Grand Tour, the masculinities that families hoped to cultivate in their sons and that these sons desired for themselves, and the ways in which this cultivation was undertaken. By investigating the priorities, agendas and beliefs evident in these sources, a collective

⁴ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34874 C, 'Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon, written c.1789-90', fos. 29-30.

elite agenda can be distilled while still allowing for individual approaches, divergences and disagreements.

Rethinking the Grand Tour

This book seeks to reconfigure the Grand Tour's place in the historiography of the eighteenth century. In 1996, Michèle Cohen asserted the Tour's significance as 'a major educational and cultural experience shared by young men who constituted Britain's ruling class'.⁵ Yet for the most part, the Tour has typically been studied from the perspective of the history of travel. This has certainly been a fruitful approach. In seeking to understand the value of particular destinations, travel historians have identified the Grand Tour's vital role in shaping the British fixation on Italy and the rise of travel as a pleasurable, touristic practice. However, this has also resulted in a skewed view of the Tour's primary purpose. The eighteenth-century British aristocracy and gentry primarily understood this element of continental travel as a means of maintaining their cultural, social and political power, through the process of educating and forming their sons. In accepting Cohen's assertion as the starting point for thinking about the Grand Tour, the onus shifts from the significance of destinations to identifying why and how the Grand Tour was important to elite strategies of power.

Grand Tour historiography has already produced one excellent answer to this question, as encapsulated in Bruce Redford's *Venice and the Grand Tour* (1996). 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', Redford contended that the cultural displays of taste achieved through undertaking the Tour were vital to maintaining elite political power.⁶ This line of analysis has given emphasis to four conjoined notions and destinations: Italy, and the significance of ancient republican Rome, together with France and the concept of politeness.

Admiration for Rome, Italy and classical culture pre-dated the eighteenth century. However, it gained enhanced relevance following the Glorious Revolution when Whig political and cultural ideologies appropriated classical models to manufacture an identity based on the history and iconography of ancient republican Rome. This led to an enduring association between the visual arts, classics and politics that had profound implications for the commissioning, purchasing and display of architecture and art. These activities fostered opportunities to display 'one's political and

⁵ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, p. 130.

⁶ Redford, *Venice*, pp. 8–9, 16.

cultural allegiance to Roman republican values'.⁷ As Joseph Burke argued, 'the self-identification of the Whig oligarchy with the senators of republican and imperial Rome' gave a new purpose to the Grand Tour's aesthetic and classical itinerary as a source of key inspiration.⁸ Through time spent in Italy, the Grand Tourist 'encountered the material fragments of the classical heritage to which he was supposedly heir', discovered the 'rapture of identification with his noble predecessors', and consequently was prepared for his future role in a 'monumental patriarchal order'.⁹ Rome in particular 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.¹⁰ This cultural hegemony was also performed by 'reading' the Italian landscape through corresponding classical texts, a skill that was regarded as proof of a classical education. Published travel literature in the first part of the eighteenth century, epitomized in Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Italy* (1705), was dominated by this trope of 'classical nostalgia'.¹¹

Scholars' initial emphasis on Italy as the Grand Tour's ultimate destination derived from the attention then given to continental travel by art historians. But during the 1990s, another important connection was made from the perspective of the history of education. In her study of elite masculinity, Cohen yoked the Grand Tour to another key concept in Whig ideology: politeness. Tied to the shift in political power from the court to parliament, and to the rising commercialization and urbanization of society, politeness has, until recently, been understood as the dominant code of eighteenth-century masculinity.¹² Within the context of aristocratic and gentry sociability, polite masculinity functioned as an ideal of social behaviour. It was a 'dexterous management of words and actions', that focused upon

⁷ J. Wilton-Ely, "'Classical ground': Britain, Italy and the Grand Tour', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, xxvii (2004), 136–65, at p. 152.

⁸ J. Burke, 'The Grand Tour and the rule of taste', in *Studies in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. R. F. Brissenden (Canberra, 1968), p. 234.

⁹ D. Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), pp. 35, 140; M. Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art, 1750–1810* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2005), p. 48.

¹⁰ Redford, *Venice*, pp. 8–9.

¹¹ Sweet, *Cities*, pp. 5, 24, 109–11; C. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 20–2.

¹² See L. Klein, 'The third earl of Shaftesbury and the progress of politeness', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, xviii (1984), 186–214, at pp. 186–8, 190–1; L. Klein, 'Politeness and the interpretation of the British eighteenth century', *Historical Journal*, xlv (2002), 869–98, at p. 881; for politeness as a dominant expression of masculinity, see A. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998); P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660–1800* (Harlow, 2001).

the mutual benefits of the ‘art of pleasing’.¹³ Characterized by a refined, virtuous nature that emphasized softened tempers and rationality, polite masculinity was also outwardly displayed through graceful movement. This was achieved through intensive bodily cultivation for which dance, swordplay and equestrianism were considered essential. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, French society was perceived to be the most civilized and polite of European societies.¹⁴ In giving Grand Tourists access to Parisian society and to French academies, where they learnt to ride, fence, dance and speak French, the Grand Tour was an institution dedicated to forming its young participants in the arts of polite refinement.¹⁵

The young men who appear in this book fully embraced the Tour as an opportunity for personal refinement and art appreciation. Just before crossing the Alps in June 1764, John Holroyd, who came from an aspirational Anglo-Irish family and later became the 1st earl of Sheffield, wrote of his ‘Passion & Fury’ to see Italy.¹⁶ Others dedicated themselves to commissioning and collecting artwork intended for their family seats. Families like the earls of Pembroke and dukes of Richmond created outstanding examples of eighteenth-century architecture and art collections at Wilton House, Goodwood House and the (now disassembled) Richmond Gallery across several generations of building and Grand Tour collecting. Before even setting foot in Rome, Tourists spent time at academies in Paris, the Loire Valley and Turin, where they acquired the physical and linguistic graces of the polite gentleman. At the start of a Grand Tour that lasted from 1775 to 1778, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth spent three months at an academy in Tours (August–October 1775) and seven months at a Parisian academy (October 1775–March 1776). Lewisham was the eldest son of Frances Catherine and William Legge, the 2nd earl of Dartmouth, a couple who carefully blended strong religious and moral convictions with the maintenance of their elevated sociopolitical status. They clearly expected the same of their children, and social graces were central to this aim. In an affectionately jocular exchange that was

¹³ See Klein, ‘Politeness’, pp. 42, 45.

¹⁴ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp. 63, 12, 38–9; Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, pp. 72–4, 77, 166. As Cohen and others have noted, this was problematic as the French were also perceived as overly refined and effeminate.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*; Cohen, ‘The Grand Tour: constructing the English gentleman in eighteenth-century France’, *History of Education*, xxi (1992), 241–57; M. Cohen, ‘Manliness, effeminacy and the French: gender and the construction of national character in eighteenth-century England’, in *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*, ed. T. Hitchcock and M. Cohen (London, 1999), pp. 44–62.

¹⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 152, Holroyd, Chamberly, to Mrs Atkinson, 17 July 1764.

typical of their close knit family, Lewisham joked that ‘you will certainly be much surprised if you find me in the Spring as unlicked a Cub as when I left England’.¹⁷ His father retorted in kind, stating that: ‘on the contrary, I fully expect to see you very upright in your figure, without thrusting out your rump behind, or your chin before, very easy & gracious in yr motions, very polite & engaging in your manners’.¹⁸

Important though they undoubtedly were, the pursuit of classical heritage, aesthetic taste and politeness accounted for just two elements of the Grand Tour. As scholars have relinquished a fixed gaze on Italy, the other ways in which travel was used to assert aristocratic privilege have begun to emerge.¹⁹ One of these was its importance in developing sociopolitical networks. In examining the origins of the Society of Dilettanti, Jason Kelly highlighted how the Grand Tour operated as ‘a laboratory’ for young elite men to experiment with their associational skills, and its instrumental role in forging social bonds between British and Irish tourists.²⁰ Building on Stephen Conway’s observation that the British elites embraced their place within a pan-European high-elite culture, my own research has highlighted how socializing with Europe’s sociopolitical elite accounted for an enormous percentage of a Tourist’s itinerary.²¹ For example, on the 31 October 1777 Philip Yorke, who later inherited his uncle’s title and became the 3rd earl of Hardwicke, recorded in his diary that he had made 50 social calls during his first day in Vienna.²² This was but one instance of the intense social whirl that characterized his Grand Tour of 1777–9. Likewise, in the summer of 1755, the poet and playwright, William Whitehead was in Germany, acting as a tutor on a Grand Tour that lasted from 1754 to 1756. His two charges were George Bussy Villiers and George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, the sons and heirs of the 3rd earl of Jersey and the 1st

¹⁷ Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D(W)1778/V/874, Georges Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, Paris, to William Legge, 2nd earl of Dartmouth, 22 Dec. [1775].

¹⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, Sandwell, to Lewisham, 3 Jan. 1776.

¹⁹ See e.g., J. Bepler, ‘Travelling and posterity: the archive, the library and the cabinet’, in *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Babel and W. Paravicini (Ostfildern, 2005); A. Brundin and D. Roberts, ‘Book-buying and the Grand Tour: the Italian books at Belton House in Lincolnshire’, *The Library*, xvi (2015), 51–79; M. McCormack, ‘Dance and drill: polite accomplishments and military masculinities in Georgian Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, viii (2011), 315–30.

²⁰ J. M. Kelly, *The Society of the Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2009), pp. 17–18. See also ch. 1 in general.

²¹ S. Conway, *England, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 192–3, 213.

²² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke’s Grand Tour journal, 31 Oct. 1777.

Earl Harcourt. Conscious that both families moved in courtly, political and fashionable society, Whitehead wrote to reassure the young men's parents that they should not fear that too much time was being given to 'things' rather than 'men': 'Our whole time is spent in Company'.²³

The goal of these packed social itineraries was to reaffirm connections that had been established during previous family members' Grand Tours, and to add new acquaintances to these networks. Grand Tour patterns of sociability were markedly shaped by the ever-changing political scene of alliances and power, although, as a rule, significantly more time was allocated to socializing in northern and central Europe. Elaine Chalus has described British elite social networks as a highly personal, influence-based form of politics that took place in social situations.²⁴ The time and effort allocated to socializing on the Grand Tour points to the international dimension and ambitions of these sociopolitical networks, and indicates that the Tour was perceived by the British aristocracy as a useful tool in maintaining them.²⁵ This was not unique to the British Grand Tour. Paola Bianchi, Mathis Leibetseder, Eva Chodějovská and Zdeněk Hojda have respectively observed similar patterns in the sociopolitical activities of Savoyard, Hapsburg, German and Bohemian equivalents.²⁶ This new line of research raises further questions, including the extent to which these international, intergenerational social networks exerted sway over international politics, diplomacy and trade.

While this branch of research locates the Tour within the wider practices of elite sociopolitical culture, others have considered it in the context of strategies used to advance a family's social, economic and political

²³ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), Acc. 510/242, William Whitehead, Hanover, to William Villiers, 3rd earl of Jersey, 7 June 1755.

²⁴ E. Chalus, 'Elite women, social politics, and the political world of late eighteenth-century England', *Historical Journal*, xlv (2000), 669–98, at p. 672.

²⁵ S. Goldsmith, 'The social challenge: northern and central European societies on the eighteenth-century aristocratic Grand Tour', in *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven and S. Goldsmith (London, 2017), pp. 65–82.

²⁶ See E. Chodějovská and Z. Hojda, 'Abroad, or still "at home"? Young noblemen from the Czech lands and the empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' and M. S. Leibetseder, 'Between specialisation and encyclopaedic knowledge: educational travelling and court culture in early eighteenth-century Germany', in Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, *Beyond the Grand Tour*, pp. 83–107 and 108–24; P. Bianchi, 'La caccia nell'educazione del gentiluomo. Il caso sabaudo (sec. XVI–XVIII)', in *La caccia nello Stato sabaudo I. Caccia e cultura (sec. XVI–XVIII)*, ed. P. Bianchi and P. Passerin d'Entrèves (Turin, 2010), pp. 19–37; P. Bianchi, 'Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento', in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI–XIX)*, ed. M. Bellabarba and J. P. Niederkorn (Berlin, 2010), pp. 135–53.

status. Richard Ansell's study of the educational travel practices of three generations of post-restoration Irish Protestant families, demonstrates that the full Grand Tour was only one in a number of educational travel options. Less prosperous families frequently pursued more financially viable forms of educational travel, including shorter continental tours. By contrast, wealthier families might send their eldest sons on the full Grand Tour while providing younger sons with other types of educational travel suitable to their 'different estates'. Sir Philip, Robert and John Perceval, for example, all left Ireland for Oxford, Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn in the 1670s but only the heir travelled to Europe. The second son undertook a domestic tour of Wales, while the youngest remained at home, following both his brothers on globes and maps.²⁷

In the 1770s, William Legge, the 2nd earl of Dartmouth opted for a different strategy with his three eldest sons. His heir, that 'unlick'd cub', George, Viscount Lewisham, took the full Grand Tour from 1775–9 with his tutor, David Stevenson. William, the musically talented second son, accompanied him in 1775 for the French leg. Charles – the third son and destined for the army – joined from 1776–7 as they travelled through the militarized spaces of the Netherlands, Germany and Austria.²⁸ After a six-month stay in Vienna, Lewisham escorted Charles back to England before setting out again for the south of France, Switzerland and Italy. Dartmouth's decision may have been inspired by the success of his own Grand Tour, which he undertook in 1751–4 with his stepbrother and the future prime minister, Frederick, Lord North. Their Tour was a spectacular triumph during which they caught the attention of the influential Whig politician, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st duke of Newcastle. Lord North similarly made generous provisions for his sons around the same time as the travels of Lewisham and his brothers.

Scholars have recently sought to gain better insight into the mechanics of how educational travel worked. Richard Ansell and Paola Bianchi have examined the structures, finances and educational philosophies of academies and their connections to the wider political and cultural milieu through their respective case studies of Foubert's Parisian and London-based academy and Turin's Accademia Reale.²⁹ John Gallagher's study of early modern language

²⁷ R. Ansell, 'Educational travel in Protestant families from post-Restoration Ireland', *Historical Journal*, lviii (2015), 931–58, at pp. 938–9.

²⁸ See the Dartmouth papers in SRO, D(W)1778 for Grand Tour letters from all three sons.

²⁹ R. Ansell, 'Foubert's academy: British and Irish elite formation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris and London', in Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, *Beyond the Grand Tour*, pp. 46–64; Bianchi, 'La caccia', pp. 19–37; Bianchi, 'Una palestra', pp. 135–

learning has shone light on the formal and informal ways in which new skills were acquired. Scholars studied texts, received formal tuition and committed themselves to ‘essaying’ (writing regularly in another language), but early modern linguistic pedagogy also ‘demanded an engagement with the target language as it was spoken and heard’.³⁰ This was achieved through seeking more immersive encounters with multilingual people in Britain and by travelling abroad. Eighteenth-century pedagogical practices continued to favour this combination of in/formal learning and immersion in language learning and in other areas of education. As chapter 2 outlines, it was used in the Tour’s military education, in which participants studied formally in academies, observed military activities during touristic activities and sometimes engaged in conflict as military volunteers. Likewise, the art of sociability was formally acquired in academies and informally through a young man’s integration in elite European society.³¹

Alongside instilling knowledge, the Grand Tour was also used to form men’s virtues, character, identities and even their emotional capacity. For example, it was deliberately designed to separate young men from their families and homes. This resulted in a set of anticipated emotional reactions and can therefore be termed an ‘emotional practice’. Monique Scheer defined emotional practices as events and actions that manipulated the ‘body and mind to evoke emotions where there are none ... or to change or remove emotions already there’.³² Tourists were expected to express and respond to the emotions evoked by travel in the correct manner.³³ One of these emotions was homesickness, to which the correct response was not straightforward. On the one hand, homesickness offered Tourists an

53; P. Bianchi, ‘The British at the Turin Royal Academy: cosmopolitanism and religious pragmatism’, in *Turin and the British in the Age of the Grand Tour*, ed. P. Bianchi and K. Wolfe (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 91–107, 399–410.

³⁰ J. Gallagher, ‘The Italian London of John North: cultural contact and linguistic encounter in early modern England’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, lxx (2017), 88–131, at pp. 91, 95–6, 141; J. Gallagher, ‘“Ungratefull Tuscans”: teaching Italian in early modern England’, *The Italianist*, xxxvi (2016), 394–413, at p. 404.

³¹ Goldsmith, ‘The social challenge’, p. 74. For further comments on immersive and experiential learning in the eighteenth century, see P. Borsay, ‘Children, adolescents and fashionable urban society in eighteenth-century England’, in *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Müller (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 53–62.

³² M. Scheer, ‘Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have history)? A Bourdieuan approach to understanding emotion’, *History and Theory*, li (2012), 193–220, at p. 209.

³³ The prescriptive nature of these expectations also allows the Tour to be viewed as an emotional regime in which certain emotional reactions were prescribed and punished. See W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001).

opportunity to demonstrate their status as patriotic men of feeling with affectionate ties to their families and nation via expressions of longing. On the other hand, severe homesickness (nostalgia) was viewed as an irrational, provincial emotion that should not be experienced by enlightened cosmopolitan men of the world. Tourists were expected to learn how to overcome an *excessive* longing for home and, through this, demonstrate a capacity for virtues like self-control, resilience and restraint.³⁴

Separating elite young men from home is one example of how the physical scenarios created by travelling and the resulting emotional responses were used to test, teach and form Grand Tourists. The scenario of danger and the varied physical and emotional reactions provoked by this experience is another. Danger as a formative test was central to the Grand Tour itineraries considered in this book. Chapter 2 explores the Tour's educational military curriculum and places this within the context of wider scholarship on the elite's traditional culture of military service. By highlighting continuities with earlier seventeenth-century practices – together with a historiography that identifies a late eighteenth-century resurgence of martiality – it explores the elite's ongoing commitment to its identity as military leaders. Chapter 3 examines three interrelated sets of physical activity on the Grand Tour: exercise regimes, sporting activities and the physical experience and discomforts of travel itself. Physical exercises were used to attain elegant deportment and military discipline, but they were also part of a wider daily health regime. Sporting pursuits played an important role in social and homosocial activity as well as offering opportunities to display one's physical courage and prowess. Courage also played a significant role in Grand Tour experiences of the hardships of travel, especially when journeying through mountainous routes. Here, Tourists sought to demonstrate their cheerful indifference to privation and their capacity for accurately judging danger. Chapter 4 considers what happened when Grand Tourists stepped out of their carriages, off the roads and onto the Alpine mountains and glaciers, and the slopes of Vesuvius. In detailing how 'hardy' masculinity was performed in these locations, the chapter argues that the Grand Tour's culture of climbing and exploring the Alps and Vesuvius not only drew on Enlightenment discourses of exploration and the natural sciences, and on sublime theory, but was also a continuation of the courageous, physical performances found in war, exercise, sports and on the road.

Studying these itineraries enables a clearer insight into what elite families sought to achieve by sending their sons on the Grand Tour. One goal was to

³⁴ S. Goldsmith, 'Nostalgia, homesickness and emotional formation on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour', *Cultural and Social History*, xv (2018), 333–60.

provide a thorough military education that prepared young men as effective military commanders, instilled in them the internal masculine virtues of courage, discipline, endurance and stoicism, and ensured they had a strong sense of their innately martial identities. This, as chapter 2 explores, was pursued in relation to military sites and scenarios in which Tourists were expected to confront the dangers of war with honour. This aim also strongly shaped engagement with a much wider range of physical dangers. As chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate, the frissons of difficulty and danger associated with sports, travel and natural phenomena meant that these environments and activities were seen as akin to the formative dangers of war, and were used for similar ends: the development and performance of hardy, courageous men capable of enduring danger with their self-control and honour intact. Irrespective of whether these men ever undertook active military service in their later careers, the capacity to encounter danger during the Tour was idealized as an important part of a successful masculine performance.

The Grand Tour was also intended to establish robust physical health. Chapters 3 and 4 investigate how this was achieved by capitalizing on prolonged exposure to salubrious topographies and climates, by establishing healthy daily routines, and through the healthful properties of travel itself. Grand Tourists anticipated that these practices would lead to bountiful good health for many years to come, and that this health would be of more immediate use in providing a valuable defence against the dangers of less salubrious parts of Europe, particularly when travelling through the heats and miasmas of Italy. Finally, elite families also hoped that the Grand Tour would produce young elite men who simultaneously had a firm sense of their British identity and of their place within a cosmopolitan, pan-European elite community. How to achieve this was a thorny issue and the cause of acute anxiety at a national and familial level. Linda Colley, among many others, has drawn attention to how young men protected their patriotic sense of Britishness through maintaining an ever-present disparaging xenophobic commentary on continental short-comings. Yet, at the same time, they also cultivated cosmopolitanism through an extensive, often appreciative interaction with continental elite culture.³⁵ Chapter 4 explores other ways in which identity was produced and consolidated through exploring the calculated use of place, performance and encounters with danger.

Eighteenth-century 'British' traits – steadiness, vigour, industry, Protestantism and liberty – were associated with the nation's superior sense

³⁵ For two widely different approaches to Britain's relationship with the continent, see L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London, 1992), p. 166 and S. Conway, *England, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 192–213.

of its political destiny *and* its 'northern' Europe geographical location. Spending time in other northern European locations with similarly wholesome, suitable climates and social, political and religious systems was therefore seen as an opportunity for British men to mature in a cosmopolitan but still familiar environment. As the Alps were designated particularly wholesome northern spaces, from mid century onwards Tourists devoted increased time to celebrating how physical exploration of the hazardous environments of glaciers and mountains assisted in preparing courageous, hardy and, above all, 'British' bodies, virtues and identities. These qualities were tested as Tourists crossed into Italy, where the 'southern' climate and culture tempted them to a life of indolence, enervation and immorality. Thus, while soaking in Italy's artistic and classical heritage, Tourists were also expected to prove the fixed permanency of their identity by continuing to perform physical acts of hardy endurance. As one of the most physically arduous tasks undertaken by Grand Tourists, climbing Mount Vesuvius acquired particular symbolic significance as a defiant act of northern hardiness in the warm south.

Various means were used to achieve these three overarching aims of the Grand Tour. Actual physical practice and performance was important as young men were placed in testing scenarios and expected to respond accordingly. *Where* this performance occurred was as significant as *what happened*. Some scenarios were inextricably tied to certain geographies. Exposure to war, for example, required access to theatres of combat and was often prioritized in the Netherlands, Austria and Prussia, while natural phenomena like mountains, glaciers and volcanoes could only be easily encountered in the Alps and the kingdom of Naples. In contrast, securing good health and a strong identity could only be achieved by extensive travel between different destinations and climates. A successful Grand Tour therefore required a calculated use of Europe's different terrains and climates. Finally, how Grand Tourists *represented* their actions and embodied physical, mental and emotional responses to these experiences in their written accounts and commissioned artwork was of fundamental importance. Chapter 5 examines the narrative conventions that shaped how Grand Tourists wrote about danger, the creative ways in which they used these encounters and narrations to lay claim to different elite masculine identities, and the careful means by which inappropriate responses to danger were sidelined, reconstructed and reallocated.

Rethinking the history of masculinity

Studying the Grand Tour also enables an intervention into the now rich and shifting historiography of eighteenth-century masculinity. From

its earliest stages, this field has been shaped by several key theoretical and methodological approaches. Efforts to identify the normative codes and the gendered logic that shaped the period's most evident trends of masculinity has resulted in an overwhelming focus on analysing cultural representation.³⁶ This focus is in part a legacy of preoccupations central to the 'cultural turn' but it has also been influenced by the sociologist R. W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity. Connell's widely used model offers a historically sensitive way of analysing the power relations between varieties of masculinity and patriarchy. It contends that only one form of masculinity – a 'hegemonic masculinity' – can dominate at any given time. Other forms exist within three categories: 'complicit' (those which do not conform to the hegemonic model but do not challenge it); 'subordinate' (masculinities that are denied legitimacy); and 'marginalized' (masculinities which intersect with other axes of social stratification, like ethnicity or class).³⁷

Pioneering historians of eighteenth-century masculinity, such as Philip Carter and Michèle Cohen, began by exploring how the so-called 'paradigm' of politeness was also the period's hegemonic masculinity.³⁸ It has since been argued that the pervasiveness of politeness has been overstated in histories of the eighteenth century.³⁹ Within the study of masculinity, this revision has included querying the dominance of the polite gentleman, and the uncovering of an impressive array of alternative masculinities.⁴⁰

³⁶ K. Harvey and A. Shepard, 'What have historians done with masculinity? Reflections on five centuries of British history, circa 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 274–80, at p. 276; J. Tosh, 'The history of masculinity: an outdated concept?', in *What is Masculinity?*, ed. J. H. Arnold and S. Brady (London, 2011), p. 22.

³⁷ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 76–81. For a good summary of how historians of masculinity have interpreted this model, see A. Shepard, 'From anxious patriarchs to refined gentlemen: manhood in early modern Britain, c.1500–1700', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 281–95, at pp. 290–1; and B. Griffin, 'Hegemonic masculinity as a historical problem', *Gender and History*, xxx (2018), 377–400, at pp. 378–9.

³⁸ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 8; M. Cohen, "'Manners" make the man: politeness, chivalry and the construction of masculinity, 1750–1830', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 312–29, at p. 312.

³⁹ For literature refining the polite paradigm, see P. Langford, 'The uses of eighteenth-century politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xii (2002), 311–31; and R. Sweet, 'Topographies of politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xii (2002), 355–74. For literature challenging the paradigm of politeness, see H. Berry, 'Rethinking politeness in eighteenth-century England: Moll King's coffee house and the significance of "flash talk"', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xi (2001), 65–81; and S. Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, Ill., 2011).

⁴⁰ For critiques of the thesis of the polite gentleman, see K. Harvey, 'Ritual encounters: punch parties and masculinity in the eighteenth century', *Past and Present*, ccxiv (2012),

These range from the sensitive man of feeling and the Enlightened man of letters to the civic-minded leaders of politics and the military, the chivalric man, sportsman, macaroni and libertine.⁴¹ Impolite and violent masculine behaviours abounded in the form of duelling, drinking, gambling, consumption of pornography and erotica, and a culture of raucously filthy humour and riotous sociability.⁴² Additional facets of eighteenth-century masculinity are continually being unearthed, as scholars have begun investigating the influence of social status, nationality, religion, health, occupation and familial position.⁴³

Historians adhering to the framework of Connell's theory have sought to explain these increasingly diverse and messy findings in two ways. First, through imposing a linear narrative in which one dominant expression of masculinity was eventually superseded by another.⁴⁴ Early eighteenth-century politeness succumbed to persistent accusations that it collapsed into effeminacy and artifice, and was replaced in the mid eighteenth century by the man of feeling who in turn was attacked for similar failings and for his excess of uncontrolled emotion. He was replaced by a more robust, martial and civic-minded set of masculinities towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ A second explanation argues that the pervasive presence and

165–203; K. Davison, 'Occasional politeness and gentlemen's laughter in eighteenth-century England', *Historical Journal*, lvii (2014), 921–45.

⁴¹ See, e.g., Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti*; M. McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester, 2005) and McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford, 2015); Cohen, "'Manners" make the man'; K. Downing, 'The gentleman boxer: boxing, manners, and masculinity in eighteenth-century England', *Men and Masculinities*, xii (2010), 328–52; P. McNeil, 'Macaroni masculinities', *Fashion Theory*, iv (2000), 373–403.

⁴² See, e.g., S. Banks, *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: the Duel and the English Gentlemen, 1750–1850* (Woodbridge, 2010); K. Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge, 2004); J. M. Kelly, 'Riots, revelries, and rumour: libertinism and masculine association in enlightenment London', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2006), 759–95, at pp. 774–5; V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2006).

⁴³ For just a few examples of this rapidly growing literature, see K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012); H. Barker, 'Soul, purse and family: middling and lower-class masculinity in eighteenth-century Manchester', *Social History*, xxxi (2008), 12–35; J. Begiato, 'Tears and the manly sailor in England, c.1760–1860', *Journal for Maritime Research*, xvii (2015), 117–33; and "'A very sensible man": imagining fatherhood in England c.1750–1830', *History*, xcv (2010), 267–92; H. French and M. Rothery, 'Male anxiety among younger sons of the English landed gentry, 1700–1900', *Historical Journal*, lxii (2018), 1–29.

⁴⁴ For an excellent summary of the scholarship adhering to this, see K. Harvey, 'The history of masculinity, c.1650–1800', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 298–305.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Cohen, "'Manners" make the man'.

celebration of impolite, violent and sexually explicit masculine behaviour should be read as a reflection of the difference between legitimate and subversively illegitimate masculinities.⁴⁶

Yet there remains a palpable dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of these explanations and the underlying theoretical approach. As John Tosh and Ben Griffin observed, scholars have too readily denied the diversity and complexity of historical manhood in assuming that hegemonic masculinity is a cultural phenomenon *tout court*.⁴⁷ Two further interrelated criticisms have also frequently been made. The first addresses the gap between the ideal and practice. Connell asserts that hegemonic masculinity rests on 'a fairly convincing corporate display of masculinity' rather than the ability of individuals to live up to the ideal.⁴⁸ As the study of eighteenth-century masculinity had traditionally favoured sources centred on cultural representation, this has threatened to dissolve into a study of myths rather than of how actual men individually and collectively experienced and performed masculinity.⁴⁹ As a result, the social remit of these cultural codes remains unclear.⁵⁰ Yet the importance of performance should not be forgotten: gender theory insists that the construction of gender is achieved not just through rhetoric, reports and narration, but also through physical actions, behaviours and habits.⁵¹ These performances enabled social and homosocial groups to undertake a critical process of judgement, acceptance and rejection.⁵²

These criticisms have resulted in a welcome rise in archivally based studies investigating the lived experience and performance of eighteenth-century masculinity.⁵³ Yet through this, a second issue has become more pressingly apparent: not only were there multiple masculinities within one given time period, but individual men did not continually perform the same masculinity. In essence, historians have found that there was no steady adherence to one 'hegemonic' masculinity. As Carter noted in his study of

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the arguments explored by Hitchcock and Cohen throughout *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*.

⁴⁷ J. Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender', in *Masculinity in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (Manchester, 2004), p. 52; Griffin, 'Hegemonic masculinity', p. 377.

⁴⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 77, quoted in Griffin, 'Hegemonic masculinity', p. 383.

⁴⁹ Griffin, 'Hegemonic masculinity', p. 384.

⁵⁰ Harvey and Shepard, 'What have historians done?', pp. 275–6, 280.

⁵¹ See the work of J. Butler and also J. W. Scott, 'The evidence of experience', *Critical Inquiry*, xvii (1991), 773–97.

⁵² Griffin, 'Hegemonic masculinity', p. 391.

⁵³ See, e.g., the work of K. Harvey, J. Begiato, A. Vickery, H. Barker, H. French and M. Rothery.

the diarist, James Boswell, who himself undertook a Grand Tour in 1763–6, eighteenth-century manliness ‘was an essential but also complex and fluid identity, configured differently with respect to the sex, class and nationality of one’s companions, and the geographical location and time of day when meetings took place’.⁵⁴ Alexandra Shepard’s extensive work on early modern archival records led her to argue that different forms of masculinity operated as ‘very loose categories rather than rigid types, with a considerable degree of fluidity’, and 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’.⁵⁵ While it might now be recognized that multiple masculinities were in play, the dynamics of this process at a social and cultural level remain far from clear. For Griffin, this raised the issue of ‘situational identity’: how might a man’s immediate situation affect his masculine identity? This leads to numerous further questions: what degree of agency did men have in adopting and moving between different masculinities? Were these moves between different masculinities achieved consciously, intuitively, or subconsciously? How were these shifts experienced? How, or did, men internalize and make sense of their gender performances?⁵⁶

The Grand Tour provides crucial insights into some of these complexities. Undertaken by the period’s most dominant social and political group, the Tour was a socially exclusive educational practice explicitly intended to impart the strategies, mechanism and opportunities that enabled men to identify themselves with a set of attributes that constituted ideal masculinity. During this period of learning, young men carefully constructed their claims to masculinity through their physical and social performances, and in their letters, diaries and artwork commissions. These claims were closely scrutinized and judged by wider elite communities in Britain and across Europe. Combined with the traveller’s desire to record new experiences, a son’s duty to report to his parents, and the often careful preservation of these records, the Grand Tour as a whole offers an unusually rich set of sources through which to re-evaluate eighteenth-century manhood.

From the perspective of Grand Tour studies, a revision is also needed. The Tour has been so exclusively associated with the formation of a distinctively polite masculinity that it has been argued the decline of politeness as the hegemonic masculinity led to the decline of the Grand Tour as an educational practice.⁵⁷ Underlying this is an unspoken assumption that as a practice supposedly designed for the perfection of one type of masculinity, the Tour

⁵⁴ P. Carter, ‘James Boswell’s manliness’, in *English Masculinities*, pp. 111–30, 129–30.

⁵⁵ Shepard, ‘Anxious patriarchs’, p. 291.

⁵⁶ Griffin, ‘Hegemonic masculinities’, pp. 384, 392–4.

⁵⁷ See Cohen, “‘Manners’ make the man’.

could not possibly be adapted to impart a new one. Evidence of non-polite masculine behaviours have either been ignored or – in the case of the Tour’s many instances of excess drinking, gambling and sex – identified as illicit, rebellious masculine expressions in tension with the hegemonic norm.⁵⁸

This book broadens perceptions of the range of masculinities associated with the Tour through examining how it was used to construct elite identities that included military, sporting, chivalric and adventurer forms of manhood. These placed a common value on physically strong and courageous performances, on internal masculine virtues of courage, discipline, endurance and stoicism, and were crucially linked to an aristocratic understanding of themselves as a military service elite. Given such unifying traits, these performances may be thought of as instances of ‘hardy’ masculinity. 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, and used approvingly by Grand Tourists themselves.⁵⁹ For example, during his Grand Tour of 1775–80, George, Lord Herbert and later 11th earl of Pembroke, proudly described his tutor – the Anglican clergyman and writer, William Coxe – as ‘certainly nothing less than a hardy, stout, Man’.⁶⁰ Calling themselves the ‘Triumvirate’, Herbert, Coxe and his second tutor, the army captain, John Floyd, revelled in their dramatic, arduous encounters with hardship and danger. In a Tour that meandered across the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, Italy and France, the trio also spent nine months at a military academy in Strasbourg (November 1775–July 1776), three months at Turin’s Accademia Reale (December 1778–February 1779), and undertook protracted tours of Alpine mountains and glaciers, and of Warsaw, St Petersburg, Stockholm and Copenhagen via the fringes of the Arctic waste and the icy Gulf of Bothnia. This gave them a profound, shared sense of masculine superiority. During one mountain journey, 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’.⁶¹ As such, ‘hardy’ serves as a suitable portmanteau term for a specific set of masculine identities that encompassed military and other physical dangers.

⁵⁸ See ch. 1 for a fuller discussion of this and the relevant literature.

⁵⁹ ‘hardy, adj.’, *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84203?rskey=aj88M3&result=2&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 15 Aug. 2014].

⁶⁰ Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (WSHC), MS. 2057/F5/7, George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke’s Grand Tour journal, 1 Dec. 1779.

⁶¹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke’s Grand Tour journal, 1 Dec. 1779.

In addition to establishing their hardiness at the military camp, or on a glacier or the slopes of Vesuvius, Grand Tourists devoted equivalent enthusiasm to cultivating other masculinities. They dedicated themselves to achieving the persona of the polite gentleman through their daily exercises and made enormous efforts to be received well by polite society. They framed themselves as cultivated men of taste by writing ecstatically about Rome's ruins, and by collecting and commissioning art which they later displayed in their country seats. Their richly emotional exchanges with family and friends were intended as testament to their status as men of feeling, while they also demonstrated their capacity for rowdy associational masculinity by toasting, drinking, jesting and carousing with their peers. Crucially, none of these can be identified as the most dominant masculinity since young elite men were typically expected to display all of these attributes: together they formed part of the complex patchwork of what it was to be an elite man.

The Grand Tour therefore offers an exceptional insight into the working dynamics of 'situational identity'. Grand Tourists were constantly moving between mountainsides, battlefields, courts and metropolises, polite and martial social cultures, republics and absolute monarchies, from mixed to homosocial groups, young to old, multiple nationalities to only British or French or Austrian. They spent time at balls, at university, on hunts, in art galleries and pleasure gardens, among classical ruins, in cabinets of curiosities, churches and taverns. Encountered within the context of elite social culture and through the practice of travel, these varied environments exposed Tourists to a range of standards and expectations on how to socialize and behave as an elite man. This exposure was deliberately sought after as elite men highly valued the ability to move seamlessly between a composite range of social and masculine behaviours.⁶² Men who could do this while appropriately retaining the instantly recognizable gentlemanly habitus, virtues and honour in any scenario were greatly admired by Grand Tourists for their judgement and versatility. When weighing up between Vienna's new and old French ambassadors in 1778, Philip Yorke judged that, for all his suppers, balls and conversation, the incoming diplomat was incapable of 'adapting himself to the manners of others', and that the outgoing ambassador would have pleased his uncles more.⁶³ Yorke commonly made assessments like these throughout his Grand Tour letters

⁶² See Goldsmith, 'The social challenge', for further discussion of this.

⁶³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 143, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke, Vienna, to Philip Yorke, 2nd earl of Hardwicke, 11 Feb. 1778. Note that while his turn of phrase suggests that this adaptable behaviour should be seen as the embodiment of polite sociability, it is important to remember that adaptability took men well beyond the boundaries of refined masculinity.

at the bequest of his uncles. The Yorkes were a powerful family within Whig politics and intellectual circles. Philip's eldest uncle – also Philip Yorke, 2nd earl of Hardwicke – was an intellectual and influential political figure, while his younger uncle, Sir Joseph Yorke, followed an early military career with a thirty-year spell as the British minister to The Hague. The younger Philip subsequently began his Grand Tour by staying for a year with Sir Joseph at The Hague while attending Leiden University nearby. In asking their nephew to record and reflect on his social interactions throughout his time abroad, Philip's uncles sought to sharpen his judgement of what made a good socialite, politician and elite man. Versatility emerged as a celebrated trait in Yorke's commentaries.

In their 2012 study of landed gentry masculinity and education, Henry French and Mark Rothery found evidence of 'fundamental and remarkably tenacious ideas of male honour, virtue, reputation and autonomy' between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Self-control, independence, stoicism, courage, a command of others, morality, prudence, industry, cosmopolitanism and patriotism were a set of profound ordering principles that were deeply internalized within individuals and families, and diffused throughout social, political and economic institutions.⁶⁴ Building on Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, and the work of Fernand Braudel, French and Rothery speculated that while this value system was extremely slow to change, the social and cultural factors that codified how these principles should be expressed were far more likely to shift over time. As such, the various masculine trends and stereotypes identified in recent scholarship were simply different manifestations of the same virtues.⁶⁵ Honour, for example, could be defended on the point of a sword, with a fist, or by words in the court of law. Self-control could be expressed through the bodily and verbal motions of polite deportment, through the physical disciplines of dancing, drill work, fencing or boxing, or through a courageous, disciplined response to scenarios of danger.

French and Rothery's work is part of a wider effort to move beyond presuming a top-down relationship between cultural trends and individual men. In demonstrating how young men's masculine identities were instead shaped by 'everyday experiences' and 'familial cultures of masculinity' shared across the gentry as a larger community, they have also shown that these cultures did not reliably correspond with broader cultural discourses and fashions. While they did sometimes intersect, they just as frequently 'cut

⁶⁴ H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 11–15, 37.

⁶⁵ For the fullest treatment of this argument, see the introduction and conclusion of French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*.

across or even disregarded' them.⁶⁶ Historians are increasingly recognizing the central role of 'community' and 'family' in establishing, communicating and enforcing ideals and behaviours. As Barbara Rosenwein, a historian of medieval emotion, and Simon Szreter, a historian of demography, have asserted, communities operated as vital networks and settings in which people acquired, reproduced and negotiated their social and gender identities, and where communal behaviours, like emotions, were learned and performed.⁶⁷ Communities can be geographically defined or more disparate in nature, formed via kinship, similar social and cultural goals, or material circumstances. Both Rosenwein's model of 'emotional communities' and Szreter's 'communication communities' emphasized how these structures overlap, nest inside one another, and have the potential to prescribe different and even conflicting norms.⁶⁸ By acknowledging those complex dynamics, these models allow for a more refined, nuanced analysis that recognizes the variegated, uneven dissemination of cultural norms and the historically specific mechanisms of socialization that enabled their propagation.⁶⁹

The Grand Tour did not just begin and end at the English Channel. It was fully part of eighteenth-century British elite life and frequently operated in ways that were distinct from the broader discourses and fashions circulated about eighteenth-century travel. The Grand Tour therefore offers a snapshot of how elite communities powerfully affected the individual men within them. The routes, society and itineraries of Grand Tours were intimately shaped by an elite man's family connections, traditions and interests.⁷⁰ These communities also played a vital role in establishing the standards and ideals of masculinity. Take, for example, the communities that formed around the 'hardy' Herbert's Grand Tour of 1775–80. At its centre was his 'Triumvirate' travelling party (the tutors, Coxe and Floyd, plus his manservant, Laurent, and dog, Rover). Through letters, they remained in close contact with another community: his immediate family. Herbert was the only child of Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, and Lady Elizabeth, countess

⁶⁶ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 16, 18–19, 105–7; 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*, xxxiii (2008), 402–22, at p. 421.

⁶⁷ S. Szreter and K. Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918–1963* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 21–2.

⁶⁸ S. Szreter, *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain 1860–1940* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 546–7; B. H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about emotions in history', *American Historical Review*, cvii (2002), 821–45, at p. 842.

⁶⁹ For an exploration of how this could be applied to the history of masculinity, see Griffin, 'Hegemonic masculinities', pp. 385–6.

⁷⁰ Goldsmith, 'The social challenge', p. 75.

of Pembroke. The earls of Pembroke were a long-established, somewhat erratic noble line of avid art collectors and military commanders. The 10th earl was a talented cavalry commander who, in 1762, took his taste for libertinism to the extreme by eloping and having an illegitimate son with 'Kitty', the daughter of the MP, Thomas Orby Hunter. In 1763, he was reconciled with Elizabeth, a court beauty famous for her serenity, morality and distinguished conduct. Their marriage remained decidedly fraught and they frequently lived apart.

Beyond this familial circle, Herbert's letters show that he was part of several social networks based in Britain (these included his illegitimate half-brother, whom Lady Pembroke had raised, his old tutors at Harrow, and friends) as well as overseas. The latter comprised fellow Grand Tourists and older Britons abroad, numerous ambassadors, and members of elite circles in Paris, Vienna and other cities and courts. Each circle subjected Herbert to a range of opinions and expectations regarding elite masculinity. Coxe's and Floyd's mutual willingness to undertake more adventurous expeditions deeply influenced Herbert's emphasis on hardiness. His father's and Floyd's military careers similarly shaped his own desire to lay claim to a martial masculinity, while diplomats, particularly Sir William Hamilton (based at the court in Naples) and Sir Robert Murray Keith (posted to Vienna), encouraged him to cultivate performances as a man of science and of urbane cosmopolitanism.

The richness of Grand Tour sources allows for a sustained interrogation of the complicated dynamics between and within such communities. For example, Herbert received conflicting messages from those communities. His mother and Coxe strongly condemned any libertine behaviours, while his father and Floyd actively encouraged and even ordered him to pursue this masculine identity. These conflicting expectations, themselves symptomatic of deeper rifts between his parents, were a source of acute discomfort. Through studying the Grand Tour, it becomes possible to ascertain how individual men like Herbert responded to the expectations placed on them by their social networks, how they reconciled or endured the conflicts, and how they laid claim to certain masculine identities. Widely circulated, closely scrutinized and treated as evidence of a young man's successes (or failures), the letters, diaries and reports produced by Grand Tourists, tutors and others were a carefully constructed tool in the self-representation of masculinity, and are therefore particularly important in exploring these questions. Chapter 5 examines how the narrative strategies used in recounting experiences of danger were crucial in constructing claims to a variety of masculine ideals. Strikingly, while the majority sought to narrate danger in a manner that laid claim to a hardy martial masculinity,

others took the opportunity to reject a stoic, courageous response in favour of describing a more fearful, emotional reaction that supported claims to alternative masculinities. Examining how and why these narratives were achieved, affirmed and even celebrated by influential elite communities gives a fresh insight into how seemingly atypical male performances sat within the multiplicities of elite masculinity.

Rethinking danger

The final theme explored in this book is that of danger. This is considered through examining how an eighteenth-century British elite understanding of risk and danger shaped men's performances, representations of and attitudes towards masculinity and travel. Masculinity, travel and danger have been intrinsically connected throughout western history. Travel has long featured as a literal and metaphorical part of the masculine coming-of-age process by exposing men to physical, mental and spiritual hardships. The traveller enhanced and demonstrated his masculinity by confronting and overcoming these trials and returning, changed by the journey and its perils. This is a central theme in Homer's *Odyssey*, Christ's forty days in the desert, the knight's chivalric quest, the adventures of the imperial hero, the writings of modern war correspondents and even the self-presentation of gap year students. Carl Thompson, for example, observed how Romantic travel culture attached a subtle prestige to the traveller who courted adversity. Percy Bysshe Shelley 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'.⁷¹ Even before the mid-century golden age of mountaineering, this activity was seen as a 'school of courage' that sought to reach 'a previously unreachd or rarely reached place; a testing of physical ability and mental daring'.⁷² Exposure to danger, hardship and risk not only cultivated the finest masculine virtues, it also resulted in a revelatory knowledge of the world and self. Yet danger has to date occupied a rather neglected position in the historiography of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.

⁷¹ Quoted in C. Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford, 2007), p. 7.

⁷² See, e.g., S. Bainbridge, 'Writing from the perilous ridge: romanticism and the invention of rock climbing', *Romanticism*, xix (2013), 246–60; S. Bainbridge, 'Romantics and mountaineering', *Romanticism*, xviii (2012), 1–15. For literature on 19th-century cultural attitudes towards danger and travel, see P. H. Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013); and E. Freedgood, *Victorian Writing about Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World* (Cambridge, 2000).

Eighteenth-century travel involved multiple physical hazards in the form of accidents, crime, illness, wars and dangerous natural terrains.⁷³ What is more, while the Tour was intended to immerse young elite men in positive continental examples, the effectiveness of this strategy was vehemently contested in many printed publications throughout the period. Here it was argued that European travel corrupted rather than improved its participants. The Grand Tour was depicted as a needlessly dangerous, expensive, unnecessary luxury that exposed young men to numerous moral hazards such as profligacy, gambling, debauchery and drinking. Such corruptive foreign influences would, it was argued, result in effeminacy and affectation, and expose Tourists to perilous political and religious influences, such as Catholicism and the Jacobite cause. This was not just rhetoric. Grand Tourists did sometimes return with *mésalliances*, wasted fortunes, venereal disease and broken health, or to strained family relationships. On occasion men also died while travelling, sometimes with serious consequences for their family's lineage. In 1753 Edmund Sheffield, 2nd duke of Buckingham, died of tuberculosis in Rome, aged 19 and without an heir. The dukedom became extinct and the family estates passed to his illegitimate half-brother.⁷⁴ Despite all this, the Grand Tour remained an extremely popular means of educating heirs.

Scholars have accepted that the Tour was paradoxically 'deeply necessary and deeply dangerous', but in seeking to understand its ongoing popularity, historians have sidelined the issue of danger.⁷⁵ Danger has been cast as a fundamentally negative and disruptive element. As such, the Grand Tour was successful when danger was avoided (war, crime, illness), endured (hardships of the road, terror of mountain passes), and (in the case of moral, social and political hazards) contained via strict behavioural codes enforced by parents' letters and by tutors.⁷⁶ This presumption rests on several misconceptions. The first, as chapter 1 explores in detail, is an ahistorical understanding of danger which applies a modern conceptualization of risk to the eighteenth century. The second is an overly simple conflation between

⁷³ Capturing the 'ardour of travel' via extensive archival research, Jeremy Black outlined what these often briefly referenced hazards actually were in *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992), chs. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13.

⁷⁴ For this and other examples, see N. Stanley-Price, 'See Rome – and die: legacies of the Grand Tour in a Roman cemetery', in *The Legacies of the Grand Tour: New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture*, ed. L. Colletta (Lanham, Mass., 2015), pp. 169–85.

⁷⁵ See Redford, *Venice*, p. 9; Black, *British Abroad*, p. 334; Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, p. 57.

⁷⁶ For traditional takes on danger, see R. Hudson, *The Grand Tour, 1592–1796* (London, 1993), pp. 16, 18; R. S. Lambert, *Grand Tour: a Journey in the Tracks of the Age of Aristocracy* (New York, 1937), pp. 57–8, 42.

the fears raised in public debates about the Grand Tour, and the influence these debates had on Tourists and their families. This relationship needs to be treated with caution. While elite families were aware of the mocking stereotypes and criticisms of the Grand Tour, they did not necessarily take these warnings seriously. Indeed, Grand Tourists often responded to such alarms with a variety of creative parodies. In 1766, returning from a Grand Tour that had begun three years earlier, John Holroyd made a typically mischievous reference to accusations that Tourists would return corrupted by French fashions and manners by observing that, 'On my arrival [in England] 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'.⁷⁷ 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 customs control meant he would most likely be arriving in mourning clothes.⁷⁸

A third misconception regarding attitudes to danger brings back ideas of the Tour as a propagator of polite masculinity. Scholars have suggested that the polite man distanced himself from the physically violent, hazardous and therefore uncivilized expressions of masculinity bound up in warfare, duelling, hunting and other sports.⁷⁹ By extension, the polite man, it was claimed, distanced himself from other perilous activities which would have demanded uncivilized behaviours. Featuring as, to quote John Towner, the 'enervated, somewhat effeminate traveller' who 'usefully counterpoints the manliness and vigour of the Romantic traveller's activities' and was part of a leisured class 'more interested in fine arts and manners', the eighteenth-century Grand Tourist's lack of interest in danger has typically been assumed rather than proven in scholarly accounts of travel.⁸⁰

While many historians have not engaged extensively with travel and danger in the eighteenth century, the literary scholar Chloe Chard's excellent *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (1999) provided an admirably full account. However, as her discussion of the role of danger, terror and destabilization was explicitly framed as a literary study of imaginative geography, she approached the topic from a particular perspective that sought to foreground the trends found in the early nineteenth-century romantic movement in eighteenth-century literary writings. As such,

⁷⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 185, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Hanover, to Revd Dr Baker, 23 Dec. 1765.

⁷⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 187, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Baker, 10 Jan. 1766.

⁷⁹ E.g., Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, pp. 1, 70–2.

⁸⁰ J. Towner, 'The English tourist and war, 1500–1800', in *War and Tourism*, ed. R. Butler and W. Suntutkul (London, 2013), p. 50; Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*, pp. 48–51.

Chard explored danger and its accoutrements as rhetorical and linguistic devices in published travel writing that were part of the specific context of the sublime's aesthetic and philosophical frameworks. In doing so, she implicitly reinforced the association between the traditional Grand Tour and a reluctance to engage with danger.⁸¹

As a historical archival study, this book uses a different perspective and takes the opposite tack in insisting that the Grand Tour occurred precisely because of the difficulties and dangers involved, rather than in spite of them, to the extent that elite society believed the full potential of the Tour could only be unlocked by embracing its risks, dangers and hardships. In doing so, it builds on studies that point to the likelihood of Grand Tourists embracing danger and difficulty. Elizabeth Foyster, for example, has found that non-travel pedagogical literature across the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consistently advocated hardship and physical training as a fundamental part of male education, because it stimulated a healthy body and the virtues of fortitude and courage. Courage was a particularly important virtue that allowed men to 'encounter every Danger when necessary' and 'to suffer pain with a manly spirit'.⁸² Elite concepts of honour, cultures of sport and duelling, connections with military and militia leadership, and advice given in educational and conduct literature all viewed danger, hardship and physical risk as essential factors that assisted in cultivating forbearance and manliness.

This has been briefly hinted at by some Grand Tour historiography. Cohen quoted Maximilien Misson's enthusiastic 1695 description of the 'wholesome hardships' of travel and contended that this process toughened the boy into a man, not just a gentleman.⁸³ More recently, French and Rothery have drawn on Chard's theory of romantic danger, destabilization and discovery of the self in travel, and on Matthew McCormack's emphasis on the importance of independence for elite masculine status, to argue that elite families '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'.⁸⁴ The Tour was viewed as 'a test of their son's resolve, character, and virtue' that took positive steps towards filial autonomy.⁸⁵ These brief arguments provide significant preliminary indications that elite culture

⁸¹ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, pp. 11, 114–16, 137–93.

⁸² E. Foyster, 'Boys will be boys: manhood and aggression, 1660–1800', in *English Masculinities*, pp. 153, 176.

⁸³ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, p. 58.

⁸⁴ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 140–1.

⁸⁵ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 143, 148.

and Grand Tour pedagogy held a more complex attitude towards danger than has hitherto been realized.

This book furthers this investigation into the complexity of men's relationship with peril, and argues that experience of danger and discomfort was considered crucial to the formation of elite masculinity. Central to this argument is the mentality explored in chapter 1: the elite's attitude towards danger, risk and hazard. The eighteenth-century elite viewed risk as an inherently *neutral* venture that had as much potential for reward as it did for failure. This, combined with an enduring association between honour and military service, shaped a mentality that cast danger as a challenge to be faced, overcome and endured. Aristocratic culture also maintained a long-held belief that danger and hardship had the capacity to effect positive transformational changes in those who endured them. These perceptions, far from discouraging the perils of travel, inclined eighteenth-century Grand Tourists towards performing an overtly confrontational relationship with the dangers associated with war, sports, the hazards and hardships of travel, and with natural phenomena, such as mountains, glaciers and Vesuvius. In the era of fashionable games of chance, elite families understood the Grand Tour as an enormous, costly *jeux de société*; a gamble with the family's finances, with their sons' lives and reputations, and with a whole variety of hazards. The outcome could be hugely rewarding or an expensive failure. Yet even the dangers themselves held promise. Dangerous experiences were opportunities for young men to prove their honour, to be refined and purified and to cultivate desired masculine virtues. As such, danger and the formative properties of hardship and peril are a central component in understanding the Grand Tour as a rite of initiation for the next generation of elite British men.

Sources, Grand Tourists, methodologies and chapters

This introductory chapter concludes with a brief commentary on the process of recovering these, and other, experiences when writing a new history of the Grand Tour and of its contribution to the formation of elite gender identity. As Richard Ansell observed, many early historical studies of the Tour are 'more accurately studies of published travel literature, while pioneering archival work has sometimes risked slipping into anecdote'.⁸⁶ This tendency to rely on published material, comprising conduct literature, guidebooks, travel writing, caricatures and discussions in periodicals, is problematic for several reasons. First, it constructs a narrative of the Grand Tour that is essentially rooted in cultural representation. Furthermore,

⁸⁶ Ansell, 'Educational travel', p. 937.

questions have been raised about the extent to which these sources targeted and influenced the elite Grand Tourist. Katherine Turner has argued that the majority of published travel writings, and the most stridently critical attacks on the aristocratic Grand Tour, were authored by the middling sorts. Here, the disparagement of the Grand Tourist as a Frenchified, effeminate aristocratic traveller was a weapon in a battle to lay claim to the traits of civic virtue, patriotism and British manliness.⁸⁷ In this context, declarations of concern over the dangers of corrupting foreign influence often expressed broader anxieties over national identity.⁸⁸ Moreover, aristocrats and the gentry did not commonly choose to voice their opinions in print – a circumstance which might explain the weak public defence of the Grand Tour – nor were they necessarily keen readers of this literature. As Rosemary Sweet has shown, publications detailing the practicalities of travel were often self-evidently intended for a wider audience of non-elite travellers.⁸⁹ This information was far less important to travellers who were attended by servants, tutors and diplomats often charged with managing the details of travel for their elite employers and guests.

Of course, this is not to say that Grand Tourists avoided published travel literature. Letters, diaries and financial records contain many references to influential texts, including Addison's *Remarks on Italy* (1705), Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) and Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768).⁹⁰ But the relationship between these texts, how individuals read them, and how they experienced and remembered their own travels, was far from straightforward.⁹¹ Analysis of Tourists' reading and book-collecting patterns is proof of this, in demonstrating that their tastes went well beyond the canon of travel literature.⁹² On their respective tours of

⁸⁷ K. Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750–1800: Authorship, Gender and National Identity* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 16–17, 46.

⁸⁸ For an important examination of this, see S. Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995).

⁸⁹ Sweet, *Cities*, pp. 7, 14. For an excellent wider discussion of the nature of many of the sources left by 18th-century travellers, see pp. 13–20.

⁹⁰ Horace Walpole, Sienna, to Richard West, 22 March 1740 and Walpole, Florence, to West, 2 March 1740, in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis (48 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1937–), xiii. 204, 213; Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fos. 130–131, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker, 20 Oct. 1763; SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Calais, to Dartmouth, 3 May 1777.

⁹¹ R. Ansell, 'Reading and writing travels: Maximilien Misson, Samuel Waring and the afterlives of European voyages, c.1687–1714', *English Historical Review*, cxxxiii (2018), 1446–77.

⁹² M. D. Sánchez-Jáuregui, 'Books on the Westmorland', in *The English Prize: the Capture of the Westmorland, an Episode of the Grand Tour*, ed. M. D. Sánchez-Jáuregui and S. Wilcox (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2013), pp. 144–53. See also WSHC, MS. 2057/H5/5-7,

1775–9 and 1777–9, for example, George, Viscount Lewisham and Philip Yorke read political and legal works. Both were instructed to read Johann Jakob Schmauss's *Corpus juris publici Germanici academicum* (1722), the works of the seventeenth-century Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, and a range of works dealing with modern political and constitutional histories and the rights of ambassadors.⁹³ These and other Grand Tour references to reading habits indicate that Tourists and their families were frequently interested in topics and itineraries that received little attention in contemporary travel literature.

To fully appreciate the Grand Tour, it needs to be approached from the perspective of aristocratic and gentry families. This requires a careful consideration of the alternative knowledge-sharing practices used by these communities. The Tour was an inter-generational event, undertaken by sons, fathers, grandfathers, uncles and cousins, and within families who also had wider traditions of men and women travelling to the continent for purposes of diplomacy, health and pleasure. Families therefore contained an impressive store of collective travel experience and knowledge, which was passed from generation to generation via conversation, letters and privately circulated manuscripts. These exchanges drew on networks of family, friends and acquaintances that often sprawled across Europe. As Ansell put it, elite families prized advice 'bestowed by authoritative individuals' over 'vicarious encounters with reading'.⁹⁴ Analysing elite understanding of the purpose and justifications of the Grand Tour and gaining a more accurate sense of its young men's activities, therefore, requires a shift in emphasis from published material towards sets of largely unpublished but often internally circulated writings.⁹⁵

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour is an expressly archival study. As Hannah Grieg has noted, the eighteenth-century elite left 'a paper mountain rather than a paper trail', making it a

'Wiltshire house library catalogues from 1735 and 1773'; MS. 2057/H5/9, 'Wiltshire house library family and friend's lending record'.

⁹³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, Sandwell, to Lewisham, 28 Sept. 1776; Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 5, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke, 10 Jan. 1777; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 29, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke, 28 May 1777; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 45, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke, 25 May 1777; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 109, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke, 21 Nov. 1777; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 168, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke, 15 Apr. 1779.

⁹⁴ R. Ansell, 'Irish Protestant travel to Europe, 1660–1727' (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2013), p. 71.

⁹⁵ See Black, *British Abroad*, pp. v–vii and Bepler, 'Travelling and posterity', pp. 192–3 on the importance of manuscript accounts. Much of the new body of work in travel history is more archival in focus. For examples, see Sweet, *Cities* and G. Verhoeven, *Europe Within Reach: Netherlandish Travellers on the Grand Tour and Beyond (1585–1750)* (Brill, 2015).

challenge for the historian 'to select appropriately from an overwhelming mass of extant material'.⁹⁶ The book's selections from this paper mountain use three key criteria: first, archival sources relating to Grand Tours which took place in the period 1700–80; second, records that document a full Grand Tour itinerary lasting several years, covering destinations in France, the Netherlands, the German principalities, Austria, Switzerland and Italy; and third, material relating to Tourists in their late teens and/or early twenties, and who were the sons and/or heirs of aristocratic and/or gentry families. Focusing on the theme of danger has further assisted in narrowing down the selection. The book pays particular attention to Grand Tours that took place during conflicts and/or episodes of widespread disease, and to stages of travel known for their perilous nature, such as the crossing of Alpine passes. It focuses on instances in the source material of young men's exposure to and engagement with various types of (largely physical) hazard, to related activities that had their roots in risk, and to how these experiences were narrated, remembered, policed and embellished. Through this, the book seeks to avoid ascribing to preconceptions of the importance of certain masculinities or destinations.

These criteria result in an argument built on a close analysis of over thirty Grand Tour parties, which produced sources that include diaries, memoirs and correspondence with fathers, mothers, aunts and uncles, siblings, friends and other members of society. The book has also drawn on visual sources, particularly commissioned Grand Tour portraiture and depictions of Vesuvius. These have been considered within the context of a wider range of eighteenth-century literatures, including pedagogical and conduct guides. The book has made little use of the typical canon of eighteenth-century travel literature, but there is the occasional exception in its survey of published writings based on these Grand Tours. These include William Windham and Peter Martel's 1744 pamphlet, *An Account of the Glacieres or Ice Alps in Savoy*, and the Revd William Coxe's highly popular publications, *Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Swisserland* (1779), *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (1784) and *Travels in Switzerland* (1789), which were based on the Grand Tour undertaken with Herbert.

This book's analysis of these Grand Tours and their sources is informed by the theoretical understanding of gender as both a construct that is reported and narrated using certain rhetorical devices, *and* a performance that involved physical actions, behaviours and habits. As Laura Engel observed, eighteenth-century practices of self-representation used a 'variety

⁹⁶ Greig, *Beau Monde*, p. 29.

of discourses that worked dialectically to construct their public persona'.⁹⁷ Often widely circulated beyond their named recipients, correspondence, diaries and journals were, as Catriona Kennedy emphasized, 'a highly crafted, rhetorical act, a social performance that staged the self for a particular audience' that 'can be viewed neither as repositories of raw, unmediated experience nor as the private outpourings of an authentic self'.⁹⁸ As the principal means of communication during the Grand Tour, the familiar letter and travel journal undoubtedly acted 'as key cultural sites for the construction of the self' and this book has analysed them as such.⁹⁹ At the same time, it also steps beyond this. Scholars such as Dror Wahrman and Lyndal Roper have recently called for cultural history, and the history of gender more broadly, to be 're-embodied'.¹⁰⁰ This call makes bold claims for a theoretical and methodological approach that moves beyond representation and into experience.¹⁰¹ In response, this book uses these sources to identify the performative elements of the Grand Tour. It looks at what, when, where and how elite young men undertook certain activities, and in doing so, it seeks to highlight how a set of physical things, experiences and environments were used in creating identity through the process of 'doing' as well as narrating. In exploring how these activities were rationalized and understood by elite society, the book undertakes a close narratological and rhetorical reading of correspondence, diaries and other sources with an eye to exploring how experience, performance and conceptual understanding met in the narratives that Tourists subsequently constructed.

The majority of these sources were not written with the intention of laying out the authors' perceptions of masculinity, danger or the Grand Tour.

⁹⁷ L. Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity: Eighteenth-Century British Actresses and Strategies for Image Making* (Columbus, O., 2016), pp. 2, 4, 21.

⁹⁸ C. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 12, 14, 16; See also S. M. Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: a Pragmatic Approach* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, Pa., 2002), pp. 1–2, 234; G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England* (Newark, N.J., 2005), p. 22; M. Fulbrook and U. Rublack, 'In relation: the "social self" and ego-documents', *German History*, xxviii (2010), 263–72.

⁹⁹ R. Earle, 'Introduction: letters, writers and historians', in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945*, ed. R. Earle (Aldershot, 1999), p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ D. Wahrman, 'Change and the corporeal in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gender history: or, can cultural history be rigorous?', *Gender & History*, xx (2008), 584–602; L. Roper, 'Beyond discourse theory', *Women's History Review*, xix (2010), 307–19. For examples of this approach applied to 18th-century masculinity and femininity, see McCormack, *Independent Man*, p. 37; Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity*, introduction.

¹⁰¹ Scott, 'The evidence of experience'.

Distilling the often-oblique discourses in play has therefore been a matter of collecting fragments, hints and even silences from multiple sources. When brought together, these fragmentary, occasional commentaries reveal a remarkably coherent and continuous body of opinion within the eighteenth-century elite community. Throughout the book, examples are quoted that most clearly and fully articulate what was often only elusively present in other texts. As such, certain Grand Tours are more heavily represented than others. In chronological order, some of the most frequently referenced Tours are those of the two heirs of the twice-married Hans William Bentinck, 1st earl of Portland, an influential Anglo-Dutch politician and close adviser to William of Orange. In 1701–3, Portland's eldest son from his first marriage, Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock, undertook his Grand Tour during the War of Spanish Succession, with his tutor, Paul de Rapin de Thoyras. In 1716, he inherited his father's English estates and was created the 1st duke of Portland. In 1719, the eldest son of the first earl's second marriage, William Bentinck, 1st Count Bentinck, was sent to Leiden University, before undertaking a Grand Tour (1725–8) with his tutor, Moses Bernege. Bentinck inherited his father's Dutch lordships of Rhoon and Pendrecht.

Other key case studies are drawn from Tours that took place during the start of the War of Austrian Succession in the late 1730s and early 1740s. During this period, a set of English, Scottish and German Tourists and tutors congregated in Geneva, Switzerland, calling themselves the Common Room club. In addition to attending the city's university and fashionable society, club members entered into 'amicable or literary discourses', theatricals, and scientific and sporting pursuits, including climbing the Chamonix glacier in 1741. The Common Room's core members were a mixture of wealthy English landed gentry (the brashly confident William Windham of Felbrigg, Norfolk; the athletic, artistic Robert Price of Foxley, Herefordshire; Richard Aldworth Neville of Billingbear, Berkshire, who married Magdalen Calendrini, daughter of the first syndic of Geneva; and Benjamin Tate, about whom little is known), and Scottish and German nobility. Among the latter were Thomas Hamilton, 7th earl of Haddington, and his brother, George Hamilton Baillie; and William, count of Schaumburg-Lippe, and his brother George. The club also included their tutors who were men of considerable intellectual ability, among them Benjamin Stillingfleet, a talented scientist who later applied the Linnaean system to botany, Thomas Dampier, who became a master at Eton and dean of Durham Cathedral, and the Revd John Williamson, whose mathematical talents were widely respected.

Travelling around the same time, between 1739–41, was Horace Walpole, the younger son of the powerful Whig prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole.

Walpole was not accompanied by a tutor, but instead travelled with his cousin Sir Henry Seymour Conway and his Eton companion, the poet Thomas Gray. After the party left France, Conway branched off onto his own route that took him to Geneva, Paris and back home by 1740. Walpole and Gray journeyed across Italy together, until a severe quarrel led Gray to return home alone and Walpole to travel with Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, and his tutor, Joseph Spence. Lincoln and Spence were also abroad from 1739–41, during which time Lincoln became an enthusiastic student at Turin's *Accademia Reale* for six months, fell in love with Lady Sophia Fermor, rescued Walpole from a near-fatal illness, and enjoyed Paris at the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession. By the start of his tour, aged nineteen, Lincoln had been orphaned and was his late parents' sole surviving child. Part of a sprawling and powerful political family, he was under the guardianship of, and eventually became heir to, the influential Whig foreign minister, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st duke of Newcastle. Newcastle was also one of several guardians to Charles Lennox, the 3rd duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny (in the French nobility) during Lennox's Grand Tour of 1752–5. Descended from Charles II and his mistress Louise de K eroualle, the 3rd duke succeeded his father in 1750 and went on to an energetic career in politics, the military and as a patron of the arts and sciences. His Tour started with a long period in Geneva, and took place under the tutelage of the biologist, Abraham Trembley and in the company of his younger brother, Lord George Lennox.

Travelling between 1763 and 1766, John Holroyd was from less lofty origins. He was the second son of an ambitious Anglo-Irish family of lower gentry and abandoned a military career during the Seven Years War after his older brother was killed in action in 1762. Holroyd was heir to the estates of his maternal uncle, and eventually became the 1st Earl Sheffield. During his Tour, Holroyd favoured his uncle, the Revd Jones Baker, and other family members with a mischievous, frank correspondence that described everything from his raptures at seeing Frederick the Great of Prussia to his hunt for prostitutes. The last three Tours featuring regularly in this book are those of men who have already been introduced: first, that of George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, who travelled in 1775–9 with his younger brothers, William and Charles, and their tutor, David Stevenson; second, the tour of Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke who travelled in 1777–9, with his tutor Colonel Wettstein; and, third, that of George Augustus Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, who travelled in 1775–80, with his tutors, Revd William Coxe and Captain John Floyd, his servant, Laurent the Bold, and his dog, Rover.

The social world of the eighteenth-century elite was not a large one and it is worth remembering that almost all of the Grand Tourists and tutors mentioned here and throughout the book were known to each other, through blood, marriage or social connections. This spilt over into their Grand Tours as well. Richmond's Tour during the 1750s, for example, overlapped with those of Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, Frederick North, later 2nd earl of Guilford, and William Legge, 2nd earl of Dartmouth. One generation later, their sons – George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke; George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd earl of Dartmouth; together with the sons of Lord North and Philip Yorke – undertook their own overlapping Grand Tours during the 1770s, having also all attended Westminster School around the same time as one another. The ideals, performances and constructions of elite men were therefore presented to a relatively small pool of peers. How these men individually navigated the Grand Tour, together with the implications of these strategies for personal masculinity and collective elite social identity, is the subject of the chapters that follow.

I. Hazarding chance: a history of eighteenth-century danger

Note that the realities of the dangers are not at issue. The dangers are only too horribly real, in both case, modern and pre-modern.¹

There is no doubt, to borrow the anthropologist Mary Douglas's phrasing, that the dangers of the Grand Tour were 'only too horribly real'. All of the Grand Tourists studied here survived their travels, but some of those who journeyed with them were not so lucky. At least three companions of the Tourists considered in this book died during their travels.² At least ten Tourists and companions experienced severe, and in some cases life-threatening, illnesses;³ a further three sustained serious injuries while attempting physically dangerous activities,⁴ and all encountered at least one accident on the road. At least two Grand Tourists became entangled in love affairs that were terminated by forceful outside intervention.⁵ Upon his return to England, one Tourist – the Common Room club member,

¹ M. Douglas, *Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory* (London, 1992), p. 29.

² One of the servants of George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham and later 2nd Earl Harcourt, died at an unspecified point during his Grand Tour of 1754–6; Theophilus Bolton, a travelling companion of John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, died of consumption in 1765 in Genoa; an unrelated Mr Herbert died in Turin in 1780, while being cared for by Lord George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, his servant, Laurent and their mutual friend, Jarrett.

³ Hon. Stephen Fox, Baron Ilchester and John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth (who undertook their Grand Tour in part because of their pre-existing ill-health); Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln (general ill health); Horace Walpole (quinsy); John Holroyd's servant (unspecified illness, severe enough to be sent home); Holroyd's travelling companion, Theophilus Bolton (consumption); Holroyd's other companion, Major Richard Ridley (rheumatism); Charles Legge (jaundice); George Augustus Herbert (ague fits); Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke (malaria).

⁴ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton (sprained his leg in a jumping competition); George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth (injured leg in the Alps); Philip Yorke's tutor, Colonel Wettstein (fell from his horse several times).

⁵ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton fell in love with Lady Sophia Fermor; Charles Lennox, 3rd duke of Richmond, became entangled with a Genevan woman of low birth.

'Hazarding chance: a history of eighteenth-century danger', in S. Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London, 2020), pp. 37–73. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

William Windham – incurred large legal costs to extract himself from a marriage contract with Elizabeth de Chapeaurouge, daughter of a former syndic of Geneva in the 1740s.⁶

These statistics are sometimes verified through doctors' reports, apothecaries' bills and legal paraphernalia but they are more commonly extracted from letters, diaries and memoirs. Such sources further record a whole gamut of perils and near misses that cannot easily be conveyed numerically. In 1707, during the War of Spanish Succession, James Hay, tutor to James Compton, later 5th earl of Northampton, described his reluctance to 'risqué my Ld Compton's person' to plundering 'malcontents'.⁷ A poem by John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth, from 1729 described his fear during the 'dangerous' 'Hardship of his Alpine crossing'.⁸ In the 1740s, at the start of the War of Austrian Succession, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln scorned his uncle (foreign minister, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st duke of Newcastle) for his 'uneasy' 'apprehension' that he would be caught up in an imminent Spanish invasion of Italy. In October 1744, Common Room member, Richard Aldworth Neville, and his companions came so close to one military front that they were warned about the dangers of cannon fire.⁹ They then went straight on to the Alpine roads, where they 'risk'd breaking our Necks 60 Times'.¹⁰ In December 1754, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, George Bussy Villiers and their tutor, William Whitehead, were in 'great danger' of being frozen to death in a sleigh.¹¹ Nine years later John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, decided that avalanches were 'the dangerous part' of his Alpine crossing, and was horrified to learn that a German nobleman had

⁶ See Norfolk Record Office (NRO), WKC 7-49 for the legal documents dealing with William Windham's contract and R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: the Story of a House* (London, 1962), pp. 117–19. Windham's friend, Richard Aldworth Neville also became engaged to Magdalen Calendrini, daughter of the first syndic of Geneva, whom he subsequently married.

⁷ British Library (Brit. Libr.), Additional MS. 38507, James Hay, Utrecht, to George Compton, the 4th earl of Northampton, 1 Sept. 1707; Hay, Berlin, to Northampton, 10 Oct. 1707.

⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 51345, John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth, poem to his wife, 1729.

⁹ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, Rome, to Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st duke of Newcastle, 29 Apr. 1707; and Lincoln, Paris, to Newcastle, 14 Sept. 1741, in *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima (Montreal, 1975), pp. 379–80, 411.

¹⁰ Berkshire Record Office, MS. D/EN/E,54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour journal, 1743–4, 17 Oct. 1744 and 22 Oct. 1744.

¹¹ Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS), MS. D-LE-E2-8, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, [Germany], to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt, 18 Dec. 1754.

been killed while jumping out of his carriage on the road to Naples. He had been trying to escape from the ‘danger’ either of bolting horses or a drunken postilion.¹² During the 1770s, the Revd William Coxe, tutor to George, Lord Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, revelled in his party’s ‘extremely hazardous’ voyage down the Limmar River, while William Legge, 2nd earl of Dartmouth congratulated his heir, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, on overcoming the ‘dangers’ and ‘difficulties’ of the Alps.¹³

Society seemingly posed as many hazards as war, mountains and roads. The fashion-conscious Nuneham fretted in 1754 about the ‘danger’ of English customs officials seizing his clothes and goods.¹⁴ In 1741, Robert Price told the rest of the Common Room how he refused to ‘run less risque’ by falsely flattering a well-respected Parisian artist.¹⁵ Lord Herbert ‘thought I might risk’ financially assisting an unknown debt-ridden ‘Brother Officer in the Sea Service’ in Marseilles in 1780.¹⁶ He was never repaid. The possibility of moral corruption generated a particular intensity of alarm and fear. Lewisham’s tutor, David Stevenson, for example, viewed these particular dangers with ‘uneasiness’, ‘dread’ and a great ‘apprehension of Danger’ throughout the first part of their 1770s Tour.¹⁷ The threat of illness could generate similar levels of alarm. In August–November 1779, Herbert acted against all accepted wisdom and visited Rome and Naples during the height of the malaria season. His father, Henry Herbert, the erratic 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’.¹⁸ Herbert’s mother was similarly distraught when he was taken ill with ague fits in Strasbourg: ‘I was really in an agony ... felt terrified to death & undone to be with him’.¹⁹ Friends also expressed voluble fears. When Horace Walpole

¹² Brit. Libr, Add. MS. 34887, fo. 172, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Naples, to Mrs Baker, 4 June 1765; Add. MS. 61979 A, Holroyd’s Grand Tour journal, 19–21 July 1764.

¹³ William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland: in a Series of Letters to William Melmoth* (3 vols., London, 1789), i, 131; Staffordshire County Record Office, D(W)1778/V/852, William Legge, 2nd earl of Dartmouth [unknown location] to George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, 30 Sept. 1777.

¹⁴ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-2, Nuneham, Rheims, to his sister, 12 July 1754.

¹⁵ NRO, WKC 7/46/11, Richard Price, Paris, to the Bloods, 9 Nov. 1741.

¹⁶ ‘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, 1939), pp. 436–7.

¹⁷ E.g., SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, David Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth, 28 Aug. 1775.

¹⁸ Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (WSHC), MS. 2057/F4/29, Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, Ely, to George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, 30 Sept. 1779.

¹⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Pembroke [location unknown], to Coxe, 18 Dec. 1775.

fell severely ill in Reggio in 1741, his cousin, Henry Seymour Conway, and Etonian friend, Thomas Ashton, recounted their ‘alarm’, ‘torment’, ‘fear’ and ‘anxiety’ as they waited for news.²⁰

When reading this bombardment of perils and fears, the challenges of considering danger on the Grand Tour becomes apparent. Brought together, and devoid of their context, these examples paint an alarming picture of a world rife with peril, but the majority of evidence comes from subjective, constructed sources. As Edward Gibbon wryly pointed out to his father in October 1764, ‘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’.²¹ This subjectivity makes it difficult to establish which accounts are accurate, rhetorically exaggerated or underplayed. These examples also demonstrate a rich eighteenth-century terminology surrounding danger, which predominantly centred around four terms: ‘danger’, ‘risque’, ‘hazard’ and ‘peril’. Other terms, like ‘difficulty’, ‘trouble’, ‘menace’ and ‘threat’, also appear alongside quantifiers (‘great’, ‘extremely’ and ‘less’), and an emotional terminology that, when used outside of a sublime commentary, appears resoundingly negative (‘fear’, ‘dread’, ‘fright’, ‘alarm’, ‘trepidation’, ‘consternation’, ‘unease’ and so on). Yet simply collating key words provides little insight into how danger was culturally understood and emotionally experienced. Furthermore, narrowly focusing on the most obvious terms does not account for unreported experiences, more cryptic narratives, or accounts in which danger was considered welcome, useful or pleasurable.

Daniel Martin observed that the nebulous, highly abstract nature of risk means that historians have often ‘resisted stating clearly what we mean when we write about risk’.²² This chapter reflects on how to navigate these challenges when discussing danger on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and explores how risk studies – a field informed by anthropology and strongly shaped by the sociologist Ulrich Beck’s theory of reflexive modernization – can refine perceptions of this topic as a field of historical enquiry. This entails reflecting on how contemporary understandings of risk have affected scholarship dealing with historical danger, and examining

²⁰ Henry Seymour Conway [location unknown], to Horace Walpole, 23 June 1741, in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis (48 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1937–), xxxvii. 100; Thomas Ashton, Acton, to Walpole, 25 July 1741, in *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, xiii. 246–7.

²¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34883, fo. 75, Edward Gibbon, Rome, to Edward Gibbon, 9 Oct. 1764, my emphasis.

²² D. Martin, ‘Introduction: the Victorians and risk’, *Victorian Review*, xl (2014), 47–54, at pp. 48–9.

how the principal theories and approaches of risk studies and the history of emotions can be applied in more historically sensitive analyses.

Eighteenth-century risk and danger need to be analysed in light of how these concepts were understood by elite society. This involves considering how perceptions of individual dangers, such as crime, illness and immoral behaviour, were influenced by factors like stereotyping, methods of information-gathering, shared culture and practice between Britain and the continent, social networks of support, and the varied perceptions of different social groups. It also entails establishing an understanding of the period's more abstract conceptualizations of danger, risk and hazard. Examining danger in relation to eighteenth-century understandings of chance, probability, providence and honour reveals how the Grand Tour was fundamentally shaped by an eighteenth-century elite mentality that entwined the notions of chance, hazard, danger, risk and honour. Elite families viewed the Grand Tour and its hazards as a *jeux de société*, an enormous gamble in which risk and danger held as much chance of a positively gainful outcome as a negatively harmful one. This, entangled with the elite male impetus to prove, defend and maintain one's honour, had significant ramifications for how young elite Grand Tourists responded to danger throughout their travels.

Theories of risk

The concept of danger comprises three areas. Danger is first a physical reality. To be in danger is a scenario located in the present moment, which can have highly concrete, deeply unpleasant consequences to humans, objects and environments. This can be analysed as an empirical reality.²³ Second, anthropologists and sociologists have emphasized how danger and risk intersect with perception. Defined by Catherine Althaus as a 'virtue of judgements made under conditions of uncertainty', this element of danger attempts to forecast future hazards through a process of judging and assessing the degree of risk.²⁴ Third, the topic encompasses how individuals and societies react to experiences and perceptions of danger, and how they subsequently process and communicate these emotional and physical reactions. This element is retrospective, making sense of past experiences, judgements and emotions. Unlike the first area, these second and third

²³ For examples of research establishing quantifiable understanding of early modern danger, see Steven Gunn and Tomasz Gromelski's ongoing project, 'Everyday life and fatal hazard in sixteenth-century England' <<http://tudoraccidents.history.ox.ac.uk>> [accessed 12 March 2019].

²⁴ C. E. Althaus, 'A disciplinary perspective on the epistemological status of risk', *Risk Analysis: an International Journal*, xxv (2005), 567–88, at pp. 568–9.

elements are subject to social definition and construction.²⁵ Mary Douglas contends that while risk perception might be a response to objectively 'real' dangers, it is constructed through 'culturally learnt assumptions and weightings' shaped by 'political, moral and aesthetic' agendas, and by the individual and their social network.²⁶ In emphasizing the exchanges between communal and individualist notions of risk, the role of mutual obligations and expectations comes to the fore. Risk judgements are not made on aversion alone, but on elements of choice and preference shaped by an individual's interactions with and responsibilities to others.²⁷ The second and third categories of risk and danger are therefore often placed in an epistemological, rather than empirical, category and subjected to cultural analysis.

These frameworks provide extremely useful clarification, but historians nevertheless need to be wary of how they are used. Danger and the accompanying set of conceptualizations, perceptions and reactions are subject to cultural relativity and require careful historicization. As Deborah Lupton summarized, 'What is deemed a "danger" or "hazard" in one historical or cultural context may not be so identified in another, and this has implications for how knowledge and understandings about risk are developed'.²⁸ While this is accepted in theory, in practice discussions of historical dangers have often retained very modern conceptualizations.

The historiographical discussion of danger and risk in eighteenth-century travel is a typical example. In one of the first studies devoted to the topic, *The Grand Tour* (1914), W. E. Mead stated 'We need to know the times when peace prevailed, for, obviously, while there is war the average man will not undertake a tour, but will remain safely at home'.²⁹ Mead was imposing an ahistorical understanding of the incompatible relationship between war and travel which rested on a contemporary understanding based around modern war. In his discussion of travel's other dangers and discomforts, he further emphasized that these were negative annoyances that halted, or at the very least disrupted, the Tour.³⁰ This argument has often been uncritically repeated throughout Grand Tour scholarship. Throughout the process of my research, I have regularly been asked about the reality

²⁵ U. Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, trans. M. Ritter (London, 1992), p. 23.

²⁶ See D. Lupton, *Risk* (New York, 1999), p. 57; M. Douglas, 'Risk as a forensic resource', *Daedalus*, cxix (1990), 1–16, at pp. 9–10.

²⁷ Douglas, 'Risk', pp. 40, 58, 69, 103.

²⁸ Lupton, *Risk*, p. 32.

²⁹ W. E. Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York, 1914), p.

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³⁰ E.g., Mead, *Grand Tour*, pp. 2, 33, 44, 49, 51, 142–8.

of the dangers faced on the Grand Tour. What was the actual degree of peril? Often the question was phrased around whether or not I could trust Tourists to tell the truth: they may have been exaggerating or blind to the perils before them. While such questions correctly emphasize that reports of danger cannot be disentangled from perception and rhetoric, they are also underpinned by a deep-seated belief that it is possible to quantify danger.

Defining risk as negative and seeking to qualify, verify and, ultimately, minimize the risks involved is an inherently modern response to danger. Since the 1980s, sociologists have advanced theoretical arguments for understanding the role of risk in modernity. The highly influential concept of 'risk society', as proposed by Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, offers a macrosociological approach. This argues that the advent and development of modernization itself introduced increased levels of economic, industrial and environmental hazards. The result, from the twentieth century onwards, is an anxiety regarding the future of industrial progress and expansion of democratic freedom, a process that Beck labelled 'reflexive modernisation'. A 'risk society', from Giddens's point of view, was one 'increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety)', whereas Beck viewed it as a 'systematic way' of dealing with these dangers.³¹ In both cases, the notion of risk is generated out of fears surrounding modernity and a desire to mitigate or control the potential outcomes. In yoking concepts of risk to modernity and industrialization, sociologists have argued that this profound shift of view – in which danger became exclusively negative – began during the industrial revolutions of the nineteenth century. Here, it was also optimistically believed that the 'technical calculations of probability' could be used to create an environment of 'health and safety', and that 'risks of all kind could be eliminated, or at the very least mitigated'.³² Thus, in focusing on quantifiable realities and in emphasizing a mentality of avoidance and containment, historians have often instinctively approached the eighteenth-century pre-industrial dangers of the Grand Tour through conceptualizations of risk and danger that had been shaped by post-industrial society and culture.

This post-industrial understanding also imbues the conceptual and methodological approach of risk studies. For example, in understanding danger as 'risk', the emphasis is placed on understanding how future dangers are anticipated, planned for, avoided and controlled. In prioritizing

³¹ A. Giddens and C. Pierson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 209; Beck, *Risk Society*, p. 260.

³² T. Baker and J. Simon, *Embracing Risk: the Changing Culture of Insurance and Responsibility* (Chicago, Ill., 2002), p. 17; Beck, *Risk Society*, p. 10; Martin, 'Victorians and risk', pp. 47–8.

this, risk studies have often subsumed the third area of danger (how it is experienced), within the second (how it is perceived).³³ The assessment, perception, experience and communication of danger and risk come with a wider variety of physical and emotional reactions, including fear, anxiety and exhilaration. Despite this, emotional and physical reactions have been investigated primarily in terms of a linear understanding of how emotion affects risk assessments; as a result, the retrospective experience of processing danger has been granted relatively less importance within risk studies.

In contrast, historians are proving rather more alert to reaction and response as they have become increasingly interested in studying the history of emotions. In particular, fear and anxiety have been the subject of careful historical contextualization. Joanna Bourke not only traced the shifting basis for fear between the early Victorian and post-Cold War eras, but also highlighted how cultural frameworks shaped the way in which people talked about fear. Second World War soldiers, for instance, drew on evolutionary notions when they described their emotions as primal instincts.³⁴ Henry French and Mark Rothery offered a highly specific, contextualized analysis of anxiety that explored this emotion in relation to the younger sons of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century gentry families. In this context, anxiety was a persistent product of the patriarchal system that owed much to the precarious, emotional and materially subordinate position of younger sons who used the rhetoric and expression of anxiety as a means of dealing with their feelings, achieving their objectives and establishing themselves in the world.³⁵ Historians of emotion have sought to situate how emotions manifested within the wider mentalities, cultures and social conventions of a period. In doing so, they placed emphasis on the ways in which emotional utterances, the culturally constructed act of speaking or writing about emotion, have a unique capacity to alter the subjective experience and memory of danger.³⁶ In combining the approaches from risk studies and the history of emotions, I hope to attain a more in-depth, historically nuanced understanding of how danger on the Grand Tour was conceptualized, anticipated and experienced in eighteenth-century elite society.

³³ Lupton, *Risk*, pp. 31–3.

³⁴ J. Bourke, 'Fear and anxiety: writing about emotion in modern history', *History Workshop Journal*, lv (2003), 111–33, at pp. 111–13, 120.

³⁵ H. French and M. Rothery, 'Male anxiety among younger sons of the English landed gentry, 1700–1900', *Historical Journal*, lxii (2019), 967–95. See also M. Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1996).

³⁶ Bourke, 'Fear and anxiety', p. 120.

Perceiving eighteenth-century hazard abroad

The eighteenth-century traveller was vulnerable to criminal activity while abroad. This threat could be manifested via highwaymen, banditti and pirates, or through swindles, robbery, violent attacks and murder in towns and cities. Yet while crime abroad certainly did occur throughout the century, Tourists' correspondence and diary entries often conveyed an anticipation of threat that did not correlate to the possibility of harm.³⁷ This was particularly noticeable in relation to perceptions of Italy. The 'Triumvirate' of Herbert and his tutors the Revd William Coxe and Captain John Floyd, for example, travelled across France, Switzerland, Austria, Poland, Russia and the Baltic with remarkably little concern regarding crime. This, however, changed abruptly as they approached the Italian border through Styria in 1779. Floyd related how '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'.³⁸

Floyd's reference to *The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane* (1715), Alain-René Lesage's picaresque coming-of-age tale of kidnap, indicated his escalating expectation that they might encounter bandits. These concerns did not ease throughout Herbert's time in Italy. Having left the Tour early to re-join his regiment, Floyd wrote in September 1779 to remind Herbert always to travel with two servants, '& keep your pistols loaded & doors locked at Night – there are dammed Scoundrels in Italy'.³⁹ Upon leaving Rome in October, Herbert also obliquely referred to banditti on the road from Vico to Osteria: 'there was a Guard placed to accompany Travellers through the wood, but I begged they would not take the trouble to accompany me'.⁴⁰

At no point did Herbert and his party actually encounter any danger of this kind. The 'shot' in Styria was an unverified noise, Herbert passed through the woods unharmed, and his loaded pistols and locked doors went untested. This disparity between verified and anticipated experiences of violence perpetrated by Italian individuals or states has been observed by Rosemary Sweet: 'for all the rumoured paranoia of [Venice's] Council of Ten, no visitor ever claimed to have been the victim of oppression, or even

³⁷ J. Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992), pp. 177–82, 186–9.

³⁸ Captain John Floyd's Grand Tour journal, taken from Herbert, *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, p. 196.

³⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/28, Floyd, Pembroke House, to George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, 14 Sept. 1779.

⁴⁰ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert's Grand Tour journal, 2 Nov. 1779.

the direct object of the government's suspicions'.⁴¹ A similar observation can be made of Naples, a city reputed to be populous and restless, allegedly rife with pickpocketing, theft and interpersonal violence.⁴² Sociological studies of risk analysis have concluded that 'knowledge and perceptual accuracy bear only weak (that is statistically insignificant) relation to ... perceived risks'.⁴³ In other words, 'knowledge of safety is not necessarily connected to feelings of safety' or the feeling of fear to knowledge of danger.⁴⁴ Violent crime did occur in eighteenth-century Italy, but Tourists' perceptions and judgements regarding this danger were only loosely related to the likelihood of experiencing it directly. Instead, they were influenced by a variety of other complex discourses and factors.

Foremost among these was the enduring power of prejudice and xenophobia, which substantially shaped the British view of the continent.⁴⁵ It was generally accepted that alongside being irrational, effeminate and Catholic, Italians were hot-blooded, lawless and violent. Grand Tourists actively sought to maintain this view, even when they could not personally confirm this to be the case or were presented with direct evidence to the contrary. During his time in Naples in 1765, John Holroyd claimed that 'Assassinations are only frequent at present among the lower sort of People throughout Italy', but 'It is not an uncommon sight to see a person stabbed in the street even in the day time'. Despite recounting plenty of lurid rumours in support of this, Holroyd had to admit that 'I have not been an Eye witness'. In fact, the most serious crime to which he was exposed was the theft of a fellow diner's laced hat during Sir William Stanhope's dinner.⁴⁶ A few years later in 1773, George Finch, 9th earl of Winchilsea, was simultaneously impressed and disappointed to discover that it had been twenty-five years since Siena's last murder. Even so he clung to the stereotype of the violent Italian in anticipating that the Neapolitans would confirm 'my former Ideas as they say they are the Vilest people existing'.⁴⁷ Like

⁴¹ R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 231.

⁴² Sweet, *Cities*, pp. 188–91.

⁴³ A. Wildavsky and K. Drake, 'Theories of risk perception: who fears what and why?', *Daedalus*, cxix (1990), 41–60, at p. 49.

⁴⁴ E. Freedgood, *Victorian Writing about Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 10.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2002), pp. 6–7, 168–9.

⁴⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 172, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd, 7 July 1765.

⁴⁷ Record Office of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland (ROLLR), DG7 Bundle 32/42, George Finch, 9th earl of Winchilsea, Rome, to his mother, Lady Charlotte Winchilsea, 3 Apr. 1774.

Holroyd, Winchilsea did not witness this vileness himself, but nevertheless sought out stories that confirmed his expectations. His antiquarian tour guide bragged about having killed three people and injured more, although 'The Calash man [coachman] coming home told me in confidence that what that man had said was only Bragging, for of the three only one had died'.⁴⁸

The calashman's and antiquarian's tales are worth pausing over. These individuals may have been telling the truth, but they also represented a group of Neapolitan locals who depended on a tourist-based trade. They therefore had an interest in dramatically confirming the stereotypes that Tourists expected to encounter.⁴⁹ This touristic demand suggests a certain ghoulish relish that had less to do with fear and more to do with a romanticized imagining of these crimes. This imagining was shaped by the cultural representation of the south and the banditti through, for example, Salvator Rosa's artwork, which depicted a Neapolitan landscape populated by ruffians, and, as already noted, Lesage's picaresque tales of kidnap.⁵⁰

Prejudice, stereotypes and romanticized cultural influences all contributed to a potentially warped perception of danger. This unreliable perception led in turn to expressions of heightened anxiety, fear or expectation that were not necessarily anchored to actual situations of danger. The role of unsubstantiated rumour played a crucial part in this by offering a passing semblance of anecdotal evidence. Yet while rumour reinforced false perceptions, it was also a vital part of a process of information gathering that also used reports, news and gossip – communicated via newspapers, correspondence and conversation – to make practical decisions during travel.⁵¹

When directly considering their personal safety, Tourists and their wider networks entered into a more critical process of informed decision-making by attempting to separate rumour from fact. While Lord Herbert was in northern Italy in May 1779, his mother wrote from London with news received via Lady Lucan who was then in Florence. Apparently, a 'want of

⁴⁸ ROLLR, DG7 Bundle 32/48/1–2 Winchilsea, Naples, to his mother, 18 May 1773.

⁴⁹ Sweet, *Cities*, p. 181. For local rejections of stereotypes, see M. Calaresu, 'From the street to stereotype: urban space, travel and the picturesque in late eighteenth-century Naples', *Italian Studies*, lxii (2007), 189–203, at p. 201; W. Bracewell, 'The traveller's eye: reading European travel writing, 1750–1850', in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, ed. J. Kuehn and P. Smethurst (London, 2015), pp. 215–27.

⁵⁰ Sweet, *Cities*, pp. 181, 134–5; A. R. Lesage, *The Adventures of Gil Blas ...* trans. Tobias Smollett (5th edn., 4 vols., London, 1764), iv. 15–16.

⁵¹ See K. M. Botelho, *Renaissance Earwitnesses: Rumor and Early Modern Masculinity* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 11; *Fama' and her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, ed. H. Kerr and C. Walker (Turnhout, 2015).

rain' had created 'so bad a Malaria' at Venice that 'the people Italians & all, who were going there for the Ascension, have stopt'. Lady Pembroke was deploying her international network of correspondence to gather rumour and news that was potentially relevant to her son's safety. However, she also recommended that he should confirm these rumours by gathering information via 'enquiries on the road'. Only then, should he 'turn off, if it is really so'.⁵² Writing to his Etonian friend, Ashton, from Rome in May 1740, Horace Walpole likewise feared, 'we shall not see Naples ... we are prevented by a great body of banditti, soldiers deserted from the King of Naples, who have taken possession of the roads, and not only murdered several passengers, but some sbirri [law enforcers] who were sent against them'.⁵³

Walpole's initial willingness to believe this news was rooted in cultural and xenophobic stereotypes, but it was also heightened by an ongoing political situation in which Spain was manoeuvring to regain Italian territories that had been lost after the War of Spanish Succession. A week later, Walpole acknowledged that the news was in fact a rumour: 'there had been no murders, the courtier was robbed, but there are soldiers patrolling the roads'.⁵⁴ Armed with more accurate information, he and his travelling companion and friend, Thomas Gray, ventured (unmolested) onwards to Naples. Walpole's reassessment was directly shaped by his privileged status. As an aristocratic traveller and the son of the British prime minister, gaining access to Roman officials with useful knowledge was easy. During his rounds of socializing with the Roman political elite, Walpole had met the monsignor responsible for the road who provided him with detailed, reliable knowledge.

Walpole's social networks of foreign officials and Britons aboard were not just useful in de-escalating fears. They also saved his life. By May 1740, he had quarrelled and parted company with Gray and was now travelling alone. In Reggio, where he had no connection with the local elite, he fell ill with quinsy, an abscess on the tonsils. Unable to speak or call for a doctor, and without any companions to care for him, he was in an extremely isolated and dangerous situation. By good fortune, Lord Lincoln and his tutor, Joseph Spence, came to Reggio on a whim and found Walpole by chance. As an experienced tutor who was leading his third Grand Tour, 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

⁵² WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/31, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 4 May 1779.

⁵³ Ashton, Acton, to Walpole, 28 May 1740, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xiii. 221.

⁵⁴ Horace Mann, Florence, to Walpole, 4 June 1740, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xvii. 27–8.

... would in all probability have been now under the cold earth'.⁵⁵ Spence immediately took charge of Walpole's medical care. He sent for the best local doctor in Reggio and for the Florentine Dr Antonio Cocchi, whom he described as 'a very good [physician] and my particular friend'.⁵⁶

In his analysis of ill health and fatality on the Grand Tour, Jeremy Black argued that experiences like Walpole's were typical. The continent was 'an alien and to some extent a dangerous environment', that 'contrasted so sharply with [Tourists'] experiences of life in Britain'. The Grand Tour therefore isolated its participants from their normal frameworks of medical care and exposed them to continental physicians who were difficult to access and trust, limited in knowledge and skill, and who turned 'minor ailments into killers'.⁵⁷ Suffering a serious illness alone in a foreign country was undoubtedly a frightening experience. However, it was also a highly unusual situation for a Grand Tourist to be in. Historians of medicine have emphasized that eighteenth-century illness was an often communal affair.⁵⁸ Families, for example, were part of a three-way medical relationship with the patient and doctor, and had set obligations in monitoring, treating and physically caring for the patient.⁵⁹ These medical responsibilities were not left behind when Grand Tourists travelled to the continent. Families sought to remain involved in their children's medical lives by asking probing questions, consulting fashionable physicians on their sons' behalf, and by sending lengthy advice and trusted British medicines.

The principal duty for care, however, was transferred to the accompanying travelling party. Servants undertook much of the physical caring while tutors fulfilled the duties of selecting the best physicians and deciding medical treatments. Travelling companions remained answerable to the families who employed them, but emergencies left little leisure for consultation. When, for example, Viscount Lewisham's younger brother, Charles, fell ill with jaundice in Brussels in June 1776, their tutor David Stevenson only consulted the boy's father, the earl of Dartmouth, when Stevenson's opinion directly conflicted with the physician's. Had this conflict not

⁵⁵ Joseph Spence, Bologna, to Mrs Spence, 29 May 1741, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 388.

⁵⁶ Joseph Spence, Bologna, to Mrs Spence, 29 May 1741, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 387.

⁵⁷ Black, *British Abroad*, pp. 197–200.

⁵⁸ M. Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 53–4.

⁵⁹ See, e.g., L. Smith, 'The relative duties of a man: domestic medicine in England and France, ca. 1685–1740', *Journal of Family History*, xxxi (2006), 237–56, at p. 245; L. Smith, 'Women's medical care in eighteenth-century England', *Social History of Medicine*, xvi (2003), 327–42, at pp. 327–8, 330, 333.

arisen, Stevenson assured Dartmouth he 'should not have troubled' him with any decisions.⁶⁰ When Tourists travelled with friends and without tutors, there is evidence that they also shouldered these responsibilities as circumstance demanded. For example, both Herbert and Holroyd took on caring responsibilities during the illness and, in Herbert's case, the death of travelling companions.⁶¹ Had Walpole and Gray continued to travel together, Gray would have undoubtedly done the same.

The eighteenth-century culture of care expanded beyond the immediate ties of kinship and employment to a wider network of social acquaintances. This was absolutely vital for effective caregiving and survival on the Grand Tour. Within a British context, trust in physicians and their treatments rested upon a shared social network of recommendation in which familial and communal relationships maintained and reinforced credibility.⁶² This was replicated on the continent, where the Tour's social dimension ensured Tourists remained within a substitute supportive network. When illness struck, these communities recommended trusted physicians and provided practical aid and emotional support. For example, Stevenson's and Lewisham's letters from 1776 were dominated by grateful references to the kindness received from members of Brussels' elite society and from the British minister, William Nedham, during Charles's illness.⁶³ Likewise, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke, was shaken when his tutor, Colonel Wettstein, fell during a stag hunt at Anspach in August 1779; however, Yorke was much reassured by the kindness and care shown by members of the Margrave of Anspach's court.⁶⁴ Walpole's social isolation in Reggio was therefore what made his experience so unusual and so dangerous. Had he fallen ill at Florence where he and Gray spent several months and were well known, he would have received help far earlier. As it happened, the arrival

⁶⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 15 June 1776.

⁶¹ E.g. Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 162, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Baker, 5 Dec. 1764; WSCH, MS. 2057/F5/5, Herbert's journal, 20 Dec. 1780.

⁶² J. 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. R. Porter (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 218, 228–9; E. Leong and S. 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. M. S. R. Jenner and P. Wallis (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 137–9.

⁶³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth, 27 June 1776; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 15 June 1776; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 8 June 1776.

⁶⁴ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke's Grand Tour journals, 18 Aug. 1779; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 84, Yorke, Gottingen, to Philip Yorke, 2nd earl of Hardwicke, 1 Sept. 1777.

of Lincoln and Spence in Reggio reconnected him to the typical means of accessing care. They immediately took on the role of 'family' in overseeing Walpole's diagnosis and treatment, and they placed him back within the safety of a wider trusted network of British-Florentine support. Walpole remained with Lincoln and Spence throughout the rest of his travels, a circumstance which no doubt pleased his father and the duke of Newcastle who were close political allies.

The social set up of the Grand Tour meant that participants were not typically isolated when ill. Furthermore, the view that the medical world of the continent was 'alien' to the British traveller also requires some revision. As recent research on eighteenth-century medical care and culture has made clear, the professional and lay medical cultures of Britain and the rest of Europe were not very different and 'proved by and large to transcend state borders'.⁶⁵ British physicians trained at Leiden, Marseilles, Parisian and German universities, and they admired, corresponded and worked with leading continental medical thinkers and practitioners, including Herman Boerhaave, Friedrich Hoffmann, Albrecht von Haller and Henri François Le Dran.⁶⁶ Edinburgh's and London's professional medical scenes were therefore firmly ensconced within a wider European one.⁶⁷ The British medical profession's respect for its continental medical counterparts was evident in the ever-growing practice of prescribing travel and salubrious destinations, such as Spa, Aachen, Montpellier, Nice and Scheveningen, as treatments for ill health.⁶⁸ Likewise, on a highly practical level, this meant that medical practitioners and patients across Britain and Europe shared the same understandings of the body, disease and treatment, shaped by nervous, mechanical, humoral, non-natural and climatic theories. Even language barriers were negated for the educated as medical reports were typically written in Latin.

⁶⁵ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, pp. 11–12.

⁶⁶ Grand Tourists and tutors were also well aware of these important figures. While leading the Grand Tour before Lincoln's, Joseph Spence, e.g., was excited to attend Boerhaave's lectures in Leiden in 1737 (Spence, The Hague, to Mrs Spence, 11 June 1737, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 170–1).

⁶⁷ For a consideration of some of the strengths and limitations of these exchanges, see L. Brockliss, 'Medical education and centres of excellence in eighteenth-century Europe: towards an identification', in *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789*, ed. O. P. Grell, A. Cunningham and J. Arrizabalaga (Farnham, 2010), pp. 17–46.

⁶⁸ For literature on spas and health travel, see *The Medical History of Waters and Spas*, ed. R. Porter (London, 1990); P. Hembry, *The English Spa, 1560–1815: a Social History* (London, 1990); A. Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: the Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750–1840*, trans. J. Phelps (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), ch. 3.

Grand Tourists, tutors and their families appeared to be well aware of this context. Their accounts of ill health recorded the consistent encounter of familiar diagnoses, treatments and attitudes. For example, during Herbert's illness with ague in the winter of 1775–6, a Strasbourg physician – whom Coxe and Floyd described as 'a sensible Man ... Lord Herbert cannot be in better hands' – and the British Dr Fothergill prescribed exactly the same remedies: namely, a change in location to Colmar; the rebalancing of various non-natural factors, via a strict regime of drinking Hungarian mineral water; and the taking of purgatives such as the bark, a commonly accepted fever remedy, and an emetic. The only trifling difference was over how exactly Herbert should ingest the bark.⁶⁹ Likewise, during Charles Legge's period of illness in Brussels in 1776, Stevenson approvingly reported that the court physician had 'a high Reputation', had diagnosed Charles effectively with jaundice, and advised a course of treatment that would leave him 'even better than when he left England'.⁷⁰

Stevenson did disagree with the physician's view that Charles needed the Aix and Spa waters.⁷¹ However, disagreements and dual consultations were typically not indicative of an unusual degree of distrust. Instead, they were a common feature of the eighteenth-century 'medical market'. Unregulated by any central body, medical practice formed an 'open market' in which patients with money had 'the relative freedom to choose the medical practitioners they liked', according to their estimation of effectiveness, cost or manners.⁷² Consulting other practitioners, questioning and even challenging the physician's orders was normal, particularly as the cognitive distance between medical and lay knowledge was much smaller in the eighteenth century than it is today.⁷³ At points, British travellers even rejected British medical advice in favour of that of continental physicians. For example, when caring for a severely ill companion who eventually died in Turin in 1780, Lord Herbert praised the Savoyard physicians, Apiotti, Arnulfi, Ranzoni and Alioni, as 'the four wise Men', and rejected British

⁶⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke, [?] Dec. 1775; MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe, 16 Dec. 1775; MS. 2057/F4/27, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke, undated 1775; Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, p. 146.

⁷⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 8 June 1776; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 15 June 1776.

⁷¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 15 June 1776.

⁷² R. Porter, 'The patient's view', *Theory and Society*, xiv (1985), 175–98, at pp. 189–93; D. Porter and R. Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 9, 26–7. For revisions of this term, see M. S. R. Jenner and P. Wallis, 'The medical marketplace', in Jenner and Wallis, *Medicine and the Market*, pp. 24–46, at p. 2.

⁷³ Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness*, pp. 69–71, 74.

advice and medicines in favour of theirs.⁷⁴ The quality of eighteenth-century continental medical professionals varied as much as those in Britain. Wherever based, they could be guilty of turning minor ailments into fatal ones. Nevertheless, Grand Tourists, tutors and families frequently perceived the medical faculty of the continent as sound, reliable and talented. Even the unnamed Savoyard physician covertly selected by Lincoln to remove a pimple from his face in February 1740 was described by Newcastle as ‘a very honest man [who] would not try any tricks’.⁷⁵

Travelling on the continent did mean exposing oneself to the possibility of contracting diseases that were less common in Britain, such as malaria, smallpox or, more rarely, leprosy and plague. The threat of malaria engendered great alarm among British travellers, of which horrified responses like Pembroke’s at his son’s foolhardy decision to brave the height of the malaria season in the summer of 1779 were typical. He had good reason to be fearful. A few months earlier, Herbert’s old school fellow, Philip Yorke became dangerously ill when he contracted malaria in Rome. His was a protracted, slow recovery that required him to divert to Spa to receive further treatment.⁷⁶ Yet the other three continental diseases – smallpox, leprosy and plague – and the steps taken by European governments to halt the spread of epidemics, did not seem to trouble Tourists and families as much. They are often only glimpsed through brief references to presenting certificates of health at the island of Lido as a prerequisite to entering Venice.⁷⁷ This lack of concern over leprosy and plague probably reflected the fact that neither were endemic in Europe any more; at the same time, given that smallpox remained a likely threat, some more alarm might have been expected in relation to this illness.⁷⁸

Falling ill was a common occurrence and the extended nature of the Grand Tour made it highly unlikely that it would take place without any call for medical attention. True, families and friends did respond to the news of the ill health of distant Grand Tourists with agitation and alarm, but they also commented with equal distress on news of illnesses in the same country, town or even the same house within Britain. Equally, not all families responded the same way. For example, when Lord George Herbert

⁷⁴ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert’s journal, 10 Jan. 1780.

⁷⁵ Newcastle, Newcastle House, to Lincoln, 4 Feb. 1740, in Klima, *Letters*, p. 250.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke’s journal, 20 June 1779, 2 July 1779, 7 July 1779.

⁷⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 192, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke, 25 May 1779.

⁷⁸ Aside from Daniel Finch, 2nd earl of Nottingham’s concerns in 1709, the only references to smallpox and vaccinations that I have found came from parents updating Tourists on the inoculation of young siblings.

fell ill with ague in Strasbourg in 1775 and Charles, the younger brother of Lord Lewisham, contracted jaundice in Brussels in 1776, their illnesses were of comparable severity and took place in locations well supplied with competent physicians. Both young men were of similar age, social status and supported by tutors, brothers and servants they had known throughout their lives. Despite this, their parents reacted with vastly different levels of fear and anxiety. Lady Pembroke was distraught with ‘agony’ and ‘terrified to death’ throughout Herbert’s illness. By contrast, Lord and Lady Dartmouth received the news calmly.⁷⁹

To understand this range of emotional responses, it is necessary to look beyond the unifying factors of distance, separation and sickness to consider the different situations and emotional cultures of individuals and their families. On a purely clinical level, there may have been more alarm in response to Herbert’s illness because he was the heir and only son, whereas Charles was the second son. Yet the different marital circumstances of the Pembrokes and Dartmouths were also influential. Lord and Lady Dartmouth were happily married and therefore able to receive emotional support from each other and their other children, whereas Lady Pembroke endured a loveless marriage, separated from her husband and placed in a situation where her emotional investment lay almost entirely in her only son. Already distressed at his departure, she also suffered from a melancholic disorder and used an epistolary style that embraced the highly emotional language of sensibility. Comparisons like these demonstrate that while evidence of emotional distress, fear and anxiety are important markers in discerning attitudes to and experiences of danger, they need to be carefully contextualized against their particular familial and cultural settings.

Any history of danger requires careful consideration of how individuals from specific social groups identified what was dangerous and the required response. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the mentalities surrounding the so-called risks to personal morality. Drawing on the vociferous contemporary printed criticisms of the Grand Tour, historians have tended to view foreign travel as a hazardous minefield of moral dangers that exposed participants to gambling, drinking and sex. By covertly or openly engaging in these vices, Grand Tourists such as the diarist James Boswell failed to maintain the high moral standards set by their parents.⁸⁰ There are certainly many Grand Tours in which parents and tutors wrote

⁷⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Pembroke [location unknown], to Coxe, 18 Dec. 1775; SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 15 June 1776; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson [no location] to Dartmouth [undated].

⁸⁰ Black, *British Abroad*, ch. 9; I. Littlewood, *Sultry Climates: Travel and Sex* (Cambridge MA, 2002).

disapprovingly about young men's spending habits, laziness, and in response to more severe moral shortcomings. Nevertheless, historians have presumed a homogeneous elite morality in which all families were unanimous in their disapproval, and have discerned this morality from a published literature that more typically reflected the moral codes of middling sorts. This is problematic for several reasons. As Margaret Hunt observed, 'Middling moralists obsessively identified traits that were alleged to be aristocratic', and depicted luxury, a love of the foreign and moral laxity as conjoined.⁸¹ This was a discourse that actually intended to make a broader critique on elite culture, rather than depict its moral standard. Assessing the aristocracy and gentry according to the standards of middling morality risks making their behaviour incomprehensible, particularly as these social groups did not conceptualize moral behaviour in the same way.

This has been partially acknowledged. Correspondence between young men on the Grand Tour and with their peers at home often demonstrated an overt pride and pleasure in their drinking and sexual activities. Historians have accounted for this by arguing that age and homosocial peer groups were powerful factors in dictating moral standards and behaviour. Scholars initially argued that this youthful homosocial behaviour was an illicit, collective rebellion against the legitimate, higher moral standards held by older authority figures.⁸² French and Rothery have recently nuanced these arguments by exploring how the illicit behaviour undertaken by young gentry men at school, university and in apprenticeships was actually blended into acceptable forms and discourses of masculine sociability. Thus, alternative readings of codes of masculine behaviour validated interpersonal violence, sexual licence, alcoholic excess, gambling and rowdy sociability as 'honourable' self-defence and 'courageous' risk-taking.⁸³ This 'sub-set' of legitimate values was performed in the demi-monde spaces of brothels, backrooms, gambling hells and pleasure gardens, and were sometimes approved by parents. This interpretation matches assertions that the immoral excesses of the Tour were secretly accepted by elite male society and seen as a useful way of 'letting people sow their wild oats abroad' away from polite society.⁸⁴

⁸¹ M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1689–1780* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), p. 71; See also D. T. Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice: the Attack on Duelling, Suicide, Adultery, and Gambling in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2013).

⁸² See, e.g., Black, *British Abroad*, pp. 203–4.

⁸³ H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 124–5, 127, 128, 130–1.

⁸⁴ Black, *British Abroad*, pp. 204, 217, 225; B. Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1996).

By casting these youthful demi-monde codes as ‘subversive’ or ‘alternative’ value systems, French and Rothery stopped short of conferring full legitimacy on them. Yet this does not account for the fact that a significant proportion of young men continued their wild behaviour into adulthood. In seeking to further understand the unwritten rules of elite social boundaries, scholars like Jason Kelly and Hannah Greig have begun to move away from the binary of il/legitimate moral codes.⁸⁵ Kelly used the Society of the Dilettanti’s and the Medmenham Monks’ libertine behaviour to illustrate the elite concept of a ‘private realm within the public world’. In 1734/5, members of the Society of the Dilettante took part in an evening’s drinking in London that culminated in antagonizing a plebeian crowd and causing £100 in riot damage. The Calves’ Head incident, as it was known, was thoroughly enjoyed within the closed ranks of elite social circles, but not confirmed or discussed beyond this.⁸⁶ In contrast, Lord Sandwich’s 1763 house of lords’ condemnation of John Wilkes and the Medmenham Monks had a completely different reception. Elite society was far more appalled by Sandwich’s transgressive and (as a previous participant) deeply hypocritical decision to publicly acknowledge these acts in an inappropriate political and social setting than by the Monks’ actual libertine activities. These behaviours, like the Calves’ Head incident, were already well known within certain circles. In speaking up, Sandwich broke a fundamental elite societal ‘code of conduct, which did not make private activities a matter of political debate, as long as private activities did not corrupt public conduct’.⁸⁷

Greig’s examination of elite women excluded from the *beau monde* made a similar point. It was not the ‘simple fact of adultery’ that breached social codes of acceptance, but rather its overly public display in inappropriate social spheres.⁸⁸ Both Kelly and Greig highlighted the importance of distinguishing between codes of social behaviour and codes of acceptance. Fashionable society had a mercurial, unwritten but fundamental code of acceptance that could, particularly in the case of men, be considerably permissive in what it ‘privately’ allowed.⁸⁹ Thus, there was a persistent standard of moral behaviour that edged towards libertinism. The accompanying elite silence, refusal to validate rumours beyond their private circles, and refusal to punish

⁸⁵ See also V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2006), pp. 178, 316.

⁸⁶ J. Kelly, ‘Riots, revelries, and rumor: libertinism and masculine association in enlightenment London’, *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2006), 759–95, at pp. 774–5.

⁸⁷ Kelly, ‘Riots’, pp. 788–90.

⁸⁸ H. Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 202, 206.

⁸⁹ Greig, *Beau Monde*, pp. 193–4, 210, 209, 212, 215.

participants should be read in similarly libertine terms: it did not necessarily signify shame or hidden illicitness, but rather formed a strategy through which elite society emphasized its position as self-referential, exclusive and aloof from the rest of British society. This particular moral code was perceived as deeply legitimate in aiming to establish a masculine authority that was similarly elite, self-referential and exclusive.

The actions of some Grand Tourists fell into this category of elite morality, rather than the category of illicit *demi-monde* rebellion. Identification of cases where seemingly immoral behaviour was explicitly encouraged and approved by authority figures is crucial in determining the difference between these two positions. Such elite behaviours could even be condoned and encouraged by well-respected clergymen, like the antiquarian and future bishop, Richard Pococke. In 1741, after spending several weeks in their company, Pococke viewed members of the Common Room group of Tourists as 'very sober, men of parts & application', while also being aware that they encouraged one another to 'Stitch the pretty women'.⁹⁰ Indeed, various Grand Tourists had parental figures who stepped well beyond covert approbation to explicitly affirm, encourage and even order loose moral conduct. Philip Stanhope, 4th earl of Chesterfield was pleased to find that 'The Princess Borghese was so kind as to put [my illegitimate son] upon his haunches, by putting him frequently upon her own' during Philip's Grand Tour of 1746–51.⁹¹ Henry Fox famously took his son, Charles James, to Paris to lose his virginity to Madame de Quallens at fourteen.⁹² This was simply an extension of Fox and his wife's own moral behaviour, in which they made a contract to allow extramarital affairs, yet believed their love to be unsullied.⁹³ Charles James Fox's Grand Tour letters from 1766–8 unsurprisingly contained graphic descriptions of sexual dalliances, sexual diseases and complaints at the Pope's refusal to allow pornography in Rome.⁹⁴ These families did not view sex, prostitution and wild behaviour as inherently dangerous. They were a source of pleasure and, in line with libertine philosophies, a means of asserting elite freedom from the constraints of lesser society.⁹⁵ Within this context, and across the century, the continent held few perils, but substantial opportunity.

⁹⁰ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22998, 26 June–6 July 1741 and 15–26 June 1741, Pococke's journal; NRO, WKC 7/46/11, Price, Paris, to the Bloods, 9 Nov. 1741.

⁹¹ Chesterfield quoted in Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 211.

⁹² L. G. Mitchell, 'Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/10024>> [accessed 29 May 2015].

⁹³ Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 316.

⁹⁴ See Charles James Fox's letters in Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 47576.

⁹⁵ *Libertine Enlightenment: Sex, Liberty and Licence in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. P. Cryle and L. O'Connell (New York, 2004), pp. 2–3.

Such encouragement did not just come from male family members. When socializing daily with the political exile John Wilkes in Naples during the spring of 1765, John Holroyd flirted with radical and libertine principles and pontificated that ‘There is some reason to think that Vice approaches ... as near perfection as Human Affairs are capable of’.⁹⁶ Even before this, Holroyd’s lively letters to his uncle and aunts – the Revd John Baker, Mrs Baker and Mrs Atkinson – openly described flirtations, venereal disease and prostitutes. He reported to his uncle that Swiss brothels were not as good as London ones and that ‘I must acknowledge that we fail in that one point, you probably will say that is everything’.⁹⁷ Observing that the Italian ladies of fashion were not ‘safe goods’, he wrote to Mrs Baker, ‘If you was [*sic*] a rich lady I shou’d apply to you for an allowance to keep an Opera Girl’.⁹⁸ He also wished Mrs Atkinson ‘had an opportunity of drinking a bottle of wine with [Wilkes], they wou’d be very happy together’.⁹⁹ These letters, shared between the three relatives and wider family members, strongly suggest that his family accepted and even shared his moral code.

Holroyd’s behaviour did have boundaries, but these were not necessarily dictated by moral constraints. When required, he demonstrated his capacity to move seamlessly between different social conventions. For example, he met Lausanne’s strict standards of propriety where he enjoyed his restrained interaction with the Springs, a group of beautiful young society women.¹⁰⁰ Holroyd was also careful to demonstrate his patriotic loyalty to the established order, by publicly celebrating George III’s birthday so ‘that I may not be suspected to be a contempt or reviler of Kings on account of my late connection [with Wilkes]’.¹⁰¹ When in Rome, however, he was part of a rowdy homosocial group of British men. One night in February 1765, their revels went too far and descended into drunken violence. The group had held a riotous birthday dinner that was followed by a ‘walk at night abt the town’ in search of prostitutes. When locals refused to direct them, a ‘bloody battle ensued’. Two Romans were stabbed, one of whom died, and several Tourists were advised by the authorities to leave the city immediately. Holroyd told this story with relish and maintained his friendship with the

⁹⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 138, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson, 9 Jan. 1764; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 172, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd, 7 May 1765; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 166, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Atkinson, 7 Feb. 1765.

⁹⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 136, Holroyd, Lausanne, Baker, 19 Dec. 1763.

⁹⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 138, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Atkinson, 9 Jan. 1764; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 156, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd, 4 Sept. 1764.

⁹⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 168, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker, 8 March 1765.

¹⁰⁰ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 149, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker, 12 Apr. 1764.

¹⁰¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 172, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Holroyd, 7 May 1765.

group, but he also carefully dissociated himself from this particular affair. He had been invited to the dinner but was conveniently unable to attend as he had gone to explore nearby Terni.¹⁰² Strikingly though, Holroyd's desire to emphasize his lack of involvement stemmed less from any concern about the violent actions themselves and more from fears about the potential legal consequences.

Eighteenth-century elite society did not have a unanimous view on what constituted moral danger. Instead, as Faramerz Dabhoiwala has observed in relation to standards of male sexual conduct, it held a whole spectrum of moral codes, which ranged from the libertine to the profoundly religious.¹⁰³ Certain families would have regarded Holroyd's exploits with unmitigated horror. One such family was that of William Legge, the 2nd earl of Dartmouth, whose moral outlook was directly shaped by a deep religious faith.¹⁰⁴ Adhering to evangelical teaching on the corruptible nature of humanity and the need for continuous self-analysis, the earl and his wife strove to steep their sons in moral virtue by advising them to become 'thoroughly acquainted with your own disposition, propensities & failings' and to embrace God's redeeming goodness.¹⁰⁵ In his first letter to his son Viscount Lewisham, in Paris in 1776, Dartmouth explicitly labelled the wild behaviour of the English (and not, interestingly, the French) in Paris as 'dangerous', 'senseless' and 'indecent', and imagined Lewisham 'shrinking' from such behaviour with 'fear', 'shame' and 'confusion'.¹⁰⁶ The equally ardent tutor Stevenson cast himself as a guardian who guided Lewisham and his brothers through their moral 'Trials'.¹⁰⁷

These differing moral codes cut across social and political alliances. For example, the wayward John Holroyd was brought into kinship with the morally upstanding earls of Dartmouth through two of his three marriages, particularly his final union with Lady Anne North, the daughter of the 2nd

¹⁰² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 166, Holroyd, Rome, to Mrs Atkinson, 7 Feb. 1765; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 168, Holroyd, Rome, to Baker, 8 March 1765; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 170, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Baker, 7 Apr. 1765.

¹⁰³ F. Dabhoiwala, 'The construction of honour, reputation and status in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vi (1996), 201–13, at p. 204.

¹⁰⁴ P. Marshall, 'Legge, William, second earl of Dartmouth (1731–1801)', *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16360>> [accessed 26 June 2012].

¹⁰⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham, 18 Dec. 1775; D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham, 3 Feb. 1777. See G. M. Ditchfield, 'Methodism and the evangelical revival', in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. H. T. Dickinson (Oxford, 2002), p. 253.

¹⁰⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, Sandwell, to Lewisham, 14 Aug. 1775.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth, 4 Jan. 1776.

earl of Dartmouth's stepbrother and close friend, Frederick, Lord North.¹⁰⁸ Extremely different moral codes could even exist within single family units, although this had the potential to cause considerable emotional distress. The 10th earl of Pembroke, for example, had strong libertine propensities. He indulged these during his own Grand Tour of 1751–4 to the extent that, more than two decades later, the highly respected British ambassador to Vienna, Sir Robert Murray Keith joked with Herbert that his father's reputation had left a legacy of Italian women wishing to inspect Herbert's 'le jeune Pembroke'.¹⁰⁹ Pembroke encouraged his son 'to see the Satyr f-g the Goat' and recommended aristocratic, if elderly, women likely to indulge him.¹¹⁰

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.¹¹¹

One tutor, Floyd, supported Pembroke's moral approach, and upon his return to England, wrote to Herbert warning him to 'Take care of your precious parts, & keep them for home use' as 'There are a great many pretty Maids & Mistresses too in these parts'.¹¹²

Pembroke had many affairs before and during his marriage (in 1756), but his own sexual behaviour finally breached the social codes of acceptance in 1762, when he eloped abroad with Elizabeth Catherine (Kitty) Hunter, the daughter of Thomas Orby Hunter MP, with whom he had an illegitimate son, Augustus Retnuh Reebkomp. The scandal resulted in Pembroke's resignation from various court positions, and he did not get back into favour until 1769.¹¹³ In direct contrast to her husband's sexual excess, Lady Pembroke was well known for her virtue, which was manifest in her decision to take back her husband in March 1763, and to raise Reebkomp as a member

¹⁰⁸ J. Cannon, 'Holroyd, John Baker, first earl of Sheffield (1735–1821)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13608>> [accessed 13 March 2019].

¹⁰⁹ J. E. O. Screen, 'Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke and seventh earl of Montgomery (1734–1794)', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13034>> [accessed 29 May 2015]; WSRO, MS. 2057/F4/26, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert, 12 Aug. 1779.

¹¹⁰ Pembroke quoted in Sweet, *Cities*, p. 57; WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert, 21 June 1779.

¹¹¹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke, Ely, to Herbert, 30 Sept. 1779.

¹¹² WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/28, John Floyd, Stamford, to Herbert, 15 Dec. 1779; MS. 2057/F4/28, Floyd, Pembroke House, to Herbert, 22 March 1780.

¹¹³ Screen, 'Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke'.

of the family. Lady Pembroke, with the assistance of William Coxe, the second of her son's tutors, therefore sought to enforce a completely different moral code to her husband's.¹¹⁴ 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'.¹¹⁵ Through Coxe, she instigated discussions of morality and religion, and altered Herbert's route, curriculum and company if she feared they might prove morally harmful.

These moral standards were further reflected in the different social groups to which his parents introduced Herbert. When in Paris in May 1780, Herbert spent time with the royal prince and libertine Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans, then the duc de Chartres and later the duc d'Orléans. On one memorable occasion, he recorded in his diary how 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'.¹¹⁶ But Herbert was also part of Marie-Amélie de Boufflers, duchesse de Lauzun's famous salon and supper parties. Four days after this party, he received a note 'full of Reprimands from the Duchesse, who because she and others had not seen me for some Days, imagined I was gott into bad Company'.¹¹⁷ Herbert was well aware of the tensions between his parents. Even though he was close to his mother, and viewed his father as 'perhaps ... the most unaccountable of all humans', his diaries and letters nevertheless showed the strain (and, evidently, at times, the pleasure) he experienced by being placed between the two.¹¹⁸

To fully understand how, or if, the elite viewed the Grand Tour in terms of moral danger, this complexity must be acknowledged. Sons were clearly expected to adhere to the moral standards of their elders, who played an important role in establishing boundaries. What these standards advocated remains a very different question. A 'standard' elite moral code did not exist. Instead, the relatively close-knit elite world encompassed a wide spectrum of standards, ranging from the evangelical to the libertine. In order to identify whether different Tourists and families actually viewed

¹¹⁴ See, for support of Lady Pembroke, WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke, 17 March 1776.

¹¹⁵ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/31, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 20 Apr. [1779]; MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe, 16 Dec. 1775; MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe, 10 Dec. 1776.

¹¹⁶ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert's journal, 19 May 1780.

¹¹⁷ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert's journal, 23 May 1780.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Screen, 'Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke'.

sex, drinking, gambling and related pursuits as dangerous, it is necessary to locate them on this moral and religious axis. The opposing views of Lord and Lady Pembroke illustrate how these factors fundamentally shifted the perceived degree of danger associated with certain activities. While Pembroke regarded continental travel as providing fruitful opportunities to indulge in his and his son's moral code, Lady Pembroke saw multiple hazards to be negotiated.

Whether it was the danger of crime, illness or moral corruption, a single danger or activity could be legitimately perceived in multiple ways. Grand Tourists' communities were evidently influential in shaping these perceptions and did not necessarily push Tourists towards the path of fear and caution. This opens up further questions regarding the effect of social dynamics and ambitions on a traveller's engagement with danger. How, for example, did the desire to attain acceptance and affirmation from family, society and other men influence the risk-taking behaviours of young men? As subsequent chapters will explore, encounters with certain dangers were often seen as a platform for masculine performances to be enacted, applauded and validated. The drive to attain validation was so influential that it could, at times, impel Grand Tourists directly towards encounters with danger.

Eighteenth-century conceptions of danger

In 1755, Samuel Johnson succinctly but rather nebulously defined 'danger' as 'risque; hazard; peril'.¹¹⁹ A fuller etymology of these terms shows that danger had a well-established link with chance, luck, speculation and gambling. From at least the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 'danger' was defined as 'Liability or exposure to harm or injury; the condition of being exposed to the chance of evil; risk, peril'.¹²⁰ 'Risk/Risque' came from the French *risqué*, meaning 'danger or inconvenience, predictable or otherwise'. It entered the English language in the seventeenth century and was similarly defined as '(Exposure to) the possibility of loss, injury, or other adverse or unwelcome circumstance; a chance or situation involving such a possibility'. 'Risk/

¹¹⁹ S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (2 vols., London, 1755), i, unpaginated; 'danger, n. and adj.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47183?rskey=mTn3xQ&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017]; '† danger, v.', *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47184?rskey=mTn3xQ&result=2>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017].

¹²⁰ 'danger, n. and adj.', *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47183?rskey=mTn3xQ&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017]; '† danger, v.', *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47184?rskey=mTn3xQ&result=2>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017].

Risque' held specific associations with 'financial loss'; that is, speculation, and with 'A hazardous journey, undertaking, or course of action; a venture'. By the eighteenth century, the term had redoubled its association with being 'in danger, exposed to a risk' and with the specific chancing 'something of value or importance' to 'jeopardy'.¹²¹ 'Peril' and 'imperial' held a very similar but older etymology that dated back to the twelfth century. 'Hazard', a verb from the fifteenth-century French *hasarde*, was initially the name for a dice game in which 'the chances are complicated by a number of arbitrary rules'. Over time, the term broadened to encompass putting '(anything) to the risk of being lost in a game of chance or other doubtful issue; to stake; to expose to hazard or risk'. This extended to exposing 'oneself to risk; ... to endanger, to get by chance/luck'.¹²²

Given this, the interconnected histories of probability theory, statistics and gambling offer important insights into the eighteenth-century conceptualization of danger. The century saw the birth of the probabilistic revolution, an emerging worldview in which danger could be domesticated by converting the various hazards of life into calculable, manageable risks. The Enlightenment philosopher, David Hume, for example, argued that chance was merely the absence of an established cause due to the imperfection of human reason and knowledge.¹²³ Yet this mentality remained in its infancy for the majority of the century. Statistical theory was a relatively obscure, developing calculus used for describing individual moral action. Rationality and the will of the individual remained important factors within these calculations. It was the nineteenth century that saw the full emergence of the probabilistic revolution, whereby statistical theory started to outline how the individual was subject to the laws of frequencies and rates observable in large groups and societies.¹²⁴ This had intriguing ramifications for nineteenth-century perceptions of risk. On the one hand, there was an increased certainty that risk could be statistically calculated, assessed and thereby eliminated.¹²⁵ On the other, as the individual's relationship with chance and probability became characterized by a sense of inevitability and a lack of personal control, this created a growing sense

¹²¹ 'risk, n.', *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/166306?rskey=qddti4&result=1>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017].

¹²² 'peril, n.', *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/140934?rskey=FHCDdH&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017]; 'hazard, n. and adj.', *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84853?rskey=KxgLxr&result=1>> [accessed 12 Apr. 2017].

¹²³ G. Clark, *Betting on Lives: the Culture of Life Insurance in England, 1695–1775* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 1, 37.

¹²⁴ Y. Choi, 'Writing the Victorian city: discourses of risk, connection, and inevitability', *Victorian Studies*, xliii (2001), 561–90, at pp. 578–83.

¹²⁵ Althusser, 'Disciplinary perspective', pp. 568–9.

of insecurity and uncertainty. By the mid nineteenth century, society had become 'risk-averse'. The consequences of 'unnecessary' risks needed to be minimized and risk in general was increasingly associated with negative outcomes.¹²⁶

Lorraine Daston and Geoffrey Clark have both argued that eighteenth-century practices of risk, undertaken through insurance (maritime, fire and life), annuities, lotteries and other forms of gambling, remained almost wholly untouched by the advent of mathematical probability that would so profoundly shape the nineteenth century. Clark noted that while the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw an explosion of the insurance industry,¹²⁷ these organizations were largely ignorant of the statistical methods suggested by the theoreticians of probability. Not one insurance company, for example, appears systematically to have collected or analysed information about shipping or fire losses.¹²⁸ Instead, eighteenth-century attitudes towards risk were, as Daston argued, shaped by 'preprobabilistic' practices and understandings. Degrees of risk were quantified in the sense that premiums were proportioned to risk, but methods of risk assessment were anti-statistical. They often relied on intuition, experience and assessed individual cases by using 'specific, up-to-the-minute, and above all personal knowledge' that was sensitive to myriad individual situations, weighted interrelationships and market circumstances.¹²⁹ As Clark put it, 'Experience counted; counting didn't'.¹³⁰

This adherence to preprobabilistic practice was further shaped by several historically specific cultural understandings of risk. First, there was a lingering perception of risk as positive, inherited from medieval and early modern judicial and theoretical understandings that it played an important redeeming role within aleatory contracts. In the place of labour or property, the parties to the contract exchanged present certainty for future uncertainty. The presence of risk stopped practices like this from collapsing into illegal usury.¹³¹ Second, risk was filtered through a cultural understanding of *fortuna* (fortune). Like justice, *fortuna* was almost always depicted with a blindfold to indicate that this ambiguous concept was

¹²⁶ Baker and Simon, *Embracing Risk*, p. 17.

¹²⁷ For accounts of the enormous increase in these industries, see R. Pearson, *Insuring the Industrial Revolution: Fire Insurance in Great Britain, 1700–1850* (Basingstoke, 2004); and Clark, *Betting on Lives*.

¹²⁸ Clark, *Betting on Lives*, p. 7.

¹²⁹ L. Daston, *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), pp. 112–6, 119–20, 125, 138–40.

¹³⁰ Clark, *Betting on Lives*, p. 7.

¹³¹ Daston, *Classical Probability*, p. 117.

capricious, unfair, but also utterly impartial and blind to all distinctions. This belief was, as Hume's comment indicates, deplored by the moral and rational strands of Enlightenment thinking but nevertheless remained deeply persuasive. *Fortuna* and related concepts – chance, risk, probability, speculation – were imbued with a certain neutrality in which the sword could fall either way.¹³² Third, *fortuna* was a conceptual category that sat somewhere between divine providence and human agency.¹³³ Eighteenth-century society remained invested in the concept of 'subjective' probability, in which the 'risk' of gambling, uncertain investment or hazardous travel depended to some degree on the individual's own agency to 'take a risk'. Early modern declarations like Machiavelli's statement that fortune was better mastered by audacity than caution suggested that outcomes could somehow be swayed by actions, attitude and character. Such views still resonated in the eighteenth century.¹³⁴ Card-playing, for example, evolved from late seventeenth-century games that depended almost entirely upon pure luck to an eighteenth-century passion for games like whist, which required individual skill and co-operative play to defeat one's opponent *and* chance itself.¹³⁵ Thus whereas Augustan society might have been committed to the social management of risk, as Clark highlighted, this was not a risk-averse society. Rather, practices like insurance that were used to protect against misfortune and compensate loss were also frequently perceived as a speculative opportunity for gain through the process of gambling on lives and outcomes.¹³⁶

The role of divine intervention in dangerous situations also requires consideration. Daston described how the highly individualized name slips submitted to Elizabethan-era blank lotteries were inscribed with prayers requesting God's intervention in a game of chance.¹³⁷ This corresponds with Alexandra Walsham's exploration of providence in early modern England, in which she demonstrated that providence was 'part of the mainstream, a cluster of presuppositions which enjoyed near universal acceptance'.¹³⁸ Inherent to providence was a belief that God actively intervened in human affairs to punish, reward, warn, test and chastise. It offered a way of understanding both petty and perplexing events, was an ingrained response

¹³² Daston, *Classical Probability*, pp. 151–2, 161; Douglas, 'Risk', pp. 1–2.

¹³³ Daston, *Classical Probability*, pp. 151–2.

¹³⁴ Daston, *Classical Probability*.

¹³⁵ Clark, *Betting on Lives*, pp. 39–40.

¹³⁶ Clark, *Betting on Lives*, pp. 4, 40. For literal examples of how lives were gambled on, see pp. 49–53.

¹³⁷ Daston, *Classical Probability*, p. 143.

¹³⁸ A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 2–3.

to chaos and crisis, and central to political, medical, philosophical and theological thought.¹³⁹ By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, exponents of ‘rational religion’ had dissociated themselves from the idea that the Almighty perpetually intervened in the temporal realm. This was in response to the Civil War and Interregnum, in which the credibility of providence had been undermined by radical groups who appropriated it as a polemic weapon.¹⁴⁰ Despite this, J. C. D. Clark and others have demonstrated that providence remained a widespread, powerful popular mindset that coexisted with rational scientific orthodoxy in eighteenth-century society.¹⁴¹

Wrestling with the ‘paradoxical alliance of science and providence which emerged during the seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries’, Robin Pearson argued that as ‘the laws which governed natural phenomena were gradually revealed by science, the immediacy of God’s will was replaced by claims for its indirect revelation through the workings of nature’.¹⁴² Yet Jane Shaw’s investigation into miracles in the eighteenth century has highlighted how the idea that God might intervene very directly into human affairs retained a vitality throughout the long eighteenth century, not in the least through the influence of nonconformist churches.¹⁴³ Carl Thompson’s study of maritime misadventure, shipwreck and captivity narratives has demonstrated how such beliefs in providence directly shaped some travel cultures, and argued that this eighteenth-century subgenre of ‘Voyage and Travels’ writing was closely bound up with a religious agenda. Writers thanked God for delivering them from disaster and used these events to demonstrate the complex workings of Providence in their lives. These narratives described God’s power over nature’s laws. He alone had the ability to save the good and let the wicked perish. In more complex lessons, God would even inflict hardships as a means of purifying the faithful and (re)converting those who had strayed. Readers of all denominations used these narratives as sources of spiritual instruction.¹⁴⁴

These understandings of chance, risk and providence influenced a wide range of eighteenth-century life, including the mechanisms of commerce and speculation, the culture and mentality of mercantile and trade communities,

¹³⁹ Walsham, *Providence*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Walsham, *Providence*, pp. 333–4.

¹⁴¹ E.g., J. C. D. Clark, ‘Providence, predestination and progress: or, did the Enlightenment fail?’, *Albion*, xxxv (2004), 559–89.

¹⁴² Pearson, *Insuring the Industrial Revolution*, p. 1.

¹⁴³ J. Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2006).

¹⁴⁴ C. Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 7–82, 26–7, 71–5, 274.

activities such as gambling, lotteries and life insurance, the cultures of religious sub-groups, such as Quakers and Methodists, and campaigns for the abolition of slavery.¹⁴⁵ How, then, did these understandings in turn shape contemporary concepts of danger on the Grand Tour?

Mark Williams has recently explored how the role of memory, interiority and intergenerational relations were important in the framing and reframing of experiences and narratives of travel. Through this, he provides a fascinating insight into one family, the Clerks of Penicuik, Scotland, and their late seventeenth-century experiences of travel. The Clerk family were devout Presbyterians who saw the manifestations of divine providence in their daily surroundings and life stories. Both Sir John Clerk II and his son, John Clerk III, interwove 'signal providences' in the narratives of their educational travels to Europe and the role those travels played in shaping their spiritual lives.¹⁴⁶ Clerk II's retrospective account of his travels of about 1676 centred on how 'my pride[,] ignorance & follie' led to a traumatic near-drowning in the Seine. Sinking, he offered:

'sincere fervent prayer for pardon of sin'. Only then did his foot touch ground, and he found himself saved in an affirmative, essentially baptismal experience. His governor arrived soon after with a boat and took him ashore ... Switching to the present tense, Clerk then takes time to thank God for this 'signal deliverance & for all his mercies to me'.¹⁴⁷

Providence also played an important role in Clerk III's travels in the late 1690s. Like some other Scottish and English Presbyterians, Clerk III drew up a covenant prior to his departure, asking God to preserve him from 'spiritual and bodily dangers' and vowing to 'depart from my lusts and close with thee'.¹⁴⁸ When his ship struck a rock off the south coast of France, Clerk commended himself to God and survived.¹⁴⁹ The Clerks' attitude towards danger markedly echoes the narratives found in maritime and shipwreck

¹⁴⁵ See, e.g., J. Smail, 'Credit, risk, and honor in eighteenth-century commerce', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 439–56; C. Cunard, "'Labouring in suspense": paying attention to providence in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, xxx (2018), 395–418; R. Pearson, 'Moral hazard and the assessment of insurance risk in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain', *Business History Review*, lxxix (2002), 1–36, at pp. 9–10; Clark, *Betting on Lives*; P. Koch, 'Slavery, mission, and the perils of providence in eighteenth-century Christianity: the writings of Whitefield and the Halle Pietists', *Church History*, lxxxiv (2015), 369–93.

¹⁴⁶ M. R. F. Williams, 'The inner lives of early modern travel', *Historical Journal*, lxii (2019), 349–72, at p. 350.

¹⁴⁷ Williams, 'Inner lives', p. 351.

¹⁴⁸ Williams, 'Inner lives', p. 361.

¹⁴⁹ Williams, 'Inner lives', p. 370.

disasters, yet it bears no resemblance to my collection of Grand Tourists, who were largely English, Anglican and travelling later in the eighteenth century. The Clerks' Presbyterian spiritual tradition brought providence to the fore most clearly in their response to dangers, but even the most overtly religious families in this study, such as the Dartmouths, made no reference to providence. God might be invoked as a blessing, church might be attended, and sermons discussed, but providence was not routinely besought as an intervening force in someone's survival.

This elite group's perceptions and understandings of danger were much more clearly underpinned by a preprobabilistic understanding and practice of risk that centred on taking their chances with *fortuna's* capricious neutrality. In 1777, Philip Yorke wrote from Vienna to his guardians and uncles, the 2nd earl of Hardwicke and Sir Joseph Yorke, asking for permission to gamble. Prominent in Whig political and intellectual circles, Yorke's family practised a 'middle of the road' Anglican morality, for which church attendance and prayers were important.¹⁵⁰ They were outwardly disapproving of gambling as an immoral and irrational act. At the same time, however, the evils of gambling had to be balanced against a second threat: that of social failure. The popularity of gambling in eighteenth-century elite society is well known. Deplored by moralists, it was nevertheless a fashionable pastime that had an important social function in providing space for conviviality and an opportunity to demonstrate one's fashionable credentials.¹⁵¹ Yorke's lack of skill at the gaming table had already compromised his efforts with the social elites of Brussels and Mannheim.¹⁵²

Unluckily I know so few Games at Cards that I am at a loss how to make party [*sic*], 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.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ The entries on the following dates record church attendance and comments on the quality of the sermon: Brit. Libr. Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's journal, 29 June, 9 Aug., 21 Sept., 29 Nov. 1777, 1 Feb., 23 March, 6 June 1778.

¹⁵¹ D. 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, 1989), pp. 107–19; see also J. Richard, "'Putting to hazard a certainty": lotteries and the romance of gambling in eighteenth-century England', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, xl (2011), 179–200.

¹⁵² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 56, Yorke, Brussels, to Hardwicke, 20 June 1777; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 74, Yorke, Carlsruhe, to Hardwicke, 5 Aug. 1777.

¹⁵³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 109, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke, 21 Nov. 1777.

In order to avoid the prospect of social failure, Yorke proposed embracing this 'Evil'. He was not alone in this belief. Hoping to convince his uncles, Yorke reported that 'Sir Robert [Murray Keith, the 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'.¹⁵⁴ His uncle evidently agreed as Yorke's diary entries dated after his letter regularly recorded episodes of play.¹⁵⁵

Yorke's use of the term, *jeux de société*, is a play on words that holds the key to understanding eighteenth-century elite attitudes towards danger and risk. *Jeux de société* did not just refer to gambling as a specific pastime, but also in its literal translation alluded to 'the games of society'. Yorke was therefore referring to the need to play (with skill) the games, strategies and rules necessary to moving successfully within powerful and fashionable society. As such, the principles of preprobabilistic chance ran well beyond the boundaries of the card-table and insurance companies, and the concept of risk and danger sat at the very heart of elite culture itself. The Grand Tour and elite masculine formation were themselves a game of society; an enormous, costly gamble with a family's finances, with the life and reputation of its son, and with a variety of hazards, in which the outcome could be either hugely rewarding or an extensive failure.

Yorke's letter, Keith's advice and Hardwicke's response reflected an intimate knowledge of how to succeed within the elite world. To this end, the decision was taken to gamble with Yorke's morality in order to secure greater social success. A similar mentality is evident in Stevenson's and the Dartmouths' correspondence regarding Lewisham's Grand Tour. Despite their concerns over the moral dangers of Paris, both tutor and pupil nevertheless believed that there was 'no place where young Men run so little Risk, with opportunity of learning more'.¹⁵⁶ Writing from Paris in January 1776, Stevenson declared that 'The Advantages are so much greater than the Hazards, that, where a young Man is well disposed & attended by a Friend of common Experience, I cannot hesitate to pronounce it the first & only school to be found in this Country'.¹⁵⁷ Stevenson and Lewisham's father, Lord Dartmouth, believed that exposing Lewisham to the Grand Tour's many temptations and pitfalls was a gamble, but also presented opportunities to develop an effective moral and social compass. It was an

¹⁵⁴ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 109, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke, 21 Nov. 1777.

¹⁵⁵ See, e.g., Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's journal, 6, 9, 10, 17, 20, 29 Dec. 1777 and 7 Jan., 3 Feb. 1778.

¹⁵⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth, 28 Aug. 1775.

¹⁵⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/885, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth, 4 Jan. 1776.

approach that appears to have paid off. Less than a year later, Lewisham and Stevenson reached Vienna from where the tutor celebrated his student's ability to freely interact with continental society and his fellow Grand Tourists without arousing any alarm. Lewisham went on to delight his parents with his resolution to marry, live a 'Domestic' 'life of application', avoid clubs and play, form a new club that would proudly uphold overt Christian principles, and contribute to the country's governance and improvement.¹⁵⁸ Lord and Lady Dartmouth's response demonstrated how their staunch morals mingled with a clear insight into the nature and dynamics of their world. They smiled on Lewisham's 'good intention', but also gently quizzed him on the 'practicability' of entirely shunning these social spaces and practices as a Tourist.¹⁵⁹

In chancing danger, young elite men and their families sought to reap the rewards of a potentially good outcome by risking it against the possibility of a harmful or negative one. In doing so, they were fully cognisant of the danger, but willingly balanced this against a belief that these self-same dangers, if successfully negotiated, would result in benefits. As such, families experienced anxiety and advised certain precautions but, on the whole, they were not unduly tempted to take a path of safety. This was not always the case, of course; but strenuous attempts to avoid any semblance of danger were highly unusual. The letters of Daniel Finch, 2nd earl of Nottingham, written during his son, Daniel's 1708–10 Grand Tour provide one such example. Nottingham feared everything: from the possibility that the younger Finch might break his leg by 'ye sudden & unexpected turn of ye pole wch guides ye rudder' during the Channel crossing, and whether Wolfenbüttel or Geneva's academies would expose him to worse 'temptations' and 'ill Examples', to whether Finch was travelling too fast or too slow.¹⁶⁰ Unusually for his time, Nottingham tried to make travelling entirely safe for his son by seeking to envisage harm before it occurred. Attempting to do this as the War of Spanish Succession, plague and smallpox swept the continent resulted in paralysis: 'I am in great perplexity about yr travels: the plague on one hand & ye war on ye other makes it extremely difficult for me to resolve upon any Course for you. To proceed where you shall be under ye inconvenience of ye one or ye other would be intolerable & little lesse than madnesse'.¹⁶¹ Unsurprisingly, the 2nd earl's idiosyncratic view of danger meant he continually hovered on

¹⁵⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth, 10 Nov. 1776.

¹⁵⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth [location unknown], to Lewisham, 16 Dec. 1776.

¹⁶⁰ E.g., ROLLR, Finch MS., DG7 Bundle 23, Daniel Finch, 2nd earl of Nottingham, Soho Square, to Daniel Finch, later 3rd earl of Nottingham, 24 March 1708/9.

¹⁶¹ ROLLR, Finch MS., DG7 Bundle 23, Nottingham, Burley, to Finch, 12 Oct. 1709.

the brink of the safest option of all: recalling Finch home until a safer time.

Grand Tourists played the *jeux de société* with more than just their cards, money and morals. As the following chapters explore, in facing the physical dangers of war, sport, the practice of travel, the natural phenomena of mountains, glaciers, Mount Vesuvius and even the climate of the warm south, they gambled with their physical health, reputations, identities and, on occasions, their lives. To fully understand the rationale behind this, however, thought needs to be given to the central role of honour and to how its relationship with masculinity and danger directly moulded Grand Tourists' responses to these hazards.

Honour was an early modern and eighteenth-century concept that concerned the reputation of an individual, as judged by their peers and society.¹⁶² Faramerz Dabhoiwala and Elizabeth Foyster have emphasized how gender roles and social status were differentiated through nuances in the language and construction of honour. Aristocratic and gentry men, for example, adhered to a specific code of honour that set them apart from their social inferiors.¹⁶³ By the eighteenth century, elite male honour was deemed to be a mixture of blood, birth and individual merit. This fragile combination of lineage and virtuous action meant that the prospect of dishonour was never far away: honour always had to be earned and defended.¹⁶⁴ This was achieved through a multifaceted code of moral and social behaviours, that ranged from actions of piety, charity and justice to retaining control over oneself and one's household, and performing duty by holding public office.¹⁶⁵ Crucially, elite status and power traditionally rested on military leadership and the right to bear arms. Elite honour was therefore proven, affirmed and defended through the same violent means. While actions of courage, prowess and leadership on the battlefield were important to this facet of honour, historians have primarily focused on the association between elite honour, violence and the practice of duelling.¹⁶⁶ In this context, Robert Shoemaker observed that men had to confirm and

¹⁶² L. A. Pollock, 'Honor, gender, and reconciliation in elite culture, 1570–1700', *Journal of British Studies*, xlvii (2007), 3–29, at p. 5.

¹⁶³ Dabhoiwala, 'The construction of honour, reputation and status', p. 203.

¹⁶⁴ E. A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London, 1999), pp. 8–9, 35, 37–8.

¹⁶⁵ Dabhoiwala, 'The construction of honour, reputation and status', pp. 203–4; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 36–8.

¹⁶⁶ See e.g., Dabhoiwala, 'The construction of honour, reputation and status', pp. 201–5; P. Spierenburg, 'Masculinity, violence and honour: an introduction', in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, ed. P. Spierenburg (Columbus, O., 1998), p. 6.

maintain 'their status by physically defending their integrity and reputation against all challenges'.¹⁶⁷

Particular attention has been given to tracing whether or not noble violence declined and whether this can be ascribed to the rise of civility. There has been little consensus.¹⁶⁸ Duelling was vehemently attacked by its critics, and the eighteenth century did see a transition in its mode of practice.¹⁶⁹ The shift from swords to pistols, for example, meant that the duel went from being an active assertion of bravery via a trial of fighting skills to a more passive demonstration of courage by standing firm in the face of fire. This resulted in fewer fatalities and was, Shoemaker argued, the result of wider reforms to notions of masculine conduct and honour.¹⁷⁰ Yet, other scholars have highlighted that the number of duels and advocates of duelling actually increased across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, seemingly in direct contrast to cultures of politeness, civility and restraint.¹⁷¹

Linda Pollock argued that the stress placed on duelling, violence and the 'goading revenge for insults' meant that 'many vital facets of the honour culture have been overlooked'.¹⁷² Throughout the following chapters, I will explore how the militaristic elements of honour manifested and influenced elite young men in contexts outside of interpersonal violence and the duel. This particular aspect of honour was deeply embedded in wider elite culture and centred upon what Donna Andrew termed the 'aristocratic male quality par excellence' – the virtue of courage.¹⁷³ It retained its connotations with the confrontation of an external challenge, but these challenges did not just take the form of a jostling elbow or spoken insult. They could also be found in the call to battle, the chance to hunt, or in many other scenarios with the potential for physical harm. As honour had to be bravely and (if necessary) violently proven and defended, walking away from such challenges could risk the unacceptable outcome of damaging one's status and reputation. Elite male concerns of honour therefore revolved around 'a deliberate courting of large risks', and were influential in shaping a mentality in which

¹⁶⁷ R. Shoemaker, 'Male honour and the decline of public violence in eighteenth-century London', *Social History*, xxvi (2001), 190–208, at p. 193.

¹⁶⁸ Pollock, 'Honour, gender, and reconciliation'.

¹⁶⁹ Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice*, ch. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Shoemaker, 'Male honour and the decline of public violence'; Shoemaker, 'The taming of the duel: masculinity, honour and ritual violence in London, 1660–1800', *Historical Journal*, xlv (2002), 525–45.

¹⁷¹ See, e.g., S. Banks, *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: the Duel and the English Gentleman, 1750–1850* (Woodbridge, 2010); and Pollock, 'Honor, gender, and reconciliation', p. 6, nn. 15–16 for further key literature.

¹⁷² Pollock, 'Honor, gender, and reconciliation', p. 8.

¹⁷³ Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice*, p. 19.

a highly confrontational relationship with danger was an important means of asserting one's masculinity.¹⁷⁴ While chapters 3 and 4 explore the wider array of contexts in which this mentality was present, chapter 2 offers an exploration of how the martial element of honour and danger remained a very active component for eighteenth-century elite men as they continued to maintain a strong understanding of their military status on the Grand Tour.

¹⁷⁴ Daston briefly speculated on this in *Classical Probability*, pp. 178, 160.

2. Military mad: war and the Grand Tour

Travelling in the late 1770s, Sir Francis Basset, a member of the Cornish gentry, undertook his Grand Tour with his tutor, the Revd William Sandys. This was during the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–9), a relatively minor conflict between a Saxon-Prussian alliance and the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy which involved a succession of raids and counter-raids rather than major battles. Even so, the death toll was an estimated 20,000 troops and civilians. As the war took place in Bohemia and Silesia, Basset had ample opportunity to avoid the conflict; however, he very deliberately travelled into ‘the field’ to visit a friend, the Prussian general Prince Leopold of Brunswick. Socializing in the middle of an active conflict had its repercussions. One morning in 1778, while breakfasting at a mill, the Saxon-Prussian troops were surprised by 5,000 Austrian Cossacks. Outnumbered, the Prussian army prepared to fight. Basset refused to leave, despite Leopold urging him ‘to go off while there was time to escape’. Fighting in the ranks, he witnessed the dangers of war at close hand. Recounting the story thirty years later to the artist Joseph Farington, Basset recalled how ‘Many were killed; the brains of a serjeant struck Him’. Fortunately for Sir Francis, the day was saved by the Prussian cavalry whose charge broke the Austrian ranks and allowed the army to take 2,000 prisoners.¹

Basset’s violent, bloody Grand Tour experience of war was not an anomaly. His decisions, experience and consequent memories were shaped by an enduring collectively held belief that military leadership and its accompanying skills were an inherent part of elite responsibilities and identity. As an elite educational institution, the Grand Tour was intended to give scope and opportunity to the development of military skills and virtues. For eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, war and its accoutrements were simultaneously a touristic spectacle, a social occasion and an educational opportunity. By participating in them, Tourists learned vital military skills, demonstrated their continued commitment to martial leadership as an important elite responsibility, and were able to celebrate martial virtues, abilities and bodies as markers of a successful elite masculine performance.

¹ J. Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington. Vol. X (July 1809–December 1810)*, ed. K. Cave (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1982), p. 3753.

Recent studies have challenged the general premise that tourism is ‘a phenomenon that needs peace in order to flourish’ by highlighting the ways in which tourist locations benefit from and even develop out of conflict.² Historical precedents of military tourism have been found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and relating to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1802, 1803–15).³ Scholars have also increasingly recognized the complex, ambivalent nature of the relationship between war, civilian travel and tourism in the eighteenth century.⁴ War in this period was a semi-permanent feature which was violent and dangerous but also limited to certain geographical areas, fought by private royal armies, and regulated by a series of accepted conventions.⁵ The convention of treating all nationals, including citizens, as hostiles was not implemented until Napoleon’s 2nd Prairial Decree (May 1803).⁶ Prior to this, civilian travellers could become prisoners of war but were generally free to travel, providing they had permission. Continental wars were therefore an inconvenience rather than an impediment to travel.⁷ Conflict added an additional layer of danger and disruption through requisitioned horses and accommodation, marauding soldiers and the increased possibility of being apprehended as a spy, but it rarely rendered international trade, travel and communication impossible.⁸

² R. Butler and W. Suntutik, ‘Tourism and war: an ill wind?’, in *Tourism and War*, ed. R. Butler and W. Suntutik (London, 2013), pp. 1–35.

³ See, e.g., C. 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. A. Forrest, K. Hagemann and J. Rendall (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 137–56; A. V. Seaton, ‘War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815–1914’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, xxvi (1998), 130–58; E. Duché, ‘Revolutionary ruins: the re-imagining of French tourist sites during the Peace of Amiens’, in *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven and S. Goldsmith (London, 2017), pp. 203–21.

⁴ J. Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992), p. 166.

⁵ See G. Daly, ‘Napoleon’s lost legions: French prisoners of war in Britain, 1803–1814’, *History*, lxxxix (2004), 361–80, at pp. 361, 365–6; H. V. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688–1815* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1, 3; S. Conway, *War, State and Society in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006), p. 1.

⁶ For an exploration of the effect of this decree on the British abroad, see E. Duch, ‘A passage to imprisonment: the British prisoners of war in Verdun under the first French empire’ (unpublished University of Warwick PhD thesis, 2014).

⁷ For an insight into the often-confused status of civilian travellers prior to the 1803 decree, see the exchanges between French and British diplomats and ministers at the start of the War of Austrian Succession in The National Archives, SP 78/223, Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, France, May–Aug. 1740.

⁸ R. Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 10–12; B. Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers: British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 2000).

It is now understood that Grand Tourists had a 'relaxed view' of travelling during wartime, but it is still asserted that conflict 'was merely to be avoided' and that military tourism had no place in the eighteenth century.⁹ Such assertions are based on the premise that the elite at that time had been demilitarized by the military, administrative and financial revolutions under William III. As a result, they increasingly defined their virtues, freedoms and civic liberties as a freedom *from* the obligation to bear arms, rather than a right to them.¹⁰ This elite, it is argued, not only pursued a non-militarized Grand Tour, they also reshaped previously military aspects of classical, Renaissance and courtly discourses to fit with this emerging environment of commercial and polite exchange.¹¹

Other historians have placed more emphasis upon the continuity of a military service elite, particularly on the concept's late eighteenth-century re-emergence. Linda Colley, for example, argued that the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars resulted in a surge in members of the British elite presenting themselves as engaging wholesale in military conflict. Everything from boxing, portraiture, uniforms and martial classical republic and chivalric ideals were harnessed to achieve an ostentatious culture of heroism, service and sacrifice designed to display their military leadership and valour.¹² Similar displays of elite martial masculinity have been identified earlier in the century, following the Seven Years' War and during the War of American Independence. Seeking to explain this, historians have collectively argued that intense periods of national self-scrutiny and doubt to which elite men responded were successively ushered in by the relative military inactivity of the 1720s and 1730s, followed by the abrupt entry in 1739 into 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, unexpected loss of America after the War of American Independence.¹³

⁹ J. Towner, 'The English tourist and war, 1500–1800', in *Tourism and War*, pp. 50–1, 53, 58.

¹⁰ J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, i: the Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 100–9.

¹¹ M. Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinity in British Art, 1750–1810* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2005), pp. 6–8. See also P. A. Rahe, 'Antiquity surpassed: the repudiation of classic republicanism', in *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649–1776*, ed. D. Wootton (Stanford, Calif., 1994), p. 239.

¹² L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (2nd edn., New Haven, Conn. and London, 2002), pp. 180–97. See also Paul Langford's discussion of the concept of a service elite in *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798* (Oxford, 1991).

¹³ Colley, *Britons*; A. Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744–1815* (London, 2015).

These episodes prompted a cyclical crisis of confidence over British masculinity and its capacity to defend home, nation and empire. From the mid eighteenth century onwards, social commentators demanded a more robust, martial, patriotic, civic-minded form of manhood.¹⁴ This call resulted in the revival of chivalry as an idealized set of masculine behaviours that were unambiguously male and British. Defined by a love of arms, hazardous enterprise and adventure, and a respectful love of women, eighteenth-century chivalry was a seemingly ideal blend of robust civility. It also allowed for a celebration of British national identity and history that was increasingly defined in terms of a proud military heritage. The primal heroism and prowess of ancient Britons, Saxons and medieval knights was favourably contrasted against their effeminate, luxurious descendants.¹⁵ This period did not just see a cultural shift. Alongside the ongoing expansion and professionalization of Britain's army and navy, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the birth of the New Militia movement from 1757. Renewed enthusiasm for an organized civic defence against invasion – centred on the figure of the masculine citizen soldier – was championed as a neoclassical panacea to the perceived problems of moral decline and effeminacy, and was led by the military leadership of the local elite.¹⁶

Grand Tourists travelling after the Seven Years' War and the New Militia Bill of 1757 were clearly influenced by these cultural and political changes. Sir Francis Basset, for example, very deliberately fashioned his career and masculine identity as an exemplar of militia service.¹⁷ Less than a year after being splattered with brains in Bavaria, Basset played a key role in countering the perceived threat of a Franco-Spanish armada during the War of American Independence. As lieutenant-colonel of the North

¹⁴ For examples of how this anxiety was manifested, see K. Downing, 'The gentleman boxer: boxing, manners, and masculinity in eighteenth-century England', *Men and Masculinities*, xii (2012), 328–52, at pp. 330–1; Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, pp. 9–11; K. Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 141–3.

¹⁵ M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1981), pp. 15–28; M. Cohen, "'Manners" make the man: politeness, chivalry and the construction of masculinity, 1750–1830', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 312–29, at pp. 315–17; Myrone, *Bodybuilding*, pp. 2, 3, 9–11, 150–1, 255.

¹⁶ See M. McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford, 2015); J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century: the Story of a Political Issue, 1660–1802* (London, 1965). For debates concerning the creation of a Scottish militia, see J. Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh, 1985); and R. Carr, 'The gentleman and the soldier: patriotic masculinities in eighteenth-century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, xxviii (2008), 102–21.

¹⁷ R. Thorne, 'Basset, Francis, Baron de Dunstanville and first Baron Basset (1757–1835)', *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/1637>> [accessed 29 May 2015].

Devon militia, he marched Cornish miners to Plymouth and strengthened the coastal defences. This patriotic act was rewarded with the baronetcy of de Dunstanville in November 1779. When Farington heard Basset's Grand Tour war stories in 1809, during the height of the Napoleonic Wars, he made much of Basset's and Leopold's honourable behaviour, and of the posthumous romanticization of the prince's reputation as a chivalric figure following Leopold's drowning while rescuing others in a flood.¹⁸ Basset's self-presentation was, it seems, a success and the Grand Tour played an important role within this.

Yet examination of Grand Tour military activities and agendas prior to the 1750s shows that the concept of the military service elite did not simply re-emerge in the second half of the eighteenth century. Instead, the Grand Tour played an important role in preserving this element of elite masculinity throughout the period by maintaining the early modern and seventeenth-century practice of offering a martial itinerary that encompassed academic tuition in the art of war as well as visits to – and sometimes participation in – battlefields of historical interest and sites of current conflicts. This was deemed to be a highly effective military education and was part of the elite's enduring self-perception of a military service that carried over seventeenth-century notions of admirable male conduct into the second half of the eighteenth without interruption.

This element of the Grand Tour is almost entirely absent from the period's published literature, but is far more clearly articulated within familial discourses. Between these, and the young elite men's own writings, it can be seen how Grand Tourists were encouraged to appreciate their military responsibilities, perform a martial masculinity, and esteem the example set by the continent's martial societies and leaders. Through observing famous military men and armies, Tourists were inspired to admiration, emulation and friendship. However, this also created scenarios in which retreating from military danger became very difficult, as the Basset example demonstrates. Sir Francis used the story to portray his younger self as exemplifying a masculine martial identity firmly grounded in deliberate risk-taking and displays of chivalric courage. Nevertheless, an adherence to masculine codes of honour and friendship also meant he had little choice but to fight if he wished to maintain a mutual standing of honour, bravery and respect with Leopold of Brunswick. Basset's response to danger was therefore directly influenced not just by a desire to impress Leopold but also by a deep-seated cultural expectation that gentlemen should prove their elite masculinity through experiencing battle.

¹⁸ Farington, *Diary*, p. 3753.

Driven by a militarized concept of honour, eighteenth-century elite men were expected to confront, overcome and endure danger. In doing so, they were meant to experience situations that others believed would refine and prove their status as men of honour, courage and virtue. This was an idealized standard of behaviour. Regardless of whether they actually chose to confront or evade active conflict, the potential for experiencing military danger therefore played an important role in men's decision-making and their subsequent narratives of those choices.

The martial itinerary

Writing in 1765, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, observed the physical damage done to Dresden and Prague by Frederick the Great and the Prussian army during the recent Seven Years' War. The ruins of one beautiful Prague palace reminded him of a plum pudding on account of 'the Prussian taste in placing their cannon balls ... with all that beautiful irregularity'.¹⁹ Dresden meanwhile resembled 'minced pyes [more] than Plum Pudding'; a scene that left him 'shocked & disgusted by the effects of the royal amusement War'.²⁰ Though conscious that 'some Calamities of War are unavoidable', he was disapproving of the level of destruction suffered by Dresden and Prague, noting that 'a Goth can make distinguishing additions'.²¹ Holroyd actually enjoyed many aspects of military conflict. Having already served in the military during the Seven Years' War, he enthusiastically described himself as 'military mad' and 'more desperately military than most things existing'.²² His disapproval here was less about war itself and more about the dishonourable conduct of the Prussian army. The Prussians had laid siege to Prague, and the city's occupying Austrian army, between the Battles of Prague (6 May 1757) and Kolin (18 June 1757). In July 1760, Dresden was also unsuccessfully besieged by Frederick the Great in an effort to reassert control over Saxony. As Holroyd's critical tone suggests, the Prussians' heavy bombardment of these civilian urban areas was widely condemned across Europe. Even twenty years on, the marks of this destruction were still a matter of interest. When Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke, reached Dresden

¹⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson, 7 Nov. 1765.

²⁰ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson, 7 Nov. 1765.

²¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson, 7 Nov. 1765.

²² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 122–13, Holroyd, St Quintin, to Baker, 9 May 1763; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 185, Holroyd, Hanover, to Baker, 23 Dec. 1765.

in 1777, he made time to ‘to see the marks of the Bombardment the K. of Prussia treated the Town with’.²³

Holroyd and Yorke used the enduring evidence of destruction in eighteenth-century cityscapes as a means of remembering and learning from contemporary military conflicts.²⁴ This technique, similar to the process of imaginatively overlaying the Italian landscape with its classical past, was also applied to the countryside across the Dutch Republic, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Charles Legge, younger brother of Viscount Lewisham and himself destined for a military career, was excited to travel through Germany in 1776 because it was a region famous for its recent conflicts. Reflecting this, the brothers’ itinerary was focused on seeing ‘most of the fields of battle’.²⁵ To imaginatively turn unmarked fields back into sites of conflicts – among them the battles of Minden (1759), Aix la Chapelle (a battlefield and location of the 1748 treaty) and Lobositz (1756) – required hard work and good resources. When Holroyd devoted himself to reimagining the countryside between Vienna and Dresden in the context of ‘the most remarkable Battles [that] have been fought during the last two wars’, he travelled with an Austrian officer who could assist him in this act of reconstruction.²⁶ In order to undertake a similar task, Philip Yorke purchased a ‘very exact’ plan of the Battle of Lobositz, which he then compared to the terrain itself, and he went over ‘the Ground of the Battle of Prague in May 1756’ with a military friend, Major O’Sullivan. Two years later, after crossing the Alps, he toured the Savoyard fortress of Susa with his tutor, Colonel Wettstein. His companion, who had been garrisoned there during the War of Austrian Succession when the fortress was ‘taken in the y. 1744 by Don Philip’, provided him with a first-hand account of the action.²⁷

This commitment to viewing land and cityscapes in the light of recent conflicts reflected Tourists’ deep desire to understand the political and military state of other European powers.²⁸ This understanding was proactively pursued in young men’s reading habits and topics of study. Yorke, for

²³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke’s Grand Tour journal, 10 and 17 Oct. 1777.

²⁴ See also remarks on the regeneration of Turin, following the French army’s extensive bombardment in 1706 during the War of Spanish Succession (1701–14) and Victor Amadeus II’s subsequent rebuilding project with the architect Filippo Juvarra, in *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima (Montreal, 1975), p. 227.

²⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 178, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd, 3 Oct. 1765.

²⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 178, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd, 3 Oct. 1765.

²⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke’s journal, 9 Sept., 1777, 10 and 27 Oct. 1777, 13 May 1779, 9 Sept. 1779.

²⁸ See Black, *British Abroad*, ch. 10, for a description of the wider observations made by Grand Tourists about countries’ political, economic and social states.

example, studied political history at Leiden University, ‘modern history’ in Vienna and read books covering the ‘history of the last war in Germany ... contain[ing] a number of Plans & Charts with descriptions of the different Battles & operations’.²⁹ Nor was this interest limited solely to past conflicts. Grand Tourists had a voracious appetite for domestic and international news, and took an active interest in Europe’s current military situation. They busily viewed fortresses, defences, garrisons, arsenals and naval ports, assessed troops and reviews, met and socialized with contemporary military commanders, and visited active camps, marches and battles.

The itinerary of Viscount Lewisham and his brothers in 1775–8 provides a good example of the levels of military touring that took place. Lewisham’s continental travels began with an impromptu attendance at a military review in Calais. His subsequent meandering route to Paris was designed to include a visit to Lille, ‘the object of our circuit’ and ‘the strongest fortress in France’. En route, he also took in arsenals, fortifications and garrisons at St. Omar, Lille, Donay, Pont St. Maxenne and Chantilly. A two-month stay at an academy in Tours allowed him, his brother William and their tutor, David Stevenson, to visit military sites in Lyons and various towns along the Loire before returning to Paris. From Paris, William returned to England and was replaced by another brother, Charles. After this, the military element of Lewisham’s Tour intensified. Lewisham, Charles and Stevenson attempted to view Brest’s military ports in Brittany but the sensitivity of this military site meant they were denied access. The party then travelled from the west coast of France to Brussels. From there, they took the opportunity to see the fortresses of Bergen-op-zoom and Breda in the Dutch Republic. In Germany and Austria, they enthused over the battlefield of Minden, Hanau’s ‘imaginative Fortification’, and the military reviews in Brandenburg, Potsdam and Prague.³⁰ As Figure 2.1 demonstrates, this was not an unusual itinerary. Grand Tourists across the century engaged in a wide variety of military activities and sites across Europe. Of particular interest were the French defences looking towards the English coast, the famous fortifications of the Low Countries, the historical battlefields in Switzerland, the more recent battlefields in Germany and Austria, and the relatively accessible frontier lines between France, Germany and Switzerland.

The motivation for these military-based activities was three-fold. As the records of many Tourists from throughout the eighteenth century make

²⁹ See, e.g., Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 45, Yorke, The Hague, to Philip Yorke, 2nd earl of Hardwicke, 25 May 1777.

³⁰ See George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, Charles Legge and David Stevenson’s correspondence at SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, D(W)1778/V/885, D(W)1778/V/890.

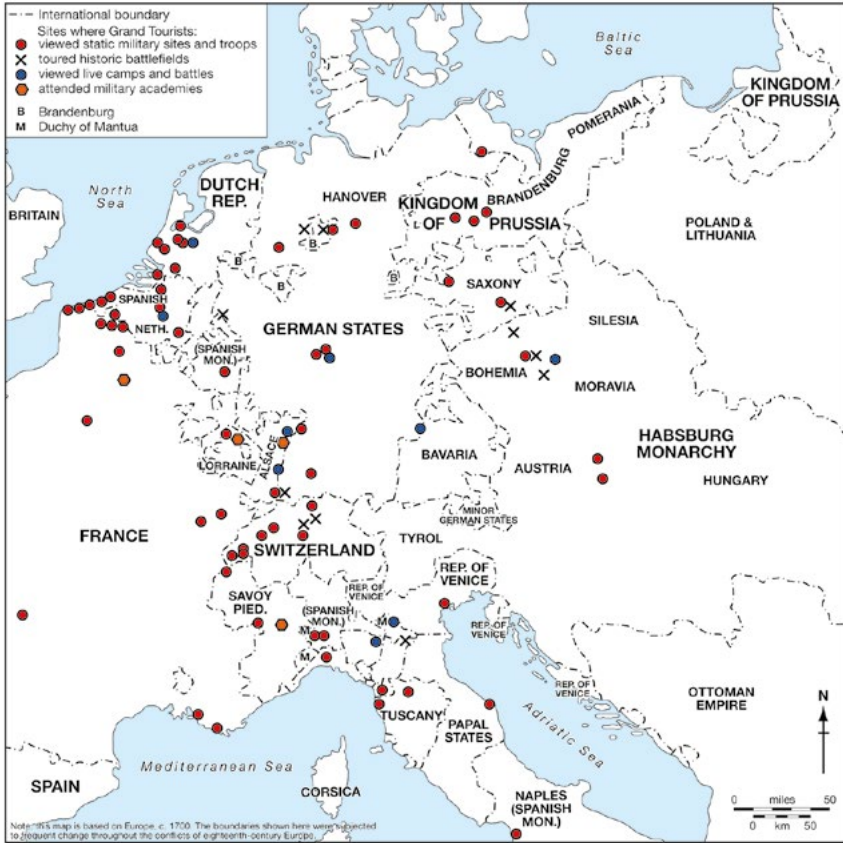


Figure 2.1. Map and key of sites where Grand Tourists engaged with military activity, c.1730–80. See Appendix 1 for a database listing the individual visits to military sites that comprise the map.

clear, the military first offered drama, spectacle and entertainment. During a Grand Tour that lasted from 1707–9, and covered the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Italy, James Compton, later 5th earl of Northampton, set out with the deliberate intention of experiencing the War of Spanish Succession. In a letter to the 4th earl, Compton’s tutor James Hay described the spectacle of Marlborough’s army mobilizing for battle in 1707 as ‘this delightful sight’.³¹ That such observations were considered a touristic practice is evident in the existence of guides, plans and souvenir hunting. Seventy

³¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 38507, fos. 15–16, James Hay, Brussels, to George Compton, the 4th earl of Northampton, 15 Aug. 1707.

years on, Lewisham's collection of two 'Curiosities', a bullet and button from the field of Minden, was typical of the young men's habit of salvaging the trappings of war and other curiosities from their travels.³² Second, in addition to 'the pleasure of seeing', attendance at military spectacles offered opportunities for socializing with fashionable society. In April 1777 Philip Yorke observed that everybody was 'running to see the Exercises' in The Hague.³³ These large-scale military events were important highlights in the beau monde's social calendar across Europe. They were therefore part of Grand Tourists' agenda of sociopolitical networking.³⁴ Visits to Prussia and Austria were even sometimes timed to coincide with major military reviews. Military tourism could also advance social networking on a more intimate level. Writing to his aunt in January 1766, John Holroyd proudly boasted of the Count de la Lippe's hospitality. Upon learning of his interest in the battlefield of Minden, the Count 'sent his aid de Camp & two others who had been at The Battle of Minden to attend me & explain particulars'.³⁵ Gaining access to highly sensitive military sites was an even greater social coup. In January 1755, during the escalation of sensitivities with France at the start of the Seven Years' War, the powerful French General and statesman, the Duc de Belle Isle, personally ordered that Charles Lennox, 3rd duke of Richmond, could see the 'Fortifications mines & in short all I wanted to see' in French Flanders. In recounting this to his guardians, Richmond was not just demonstrating his keen interest in military sites and contemporary politics; he was also taking an opportunity to vaunt the extent and favour of his international connections.³⁶

Third, and most significantly, young elite men saw the time spent on historic battlefields, military reviews, armouries and fortresses as educational. The Grand Tour was a means of training young men as Britain's future political, social and military leaders. These activities were therefore intended as opportunities to learn about the art and reality of war. Destined to follow family tradition and serve in the cavalry, George Herbert was instructed to pay particular attention to 'Manoeuvres of Troops on Horseback' when attending 'Parades, Exercises, & Artillery Parcs'.³⁷ Lewisham's tutor, David

³² SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, Charles Legge, Hanover, to Dartmouth, 30 July 1776.

³³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 43, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke, 16 Apr. 1777.

³⁴ See, e.g., S. Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1996), pp. 139–65.

³⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 187, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Holroyd, 10 Jan. 1776.

³⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32734, fo. 81, Charles Lennox, 3rd duke of Richmond, Leyden, to Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st duke of Newcastle, 25 Jan. 1754.

³⁷ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/278, 'Instructions' (1776).

Stevenson, hoped that Charles's 'Thirst after military knowledge' would be increased by seeing 'some of the finest, & best-disciplin'd Troops in the Universe' during the 1776 Prague and Potsdam reviews.³⁸ Philip Yorke certainly believed that watching the Austrian and Prussian troops in action 'would inspire with military ideas those who were the least inclined to them'.³⁹ Yorke may have simply been telling his two uncles what they wished to hear but, genuine or not, such statements of enthusiasm offer further evidence of the educational importance attached to these activities.

Grand Tourists attempted to view and write about these sites as officers-in-training. In seeking to exercise their skills in assessing a country's military strength, they produced lists of regiments and made judgements that were often somewhat trite and prejudicial. Charles Legge, for example, was 'particularly pleased' 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'.⁴⁰

Charles emphasized that this exercise in judgement was only possible because he had *seen* these troops, rather than just read about them. The value of observation and experience was also stressed in young men's accounts of battlefield sites. Having studied the movements and terrain of the battle from verbal, written and cartographical sources, Yorke then traced those movements on the landscape.⁴¹ 'Seeing the Country, & the Ground of the Operation of the two armies' consolidated his understanding of how terrain dictated the effectiveness of tactics and manoeuvres.⁴² For example, he judged the steep gradient of one historic battlefield in Switzerland as 'a most horrid' place for fighting.⁴³ By riding up the mountain of Chiska to take in a view of the terrain of the battlefield of Prague, and by comparing this to his cartographical and reported knowledge, Yorke retrospectively acted out suitable pre-battle preparations.⁴⁴ At the same time, Grand Tourists observed how continental military leaders also made similar use of retrospective lessons. The Austrian army's 1776 Prague review, attended

³⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth, 18 Aug. 1776; D(W)1778/V/896, Colonel Fawcett, Hanover, to William Legge, 3rd earl of Dartmouth, 30 July 1776.

³⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 101, Yorke, Dresden, to Hardwicke, 23 Oct. 1777.

⁴⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, Charles, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth, 19 Sept. 1776.

⁴¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's journal, 24 Oct. 1777.

⁴² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's journal, 23–27 Oct. 1777.

⁴³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Yorke's journal, 22 June 1779.

⁴⁴ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's journal, 27 Oct. 1777.

by Lewisham and Charles, was a re-enactment of the 1757 Battle of Prague 'as it ought to have been defended'. This training exercise used the same location and even some of the soldiers from the original battle.⁴⁵ Whether through scenarios like the Prague reviews, attending former battlefields with experienced military officers, or recorded histories, Tourists consistently sought to learn the art of war by drawing the military past into the present.

Grand Tourists did not just acquire military skills through studying historical terrains, fortresses and troops. They also observed internationally famous commanders in action on the military, political and social stage. Writing in November 1765, John Holroyd rapturously described meeting 'the Great Generals whose names are so well known in the Gazettes', including Marshals Duan, O'Donnel and Loudon – the latter 'most deservedly esteemed one of the best generals in Europe'.⁴⁶ Reflecting on these men's past and present actions was an opportunity to assess the skills and virtues of an esteemed or a less successful military commander. While watching the Prague reviews, Charles Legge described how they shifted from military exercises to an act of commemoration when the Austrian emperor ordered a salute to be fired for Marshall Schweneir, the Prussian general, who had died during the Battle of Prague. Schweneir had led a desperate charge after Frederick the Great callously told him that Spandau, the town where state prisoners were held, was the only place to which he could retreat. Distraught at the threat of dishonour, Schweneir chose instead to fight to the death. Through watching this commemoration, Charles and Lewisham received a heady set of lessons that glorified Schweneir's sacrifice, celebrated the Austrian military's chivalric honouring of a nobly fallen foe, and looked disapprovingly on the king of Prussia's cold behaviour.⁴⁷

Observation was but one part of a Grand Tour military curriculum. The Tour also offered a more formal and skills-based education through attending academies of varying sizes and descriptions across Europe, particularly in France, Savoy, Germany and Switzerland. Academies were an important, highly popular educational option for British and European nobility until at least the 1780s.⁴⁸ Until recently, academies have been

⁴⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, Charles, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth, 19 Sept. 1776.

⁴⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson, 7 Nov. 1765; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 156, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd, 4 Sept. 1764.

⁴⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/840, Charles, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth, 19 Sept. 1776.

⁴⁸ Mark Motley argued that French, particularly Parisian, academies declined sharply after the 1680s, as the careers of French nobles depended increasingly on access to the royal court alone – see *Becoming a French Aristocrat: the Education of the Court Nobility, 1580–1715* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), pp. 129, 164–7. However, from an international perspective, academies appear to have retained their popularity into the 1780s, see 'Appendix III' in

treated as exclusively polite in nature and predominately concerned with educating students in social deportment.⁴⁹ However, to fully understand the breadth of the educational opportunities available to Tourists, it needs to be recognized that there were at least two categories of institution – the military and the more general aristocratic academy – and to acknowledge the overlapping curricula between the two.

The first of these academy types emerged out of the gradual professionalization of the military and was dedicated to providing an increasingly rigorous training for European military officers. The British elite had only one formal option for domestic officer training. This was the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, founded by the Board of Ordnance in 1741, which produced artillery officers and engineers. Based on curricula taught at French and German military academies, Woolwich provided the technical ‘know-how’ necessary to command a professional army through training in fortifications, artillery, mathematics, geography, drawing, architecture, topography and perspectives, which developed skills in surveying and the making of military maps.⁵⁰ But as the artillery rarely appealed to elite young men pursuing a military career, Britain’s absence of academies for commissioned officers left it well behind in relation to the facilities available on the continent.

Military historians have typically presumed that this lack of facilities meant that British officer training lagged behind their continental counterparts. The British officer corps, it is argued, continued to stress qualities such as personal comportment, gentility and social status over professional skill, and only started training after an officer joined a regiment.⁵¹ Yet Matthew McCormack has demonstrated how aristocratic parents compensated for this deficiency both before and after the establishment of the Woolwich Academy by sending sons destined for the military to seek out continental options.⁵² One such individual was Lord Herbert who, in addition to being encouraged to attend as many military events as possible, spent nine months (November 1775–July 1776) at the military academy in Strasbourg. During this time, his parents – Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke and

Turin and the British in the Age of the Grand Tour, ed. P. Bianchi and K. Wolfe (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 399–410.

⁴⁹ For pioneering work on the polite nature of the academies, see M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996).

⁵⁰ A. Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2000), pp. 80, 83–4.

⁵¹ C. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 46.

⁵² M. McCormack, ‘Dance and drill: polite accomplishments and military masculinities in eighteenth-century Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, viii (2011), 315–30, at pp. 324–6.

Occupation	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Geography	7		7		7		7	7		7		7		7
Dancing	8				8		8	8				8		8
Tennis		8				8			8			8		8
Latin	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10
History	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10	9 1/2 10
Riding	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Music	11		11		11		11	11		11		11		11
Drawing		11				11			11			11		11
Writing & Mark	12				12		12	12				12		12
English or History	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
German	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Drawing	3		4				3	3		4				3
Mathematicks	5		5		5		5	5		5		5		5
Parade						12	1							12 1

Figure 2.2. A two-week daily timetable, written by George, Lord Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke’s parents in 1776, for his stay in Strasbourg (Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, MS. 2057/F4/278, ‘Instructions’, 1776).

By permission of the 18th earl of Pembroke and Montgomery and the Wilton House Trustees, Wilton House, Salisbury.

Elizabeth, countess of Pembroke – provided his tutors with an extensive memorandum and a two-week timetable that was deliberately designed to ensure that their son was fit ‘for a military line of life’ (see Figure 2.2).⁵³

Tutored by a scholar and a military officer, Herbert studied languages (Italian, German, Latin, Greek), history, geography (‘Use of the Globes’, ‘with Maps’), astronomy, natural sciences, philosophy, literary works (the ‘English Poets’), music and the latest in legal thinking, including William Eden’s *Principles of Penal Law* (1771). This was accompanied by a rigorous focus on the theoretical and professional dimensions of the military: ‘mathematicks’, drawing, fortifications and parade, alongside ‘Raising Plans, observe Artillery &c, & all kinds of Figures & Accounts-keeping’. Finally, his physical form and martial skills were addressed through riding,

⁵³ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, London, to George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, 20 May 1779.

fencing ('chiefly with the left hand'), dancing, shooting 'with Bulledgun & Pistols with Floyd', tennis and swimming.⁵⁴ These documents give an insight into the nature of Herbert's formal military academy education and the widespread aims of an elite education.

Most young men on a Grand Tour did not, however, attend an exclusively military school. Instead, they attended the second, more common type of eighteenth-century academy: institutions that were often founded by leading seventeenth- and eighteenth-century princes and aristocrats across France, Germany, Austria and Savoy, and which were devoted to a more general aristocratic education. Herbert was no exception. Alongside attending Strasbourg, he also spent at least three months (December 1779–February 1780) at Turin's famous Accademia Reale. Other popular options included the academies of Wolfenbüttel, founded by Duke Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in 1687; Lunéville, created by Duke Leopold of Lorraine in 1699; and the various academies that were not attached to courts, but were run by educators in Paris and the Loire region. The ethos of these academies has recently been defined as '*ritterakademien*'; an educational tradition that combined Renaissance-inspired values and practices with older chivalric educational patterns and more contemporary concerns.⁵⁵ As Paola Bianchi observed, these institutions provided 'modern education for gentlemen destined for public life'.⁵⁶ This included but went beyond equipping them with the social elegance required for polite society. The most prestigious academies offered a wide-ranging and often effective training for the typical trio of aristocratic careers of court, diplomatic and military service.⁵⁷ Turin's Accademia Reale, for example, attracted students from Italy, Germany, Austria, Britain, Poland and Russia. Many of these later became important commanders, diplomats, politicians and courtiers across

⁵⁴ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/278, 'Instructions' (1776).

⁵⁵ R. Ansell, 'Foubert's Academy: British and Irish elite formation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris and London', in Sweet, Verhoeven and Goldsmith, *Beyond the Grand Tour*, pp. 47–8; P. Bianchi, 'The British at the Turin Royal Academy: cosmopolitanism and religious pragmatism', in Bianchi and Wolfe, *Turin and the British*, pp. 97, 99–101; Bianchi, 'La caccia nell'educazione del gentiluomo. Il caso sabauda (sec. XVI–XVIII)', in *La caccia nello Stato sabauda I. Caccia e cultura (sec. XVI–XVIII)*, ed. P. Bianchi and P. Passerin d'Entrèves (Turin, 2010), p. 19; Bianchi, 'Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento', in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI–XIX)*, ed. M. Bellabarba and J. P. Niederkorn (Berlin, 2010), pp. 135–6, 140, 152–3.

⁵⁶ Bianchi and Wolfe, 'Introduction', in Bianchi and Wolfe, *Turin and the British*, pp. 8–9.

⁵⁷ R. Ansell, 'Irish Protestant travel to Europe, 1660–1727' (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2013), pp. 223, 225, 231; Bianchi, 'Una palestra', pp. 135, 145.

Europe.⁵⁸ The Accademia Reale's success was not just due to its curriculum. Established in 1678 by Duke Carlo Emanuele II, it was physically attached to and part of the Sardinian royal court. Attending the Accademia Reale therefore created opportunities to observe the upper echelons of aristocratic society, courtly etiquette and diplomatic exchange in action.⁵⁹

Military training was at the very heart of these academies' curricula. The Accademia Reale, for example, was even described, in one early nineteenth-century account, as an 'Ecole militaire ... pour l'éducation de la jeune Noblesse'.⁶⁰ Descriptions of the resident Savoyard kings and their nobility throughout the eighteenth century often focused upon the politeness of their court *and* their 'warlike' temper. In 1739, Joseph Spence, tutor to Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, described Savoy as 'a nation of soldiers ... the only military people in Italy'.⁶¹ Victor Amadeus II had been 'a lover of war' and though his son – Charles Emmanuel II – was more peaceful, he nevertheless 'does everything in his power' to encourage 'a strong military spirit' among the Savoyard nobility. As a result, 'there's scarce a gentleman in the country that does not know how to manage his arms and ride a war-horse'.⁶² It was commonly understood that the Accademia Reale was central to achieving this aim. Its curriculum gave prominent attention to the provision of physical and military exercises. These included dancing, vaulting, horse riding, simulation of battles and attacks on strongholds, and mathematics, in a combination that was strikingly similar to the curricula offered at the military academies in Woolwich, Strasbourg and elsewhere.⁶³ When Herbert attended in 1779–80, for example, he immediately resumed many of the activities he had undertaken at Strasbourg's military academy.

At times, however, the martial nature of an academy's curriculum – particularly the core activities of riding, fencing and dancing – was hidden in plain sight. Scholars have traditionally, and correctly, associated these three activities with achieving a polite, elegant deportment, but they were also closely connected to martial skill and culture. Matthew McCormack, for example, has highlighted how dancing – the least obviously martial of these practices – was nonetheless an integral part of French and British military training. Georgian military men, together with civilian dancing

⁵⁸ Bianchi, 'Una palestra', pp. 140–1, 46–8.

⁵⁹ Bianchi, 'Una Palestra', pp. 135–6, 140, 145, 150–3; Bianchi, 'La caccia', p. 19.

⁶⁰ M. Paroletti, *Turin et ses curiosités* (Turin, 1819), p. 242, quoted in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 227, n. 1.

⁶¹ Spence's Notebook 3, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 277.

⁶² Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence, 16 Dec. 1739, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 234; Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence, 18 May 1740, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 278–9.

⁶³ Bianchi, 'Una palestra', pp. 140–1.

masters, emphasized the shared origins of dance and drill, and argued that dancing was a form of intense bodily cultivation 'specifically tasked with preparing men's bodies for war'.⁶⁴ When Pembroke insisted that Herbert 'be really very constant, & attentive to riding, Fencing, & Dancing sans relache' at the Accademia Reale, his concerns were not simply with his son's social accomplishments but equally with his martial education.⁶⁵ To the eighteenth-century eye any academy curriculum teaching riding, fencing and dancing, whether connected to a court or not, would have appeared martial in nature and would have been deemed part of a military education. Take, for example, Charles Lennox, the 3rd duke of Richmond's confident declaration that he was now 'well prepared' to join the military in 1752, having learned 'Riding, Fencing, Drawing, & Mathematicks' at a Genevan academy, and having decided to 'particularly apply [himself] to Landscapes, Gunnery & Fortification'.⁶⁶

For British elite commissioned officers of a certain rank and wealth, it was therefore relatively easy to receive the same training as their continental counterparts. Yet the widespread nature of a military-based academy education also suggests that martial skills and knowledge were deemed to be equally important for young elite men whose future careers lay elsewhere. Here the experiences of Lewisham and Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, neither of whom were intended for the military, are instructive. It might be argued that the martial elements of Lewisham's Grand Tour were intended to prepare his younger brother, Charles Legge, for his future military career. Yet Lewisham, the heir whose future would lie in politics and managing the family estate, received the same education as Charles during their time together; and, as already shown, Lewisham was already engaged in a military education prior to Charles's arrival through touring military sites and attending academies in Paris and Tours. The duke of Newcastle similarly endorsed an education in courtly, diplomatic and military skills when he gave Lord Lincoln, his nephew and heir, permission to extend a six-month stay at the Accademia Reale in 1739, so that he might 'make some real progress in my exercises'.⁶⁷ Lincoln's tutor, Joseph Spence,

⁶⁴ H. Guilcher and J.-M. Guilcher, 'L'enseignement militaire de la danse et les traditions populaires', *Arts et traditions populaires*, xviii (1970), 273–328; McCormack, 'Dance and drill', pp. 317, 323, 320–2, 324, 326. See M. Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship* (University Park, Pa., 2017) for related discourses on riding.

⁶⁵ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 20 Apr. 1779.

⁶⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32726, fo. 145, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle, 18 Feb. 1752.

⁶⁷ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle, 25 Nov. 1739, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 226, 230.

had already remarked several times how the king, Charles Emmanuel II, used the Accademia Reale to encourage the discernibly 'military air' of the Savoyard nobility and maintain Savoy as 'a nation of soldiers'. Consequently, Newcastle must have been aware, and approved, of the continuing military aspect of Lincoln's formation.⁶⁸ The military dimension of young men's continental training was therefore often an accepted, but understated, dimension of a broader education in the service of a much wider set of professional accomplishments.

As discussed in the introduction, early modern practices of learning often used observation, immersion and participation as teaching tools. The Grand Tour's military curriculum was no exception. It was important to learn military theories and skills within an academy environment, and to observe and assess safe military sites and manoeuvres. But the Tour's military curriculum also provided the opportunity to observe and participate in live military operations. These involved attending active military camps, sieges, frontlines and battles. During the War of Polish Succession (1733–8), for example, various Grand Tourists in Italy, including Sir Hugh Smithson and Sir Harry Lydall, went out of their way to visit the French army near Mantua. In 1734, Simon Harcourt, 1st Earl Harcourt, went further by remaining in Parma to witness the Battle of Parma from the ramparts.⁶⁹

Grand Tourists and tutors were aware that attending live military sites simply to observe and to enjoy military hospitality involved an element of risk and the increased possibility of active participation. What became a reality for Basset in 1778–9 was a near-miss for earlier Tourists like Compton and Richard Aldworth Neville. In 1707, having camped with Marlborough's army for a time and then enjoyed accompanying it on the march to battle, Compton, Hay and their companions were almost caught up in a skirmish.⁷⁰ Similarly in 1743, during the War of Austrian Succession, Aldworth Neville and his friends spent several days with the army of the Austrian commander, Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine. During this time, they were 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. The army was encamped along a river with the French on the other side, and preparations were underway

⁶⁸ Spence's Notebook 3, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 277; Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence, 18 May 1740, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 278–9; Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence, 16 Dec. 1739, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 234.

⁶⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22987, fo. 87, Richard Pococke, Milan, to Mrs Pococke, 12 June 1734.

⁷⁰ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 38507, fos. 15–16, Hay, Brussels, to Northampton, 15 Aug. 1707.

to advance. Aldworth Neville wanted to examine one of the bridges being built for this purpose. Upon doing so, he was warned that ‘the French that we saw just on the other Side of the River, w’d certainly shoot at us,’ and so he ‘prudently kept back’.⁷¹

Compton and Aldworth Neville are examples of Grand Tourists who undertook an observational exercise that risked becoming a participatory one. But some Tourists headed into military situations with the deliberate intention of taking part. In doing so, they continued a seventeenth-century practice known as ‘military volunteering’. As defined in a 1702 *Military Dictionary*, ‘Volunteer[s]’ were ‘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’.⁷² As Roger Manning has explored, seventeenth-century volunteering allowed young men to acquire their first taste of battle and to learn tactics and values from experienced commanders. But in addition to being a training exercise, volunteering was also an elite social convention through which young men were initiated into military manhood by enabling them to ‘seek out danger and verify their honour’ on the battlefield.⁷³ Experience of battle was still common among elite men during the later seventeenth century. Manning has calculated that between 1650 and 1700, more than half of all British peers saw military action. In 1700 alone a total of 211 out of 408 titled peers either volunteered or were in military employment.⁷⁴ The early modern Tour played a substantial role in facilitating this experience by incorporating military volunteering within its itineraries. Tourists were expected to undertake training in French academies and to visit the Netherlands in order to volunteer with the Dutch and Spanish armies.⁷⁵ So established was this expectation that the less martially inclined also participated, however briefly and reluctantly. For example, John Evelyn, the diarist, writer and eventual founding member of the Royal Society, recorded how he was ‘receiv’d a Voluntéere’ in August 1641 during his Grand Tour. He reluctantly trailed his pike for around ten

⁷¹ Berkshire RO, MS. D/EN/F.54-5, Richard Aldworth Neville’s Grand Tour journal, 1743–44.

⁷² *A Military Dictionary Explaining all Difficult Terms in Martial Discipline, Fortification and Gunnery ... by an Officer Who Served Several Years Abroad* (London, 1702), quoted in R. B. Manning, *Swordsmen: the Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003), p. 104.

⁷³ Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp. 8–9, 36, 105.

⁷⁴ Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp. 18–19.

⁷⁵ See J. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667* (New York, 1968), pp. 110, 112–6, 128, 133; F. Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1495–1715* (London, 1992), p. 43; R. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition, 1550–1700: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London, 2003), p. 57.

days before escaping from ‘the confusions of Armies, & sieges’ as swiftly as possible.⁷⁶

Manning contended that volunteering declined in the early eighteenth century as armies became more professionalized and volunteers more difficult to accommodate. However, he also acknowledged that this remains an underdeveloped area of research, and that varied forms of voluntary military engagement may have continued in other formats and under other names.⁷⁷ The letters, diaries and itineraries of early eighteenth-century Grand Tourists strongly indicate that this was indeed the case – with the option of volunteering being actively considered during the War of Spanish Succession. In this period Tourists and their families often conducted lively discussions on whether, when and where they should volunteer. In 1701, Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock and later 1st duke of Portland, his father, Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st earl of Portland, and Woodstock’s tutor, Paul de Rapin de Thoyras, vehemently disagreed on whether the young man should join the German campaign in Italy or wait to fight in Holland.⁷⁸ Woodstock eventually joined the latter campaign.

Volunteering remained a possibility during the War of Austrian Succession in the 1740s. In 1741, Newcastle begged Lincoln to ‘not be so mad (pardon the expression) as to think of making a campaign’.⁷⁹ Around the same time, William Windham’s behaviour and purchase of a Hussar uniform led to an enduring rumour among the Norfolk gentry that he might have volunteered with the Austrian army.⁸⁰ While Windham’s true intentions remained the stuff of speculation, other young men did volunteer – among them Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s notoriously problematic son, Edward, and Windham’s friend, George Townshend, 1st Marquis Townshend. Both took part in the Battle of Dettingen in 1743.⁸¹ In his manuscript memoirs, Townshend recalled how prior to leaving for his Grand Tour, he had been ‘presented by his father at St. James’ Court as he was to serve the Campaign in Germany as a Volunteer’. He then fought at Dettingen (June 1743) as an ‘additional aide de camp’, ‘visited the Austrian Army on the Rhine’

⁷⁶ J. Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. De Beer (London, 1959), pp. 175, 526.

⁷⁷ Manning, *Swordsmen*, p. 107.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, MS. Pw A 1057; Paul de Rapin de Thoyras [unknown location] to Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st earl of Portland, 17 March 1701.

⁷⁹ Newcastle, London, to Lincoln, 16 March 1740/41, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 366.

⁸⁰ J. Shackleton, ‘William Windham II (1717–1761) in the uniform of a Hussar’ (jpeg image of portrait, Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1742–67).

⁸¹ *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. R. Halsband (3 vols., Oxford, 1965), ii. p. 273.

and went to Paris, Switzerland and Besançon.⁸² These last three locations had distinct attractions for the fighting man. Paris was home to various military academies, Switzerland employed a civic militia model of defence and Besançon had an excellent example of Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban's most recent citadel fortifications. Townshend then went to The Hague and attempted to raise 'a Regiment of two Battalions of Irish for the Service of the States'. Much to his disgust, this idea failed. He returned to England in 1745, attained a military commission and served under the duke of Cumberland. In addition to his active military service, Townshend later played a central role in the establishment of the 1756 New Militia Bill and militia movement.

While the military curriculum remained an important element of Grand Tours of the later eighteenth century, fewer opportunities arose to take part in continental conflicts from the 1750s onwards as most theatres of war shifted to colonial locations. Importantly though, young elite men's voluntary efforts did not cease. Instead of seeking to serve while on the continent, they were directed more towards preparing to serve in the militia upon their return to Britain. Military volunteering still made an occasional appearance, of course. Basset is one such example, as is Richmond who tried his guardians' patience in October 1754 by asking if he could attend Admiral Keppel's military expedition to America as a volunteer. In claiming that it would 'be very instructive', Richmond made his case by characterizing volunteering as an educational opportunity.⁸³ However, the duke of Newcastle, understandably reluctant to allow his underage charge to go to America, refused the request.

It is striking that the many volumes of conduct literature and education manuals, published during the eighteenth century and dealing with the Tour, make no reference to the military aims and activities that are so abundantly present in archival records. It is therefore important to locate this part of the eighteenth-century Tour in the context of early modern educational theory and practice. Military instruction was discussed at length by humanist Renaissance and seventeenth-century pedagogical writers.⁸⁴ In one of the earliest and most enduringly influential of these works – *On*

⁸² National Army Museum (NAM), MS. 6806-41-1-3, 'MS list of George Townshend, Viscount Townshend's Commissions, 1745-73'; MS. 6806-41-1-2, 'Townsend's autobiographical account of his life', fos. 1, 5.

⁸³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32737, fo. 181, Richmond, Vienna, to Lord Albemarle, 19 Oct. 1754.

⁸⁴ *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. G. Oestreich, B. Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger (Cambridge, 1982), p. 1; S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2000), pp. 2, 28-9.

Noble Customs and Liberal Studies of Youth (1402–3) – Pierpaolo Vergerio argued that bodily exercise, especially training for war, was essential for good citizenship. 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’.⁸⁵

Humanist educators also proposed that young men should take part in actual battle situations. Pietro Aretino advised one 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’.⁸⁶

The influence of the Flemish scholar, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), is also worth noting in this context. A tutor to Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, Lipsius promoted a neostoical school of thought that drew upon classical examples to advocate a severe and controlled manliness, disciplined national activity, constancy and devotion to duty. This was particularly influential in shaping the prince’s ‘Netherlands Movement’ and the resulting military reforms made to the army of the Dutch Republic.⁸⁷ As a key ‘school of war’, the Netherlands became a popular destination for early modern Grand Tourists. Moreover, the ‘Netherlands Movement’ maintained an enduring influence upon the European nobility and military. For example, the French *noblesse d’épée* continued to centre their culture, values, morals and professional ethics upon this branch of neostoicism throughout the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ This in turn influenced members of the seventeenth-century English aristocracy who looked increasingly to French examples on matters of masculine education and military training.⁸⁹

Renaissance instructions on martial theory and pedagogy were reiterated in seventeenth-century conduct literature, with the additional recommendation that the Grand Tour offered the best opportunities for honing skills and gaining experience. James Howell’s *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell* (1650) identified Paris as the best location for

⁸⁵ Pierpaolo Vergerio, *De ingenuis moribus* (Rome, 1475?), quoted in Anglo, *Martial Arts*, p. 29.

⁸⁶ Quoted in J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620* (Leicester, 1985), p. 145.

⁸⁷ Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, pp. 29, 35, 79.

⁸⁸ Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp. 31, 76–7, 120.

⁸⁹ Manning, *Swordsmen*, p. 31.

learning 'to Ride, to Fence, to manage Arms, to Dance, Vault, and ply the Mathematiques'.⁹⁰ Observation and participation, meanwhile, were ideally to take place in the Netherlands and the court of Brussels, which Howell labelled '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'. In Howell's opinion, a visit to one of these military courts and to any army in motion was 'time well spent'.⁹¹ In his conduct manual, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1678), Jean Gailhard also proposed that an ideal Grand Tour curriculum should cater to those 'who have a martial spirit'.⁹² Tourists, Gailhard argued, should learn skills upon which 'depends a mans life, either in a single, or more general fight', and that were 'of a great use in War, because they fit the body for hardship'.⁹³ This included riding, fencing, running, wrestling, leaping, 'Vaulting, Trailing the Pike, spreading Colors, handling the Halbard, or the two handed Sword'.⁹⁴

Eighteenth-century Grand Tourists like Lincoln, Holroyd, Lewisham, Yorke and Herbert appear to have directly inherited their military-based activities and curricula from early modern mentalities and practices. The enduring nature of these itineraries firmly challenges the assertion that the eighteenth-century elite disavowed military temperaments and training for politer pursuits. Rather, British elite society continued to perceive military leadership as part of their rights and responsibilities, and saw the Grand Tour as a means of preparing for this role. Through exposure to the examples of British and continental elite martial masculinities, Grand Tourists internalized a belief that men of a certain social status were born and bred to be honourable, courageous military leaders. This belief was expressed through pride in the martial reputations of men in their families, enthusiasm for their military education and role, and through an innate confidence in their personal martial virtues, abilities and bearing.

Military service and elite martial masculinities

With the exception of many of the Italian elite, a large part of the eighteenth-century European nobility remained closely connected to military service.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ J. Howell, *Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell 1642* (London, 1650), pp. 26–8.

⁹¹ Howell, *Travell*, pp. 87–8.

⁹² J. Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman, or, Directions for the Education of Youth as to their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad* (London, 1678), pp. 46, 50.

⁹³ Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 46, 50.

⁹⁴ Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 51–2.

⁹⁵ E.g., H. M. Scott and C. Storrs, 'Introduction: the consolidation of noble power in Europe, c.1600–1800', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*,

By 1740, Prussia's army numbered more than 80,000 men, with almost every officer a nobleman. By 1806, close to 90 per cent of Prussian nobility were attached to the military, offering the most visible example of the continuation of the martial neostoic influence in an eighteenth-century aristocratic culture.⁹⁶ Contemporaries considered Prussia's total state of militarization unusual, but it was also situated within a wider German aristocratic tradition of military entrepreneurship and professionalism. As far back as the early seventeenth century, the travel writer, Fynes Moryson, reported that the German nobility valued courage, military virtue and lineage over learning.⁹⁷ This stereotype endured throughout the eighteenth century, as the Hessians, Saxons, Bavarians – along with men from Brunswick – were typified as skilled mercenaries and lovers of war who served in high-ranking positions in other countries' armies as well as their own.⁹⁸ Austria's nobility was far less militarized but their culture still honoured service in the militia. Foreign nobility who gained access to Austro-Bohemians of similar high rank through their military service – men such as Charles of Lorraine, Eugene of Savoy, Ernst Laudan, Francis Lacy and Maxmillian Browne – attained positions of honour, repute and international fame.⁹⁹ The *noblesse d'épée* retained a powerfully influential role in French aristocratic society.¹⁰⁰ During the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) over 90 per cent of the French elite pursued a military career. Little had changed by the elections to the Estates General in 1789, when more than four-fifths of noblemen had backgrounds in the armed forces.¹⁰¹ With

i: *Western and Southern Europe*, ed. H. Scott (London and New York, 1995), pp. 41–6.

⁹⁶ P. Dwyer, 'The rise of Prussia', in *The Rise of Prussia 1700–1830*, ed. P. Dwyer (Harlow, 2000), pp. 13, 15; E. Melton, 'The Prussian junkers, 1600–1786', in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ii: *Northern, Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. H. Scott (London and New York, 1995), pp. 86–7.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Asch, *Nobilities*, p. 56.

⁹⁸ F. 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. J. Canning and H. Wellenreute (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 48–9, 56–7; McCormack, *Embodying*, pp. 40–1; Dwyer, 'Rise of Prussia', pp. 6, 9, 13, 15; H. Schulze, 'The Prussian military state, 1763–1806', in Dwyer, *Rise of Prussia*, pp. 201–19; Melton, 'The junkers of Brandenburg-Prussia', pp. 77, 83.

⁹⁹ J. Van Horn Melton, 'The nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian lands, 1620–1780', in Scott, *European Nobilities*, ii. 115–16.

¹⁰⁰ See J. Smith, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996); R. Mettam, 'The French nobility, 1610–1715', in Scott, *European Nobilities*, i. 114–41; J. Swann, 'The French nobility, 1715–1789', in Scott, *European Nobilities*, i. 146–7.

¹⁰¹ Scott and Storrs, 'Introduction', p. 44; D. Bell, *Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare As We Know It* (Boston, 2007), p. 31.

such careers highly valued, the principal military commands remained the exclusive preserve of powerful noblemen and princes, such as the Maréchal de Villars, Prince de Conti and Maréchal duc de Richelieu. Sons hailing from épée families typically followed their fathers into a military career. The Count de Montbarrey (1732–96), for example, was only twelve when he entered his first active service and suffered his first wound.¹⁰²

The British elite also maintained high levels of military service throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, particularly via the recruitment of younger sons.¹⁰³ In dominating the leadership of the army, navy and militia, the British aristocracy were, as David Bell argued, another instance of an international collection of the ‘hereditary nobilities that still defined themselves, ultimately, in terms of military service’, and for whom military virtues and leaderships were hallmarks of ‘high European culture’. As Bell observed, aristocratic and gentry officers had far more in common with their counterparts on the other side of the battlefield than with their own men, irrespective of nationality.¹⁰⁴

This military element must not be forgotten when considering what continental elite society offered eighteenth-century British Tourists. European elite cultures such as the French aristocracy were understood to combine military honour with social grace, simultaneously inhabiting the royal court, the urban centres of fashion and Enlightenment thought, and the military campaign.¹⁰⁵ Grand Tourists frequently delighted in meeting famous figures who effortlessly blended all these elements in their masculine performances. Yorke’s experience of dining with the leading military commander, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, in September 1777, left him almost speechless with admiration: ‘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’.¹⁰⁶ Through watching, admiring and engaging with these exemplars, Grand Tourists were being taught to value a European code of elite masculinity that placed considerable value on military service and the martial values of honour, courage and command.

¹⁰² Swann, ‘French nobility, 1715–1789’, pp. 162, 168.

¹⁰³ For a typical example, see J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 408–10; J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: the Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 118–20.

¹⁰⁴ Bell, *Total War*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Motley, *French Aristocrat*, p. 10; Swann, ‘The French nobility, 1715–1789’, pp. 167–8; Bell, *Total War*, pp. 21–4.

¹⁰⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 84, Yorke, Gottingen, to Hardwicke, 1 Sept. 1777; Add. MS. 36258, Yorke’s journal, 11 Sept. 1777.

Grand Tourists did not just look to the continent for martial inspiration. They were also keenly aware of the military standing of their own families and rank. This awareness, unsurprisingly, was most clearly communicated by those whose fathers had highly active service records. Charles Lennox, the 2nd duke of Richmond, for example, had served as aide-de-camp to George I and II, and had seen combat at the Battle of Dettingen and during the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. After Richmond's death in 1750, his son, the 3rd duke, repeatedly expressed 'the most determined Resolution to follow His great Example'.¹⁰⁷ The 3rd duke's guardians, along with members of the royal family, encouraged him in this ambition, informing him that the late duke would have been most pleased that he wished to follow his father's lead.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, when the 10th earl of Pembroke confided to Newcastle during his 1750s Grand Tour that he too had a 'Desire of Coming into the Army', Newcastle praised the notion as honouring the precedent set by the 9th earl, who had served in the Coldstream and Horse Guards.¹⁰⁹ The 10th earl went on to attain the rank of major-general and staff during the Seven Years' War within just ten years of his commission. Even for an aristocrat, this was extremely rapid advancement, and he eventually became a leading authority in cavalry training.¹¹⁰ As already shown, the 10th earl in turn encouraged his son – George Herbert, the future 11th earl – to take up a military life in the 1770s. The 11th earl also enjoyed an active military career, in which he distinguished himself during the early stages of French Revolutionary War.¹¹¹

Families like these were akin to the French *noblesse d'épée* in highly prizing and maintaining military prowess across multiple generations. Yet even sons who were not inclined towards a military career took great pride in their fathers' martial reputations. During his 1750s Grand Tour, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt remarked that he could not think of war with France 'without horror'. Even so he also proudly reported back Count Calenberg's assertion that 'no one ever had so great

¹⁰⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32723, fo. 31, Newcastle, Hanover, to the duchess of Richmond, 26 Sept. 1750.

¹⁰⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32726, fo. 145, 18/02/1752, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle; Add. MS. 32726, fo. 193, Newcastle, Newcastle House, to Richmond.

¹⁰⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32728, fo. 350, Newcastle, Hanover, to Lady Pembroke, 22 July 1753.

¹¹⁰ J. E. O. Screen, 'Herbert, Henry, tenth earl of Pembroke and seventh earl of Montgomery (1734–1794)', *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13034>> [accessed 29 Apr. 2015].

¹¹¹ S. M. Farrell, 'Herbert, George Augustus, eleventh earl of Pembroke and eighth earl of Montgomery (1759–1827)', *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13026>> [accessed 29 Apr. 2015].

a disposition for the Army' as Nuneham's father, Simon Harcourt, 1st Earl Harcourt.¹¹² The 1st earl's career had moved between serving in the military, court and diplomatic corps, and his martial virtues and inclinations had attracted comment during his own Grand Tour. In 1734, Richard Pococke praised Harcourt's 'good nature & good sense', as well as noting that he 'much inclined to the sword'.¹¹³ The difference between Nuneham's and his father's interest in the sword is a reminder that a pride in and an enthusiasm for military service did not necessarily have to coincide. Even the most reluctant warrior recognized that military service was an integral part of his aristocratic identity. Horace Walpole was completely uninterested in a military career when he undertook his Tour in 1738–41. Nevertheless, he was well versed in military terminology and theory and was scathing towards one young unnamed Irishman who 'learnt fortifications, which he does not understand at all'.¹¹⁴ For Walpole, a grasp of military matters was a mark of elite status. To betray ignorance was to expose one's poor breeding and birth.

When Walpole's cousin, Henry Seymour Conway, returned from his Grand Tour in 1740, he was promoted to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 8th dragoons. He continued his military education in Britain with a tutor who instructed him in mathematics and fortifications.¹¹⁵ Missing Walpole, he wrote hoping that his cousin's recent election to parliament would force his return to England: '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'.¹¹⁶ Few young men needed to make a stark choice between the military (the 'chamy' was the chamois doublet of the soldier) and politics (the 'togue', the toga of a Roman senator). Rather the military and roles in the defence of the nation were part of a patchwork of elite responsibilities. Even the office of lord lieutenant, the crown's representative in a county or region, meant holding overall responsibility for raising and commanding the local militia.

Young elite men were raised in the knowledge that military leadership would one day form part of their duties. They were taught to celebrate

¹¹² CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-22, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, Brussels, to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt, 13 Aug. 1756.

¹¹³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, fo. 17, Pococke, Milan, to Mrs Pococke, 12 June 1734.

¹¹⁴ Horace Walpole, Rheims, to Richard West, 20 July 1739, in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis (48 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1937–), xiii. 179–80.

¹¹⁵ Henry Seymour Conway [London], to Walpole, 23 July 1741, in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xxxvii. 101.

¹¹⁶ Conway [unknown location] to Walpole, 25 Feb. 1740, in Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xxxvii. 45–6.

and honour past and present elite martial commanders, and their Grand Tour education included a wide range of military instruction. They also held a deep-seated belief that as aristocrats they were born to the sword and command. This was part of a generally held belief that the accoutrements of nobility, honour and virtue were imparted by virtue of one's breeding and family lineage. All the training these young men received was intended merely to refine an innate ability born of elite lineage – as is evident in diary entries made by George, Lord Herbert towards the end of his Tour.¹¹⁷

In March 1780, Herbert entered France which was then at war with Britain over the future of the North American colonies. In his journals and letters, Herbert dramatically recorded that he was now among the enemy and could no longer wear his British military uniform. A glance at his father's correspondence reveals that this restriction was determined more by social nicety than danger.¹¹⁸ Herbert, however, deliberately chose to invest his sartorial state with a degree of subterfuge and used it as an opportunity to make claims about the martial nature and bearing of his body. Despite not wearing a uniform, Herbert twice recorded that his military identity was recognized by fellow officers. Commenting on a journey by water diligence with eighteen other passengers, including five Swiss officers, Herbert cast himself as a mysterious figure as 'many of [the passengers] have been plugging 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 perswade [*sic*] them of the truth of their supposition.¹¹⁹

A second, related incident occurred a week later at the Marseille fortress where, despite claiming to be among the enemy, he happily dined with the company. Again, 'They soon found out I was of their Trade though I with my dress, endeavoured to disguise it'.¹²⁰ Herbert had received his commission and a considerable military education, but he had not yet seen

¹¹⁷ For similar expressions relating to the militia movement, see M. McCormack, 'Liberty and discipline: militia training literature in mid-Georgian England', in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1850; Men of Arms*, ed. C. Kennedy and M. McCormack (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 159, 171.

¹¹⁸ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/6, Herbert's journal, 20 March 1780; MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert, 21 June 1779; MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke [unknown location] to Herbert, 30 Sept. 1779.

¹¹⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/6, Herbert's journal, 24 March 1780.

¹²⁰ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/6, Herbert's journal, 31 March 1780.

active service or even met his regiment.¹²¹ Nevertheless, it was his assertion that other military men could perceive his 'trade' and 'military appearance' through his bearing and deportment.

Herbert's faith in his inbred martial lineage was not an isolated example. Throughout the century other Grand Tourists made it clear they believed that this innate ability, combined with their continental education, meant they were suitably prepared to command the military and militia.¹²² In July 1779 Philip Yorke – who despite his interest in battlefield sites, did not come from a family with strong martial traditions – wrote to his uncle that:

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, & mean by this time [to] be a great proficient in Tactics.¹²³

Yorke's stated willingness to fulfil his patriotic duty and fight also seemed to be influenced by a fear that unless he did so, his honour would be compromised. It is telling, for instance, that his offer to serve in the militia was directly followed by an observation that 'a number of my acquaintances' had already committed to doing so. Continental travel therefore placed men in a quandary. On the one hand, it provided a valuable military education, as is clear in Yorke's confident assertion that he would be 'a great proficient in Tactics'. On the other, Tourists feared being left vulnerable to accusations that they were using travel as an excuse to avoid fighting. The months prior to and during conflicts such as the War of Spanish Succession, Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence therefore often saw an increase in Grand Tourists and tutors either wishing to return to their regiments or offering to serve in some capacity.¹²⁴

This was the subject of a heated exchange between Herbert, his tutor, Captain John Floyd, and his father, Pembroke in 1778–9. Believing either a deployment or invasion to be imminent, Herbert and Floyd ardently wished to return to their regiments and were worried that Pembroke's refusal would

¹²¹ Farrell, 'Eleventh earl of Pembroke', *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13026>>.

¹²² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 132, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker, 10 Nov. 1763; NAM, MS. 6806-41-1-2, Townshend's account; Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32726, fo. 145, Richmond, Geneva, to Newcastle, 18 Feb. 1752.

¹²³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 357, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke, 23 July 1779.

¹²⁴ E.g., SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth, 20 Dec. 1776; WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 20 Apr. 1779; MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke [unknown location] to Herbert, 24 Sept. 1779; MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Pembroke, Wilton House, to Coxe, 28 March 1777.

result in accusations of cowardice. Pembroke issued a sharp rebuke:

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.¹²⁵

Seventy-eight years earlier, having begun a Grand Tour in 1701 – and with the War of Spanish Succession escalating in intensity – Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock, had faced an almost identical predicament. His father was implacable in his determination to send him abroad, causing Woodstock to express acute fears that his absence would be misconstrued as cowardice. Conscious that several young men had been mocked for not serving during the previous war, Woodstock believed ‘es que si je m’absentais en pareil temps mon honneur en pourrait soupir en quelque manière’ [and if I abstain at a similar time, my honour would suffer in the same way].¹²⁶ It was a concern he raised repeatedly throughout his travels.

While the violent, militaristic origins of elite male concepts of honour are well understood, as noted in chapter 1, scholars have primarily been interested in exploring elite honour in relation to the rise and fall of duelling. Yet the fears expressed by Herbert, Floyd and Woodstock on their Grand Tours demonstrate that the arena of war remained crucial to how eighteenth-century men performed and defended their honour. Retreating from an opportunity to fight compromised a man's honour and masculinity, as it essentially indicated an unwillingness to physically defend one's reputation.

Irrespective of whether Grand Tourists ended up fighting or not, war remained idealized as a test of elite manhood. As the reference to Sir Francis Basset demonstrated, the elite mentality of honour and reputation created a culture in which one was expected to embrace a confrontation with war. The hazards of conflict therefore offered just as much of a challenge to a man's integrity and reputation as a verbal insult or jostled elbow. Where Grand Tourists, tutors and their families were determined not to risk the dangers of

¹²⁵ Pembroke, London, to John Floyd, 27 Apr. 1778, in *Henry, Elizabeth and George (1734–80) Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle*, ed. Lord Herbert (London, 1939), pp. 115–16; See also WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Pembroke to Herbert, 29 Sept. 1779.

¹²⁶ University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, MS. Pw A 57/1-2, Henry Bentinck, Lord Woodstock and later 1st duke of Portland, The Hague, to Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st earl of Portland, 29 March 1701 (trans. Angela Barber, 24 Sept. 2009).

conflict, these cultural expectations had to be carefully negotiated in order to preserve a young man's reputation. Take, for example, the experience of Lord Compton and his companions in 1707. As already shown, Compton spent several weeks camping with and observing Marlborough's army and even accompanied it on the march to battle for two days.¹²⁷ The natural conclusion of these activities might have been to fight with Marlborough as a military volunteer. However, Compton and his party then departed for safer environs. This sensible but perhaps surprising conclusion was instigated by James Hay, the tutor and voice of adult authority, who, mindful of his duties to Compton's father, wrote that he had been determined not to 'risqué my Ld Compton's person'. Yet, Hay also expended considerable effort in recording how Compton and the other young gentlemen met his decision with scorn. They, he claimed, would have 'gladly gone on' and flung 'wanton Curses' at Hay for exercising his authority over them.¹²⁸ As such, Hay sought to achieve the dual aim of demonstrating that he was fulfilling his duty of care and that Compton's fighting spirit was intact.

In 1741 a similarly honourable retreat from military danger was carefully negotiated by the duke of Newcastle on behalf of his nephew, Lincoln. Having flourished in the martial environment of Turin, Lincoln might have been expected to volunteer for, or at least visit, one of the various armies gathering around Europe during the War of Austrian Succession. Newcastle wrote earnestly against this, soliciting that 'lest you should, I must earnestly press you to return to England as soon as you can'.¹²⁹ Rather than outlining the dangers of such a decision, Newcastle instead focused on the impropriety of an English nobleman being in Italy, when 'Nobody can tell what may be the consequences of a general war in Italy'.¹³⁰ By framing his condemnation in the expectation that a young, full-blooded male would naturally desire to fight, Newcastle effectively pre-empted Lincoln from having to state his desire to do so. His nephew could now rest secure in the presentation of a martial masculinity and honour without having to actively demonstrate it. The thought that went into upholding an untarnished image of military-based courage and honour demonstrates just how important these qualities were in establishing and maintaining a reputation for eighteenth-century elite masculinity.

¹²⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 38507, fos. 15–16, Hay, Brussels, to Northampton, 15 Aug., 1707.

¹²⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 38507, fos. 15–16, Hay, Brussels, to Northampton, 15 Aug., 1707.

¹²⁹ Newcastle, London, to Lincoln, 16 March 1740/41, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 366.

¹³⁰ Newcastle, London, to Lincoln, 16 March 1740/41, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 366.



Figure 2.3. Pompeo Batoni, 'Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Thomas Apperley and Captain Edward Hamilton' (NMW A 78, 1768–72).

By permission of Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru/National Museum of Wales.

The accomplished Grand Tourist embodied a diverse blend of qualities, in which martiality was expected to coexist with more ostensibly civilized values. In the words of one late seventeenth-century conduct manual, 'Letters and Arms should not only accord, but be inseparably conjoyn'd'.¹³¹ This inextricable entwining of the military with the other elements of elite education and identity is captured in Pompeo Batoni's Grand Tour portrait of the wealthy Welsh nobleman, Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn with his two companion-tutors, Thomas Apperley and Captain Edward Hamilton (Figure 2.3).¹³² Painted between 1768 and 1772, the canvas shows the trio

¹³¹ B. B. Gent, *The Way to Honour. In three parts* (London, 1678), pp. 21, 77–8, 106.

¹³² E. P. Bowron and P. Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2007), pp. 71–2.

as educated, fashionable and cultured gentlemen, holding and gesturing to a remarkable quantity of objects that symbolize their interests and tastes. Represented by the elegant figure of Hamilton, whose flute reinforces the connection between music, graceful movement and war, the military is harmoniously placed alongside youth, learning, classicism and the arts. Even the painting's overall composition echoes portraits of military commanders and their staff around command tables.¹³³

Throughout the eighteenth-century Grand Tour, the military was a cohesive part of an elite gentleman's world, identity and education.¹³⁴ With access to a programme of academies, curricula and visits to military sites, the Grand Tour was deliberately used to construct and form elite young men in their martial identities and skills. While individual Tourists invested different amounts of time and enthusiasm in these activities, the majority engaged in at least some form of military education and viewed martial virtues and abilities as a mark of successful elite masculinity. This represents a remarkable degree of continuity from the early modern period into the nineteenth century, in which generations of Grand Tourists and elite families continued to accept that military leadership formed part of their elite rights and responsibilities.

This finding in turn complicates the argument that the late eighteenth century saw a *re-emergence* of an elite masculinity centred on military service. Rather, there seems to have been an *intensification* in how the British elite articulated this element of their identity. Certainly, Grand Tourists travelling after the 1750s were more consistently voluble in voicing their enthusiasm for military matters. This was accompanied by a trend in comparing admirable examples of continental martial conduct with chivalric, classical and primitive martial precedents. Watching the Austrian army muster troops in Vienna in March 1778 for the War of Bavarian Succession, Philip Yorke described the Croatian regiments as 'true martial people'. 'Rough unpolished & not fond of being idle', as well as committed to simple diets and fasting, the Croats to him bore comparison with Roman legions, Spartans and modern-day Scottish Highlanders.¹³⁵ The nature of

¹³³ My thanks to Richard Johns for this observation.

¹³⁴ New historians in this field have explored the argument from the other perspective by identifying how military leaders also held dual identities as officers and gentlemen. See C. 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. K. Hagemann, G. Mettele and J. Rendall (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 131–2; G. Daly, 'Liberators and tourists: British soldiers in Madrid during the Peninsular War', in Kennedy and McCormack, *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 125–6.

¹³⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's journal, 24 March 1778.

these enthusiastic pronouncements and comparisons indicates how far later eighteenth-century Grand Tourists were influenced by wider anxieties raised by the Seven Years' War and other conflicts.

Somewhat conversely, this articulation was accompanied by an apparent decline in more direct and dangerous Grand Tour engagements with military conflict. Current evidence simply cannot support claims that the practice of volunteering continued to form a rite of initiation to the same extent that it had in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Unlike their predecessors, including Woodstock, Compton, Harcourt, Townshend, Windham, Aldworth Neville and Lincoln, a substantial majority of later Tourists never came close even to weighing up the desirability of taking part in armed conflict. This decline may be understood in relation to shifting theatres of war and a dwindling of opportunity. Between the Treaty of Paris (1763) and the start of the French Revolutionary War (1793), the sites of conflict shifted to colonial and trading territories, with substantially less military engagement on Continental soil. Interestingly, it is worth noting that when opportunities once again presented themselves during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, volunteering once again increased.¹³⁶ Prior to this conflict, Grand Tourists compensated for an absence of opportunity through an enthusiastic participation in the military and militia upon their post-Tour return to Britain. Here, again, their participation was shaped by continuity with a traditional martial culture. The New Militia movement was led by men like Townshend and Windham, who had undertaken their Tours in the 1730s and 40s and were very much formed by an older Grand Tour tradition of the military curriculum and volunteering.

Understanding how military behaviours, virtues and identities shaped eighteenth-century masculinities and responses to the dangers of war is central to a full appreciation of wider elite attitudes towards danger. Military-based concepts of honour, bravery and courage remained vitally important to eighteenth-century elite masculinity. To acknowledge this is to appreciate how far encounters with danger played a central role in testing and affirming young men's claims to certain virtues. This need to defend one's honour through physical displays of courage drove men to train for and participate in warfare, as well as to engage in duelling practices. At the same time, these physical demonstrations also went beyond the martial into a range of other dangerous and challenging situations. As chapters 3 and

¹³⁶ K. Linch, "'A citizen and not a soldier': the British volunteer movement and the war against Napoleon", in Forrest, Hagemann and Rendall, *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians*, pp. 205–21; A. Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794–1814* (Oxford, 2003); J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century: the Story of a Political Issue, 1660–1803* (London, 1965), ch. 9.

4 will explore, this mentality of enduring, confronting, overcoming and benefiting from physical danger shaped how young elite men engaged with sport, exercise, the hardships of travel and with natural phenomena while on the Grand Tour. These activities and environments offered other means of encountering physical danger and were, from the mid century, increasingly understood as substitutes for the dwindling opportunities to prove oneself on the battlefield. As will be shown, sports and arduous travel enabled the elite community to demonstrate that the Tour remained a valuable means to construct hardy, robust and healthy elite men in command of martially inspired virtues such as courage, stoicism, honour and endurance.

3. Wholesome dangers and a stock of health: exercise, sport and the hardships of the road



Figure 3.1. Pompeo Batoni, 'Alexander Gordon, 4th duke of Gordon (1743–1827)' (NG 2589, 1763–4).

By permission of National Galleries of Scotland. Purchased by Private Treaty with the aid of the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Art Fund 1994.

During their travels through Italy, Grand Tourists frequently commissioned portraits of themselves. Typically set in elegant, enclosed interiors in the presence of celebrated antiques, or in open-air settings with glimpses of Roman ruins in the background, these portraits were intended to capture

'Wholesome dangers and a stock of health: exercise, sport and the hardships of the road', in S. Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London, 2020), pp. 111–39. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

and celebrate the moment at which young elite men came of age.¹ One of the more unusual Grand Tour portraits is of the Scottish nobleman, Alexander Gordon, 4th duke of Gordon, painted by Pompeo Batoni in 1764. Accompanied by his horse, dogs, gun and a pile of dead game, the young duke is shown hunting in the Italian countryside without a ruin in sight (see Figure 3.1). Art historians have disparagingly linked the portrait's lack of overt classical symbolism with an anecdote concerning Johann Winckelmann's failed attempts to rouse the duke's interest in ancient Rome. Both have been read as symbolic of an immature, ignorant young man unable to appreciate what the Grand Tour offered. The art historians Edgar Peters Bowron and Peter Björn Kerber even suggested that Gordon would have been surprised to find that his pose in the portrait was a reference to a life-size third-century statue of a hunter found near Porta Latina in 1747.²

This interpretation may be challenged at various points. First, it presumes a correlation between an enthusiasm for sport and a limited cultural refinement and intelligence. There is no reason to doubt Winckelmann's description of Gordon's lack of interest in classical Rome, but the future duke was not as culturally disengaged as the anecdote suggests. He purchased artwork throughout his travels and displayed it at Gordon Castle, which he rebuilt according to John Baxter's design. In adulthood, he became a noted Scottish patron of art and literature.³ It remains entirely possible that Gordon approved of, or even requested, the subtle association between classical and contemporary hunting in his portrait.

Second, Gordon's portrait can only be considered emblematic of a failed Grand Tour if the sole purpose of continental travel was to produce gentlemen of taste. The setting and trappings of Gordon's portrait were unusual but Batoni used a range of non-classical motifs – including historical armour, masquerade dress and tartan – in many other Tour portraits.⁴ Furthermore, the activities and the associated masculine virtues and abilities represented in Gordon's portrait were very much an established part of the Grand Tour and its intended outcomes. In choosing to depict himself hunting, Gordon associated himself with a sporting pastime that was criticized if done to excess but was also idealized within elite culture as an activity that prepared participants for war and was suited to their rank.

¹ E. Peters Bowron and P. Björn Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni: Prince of Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2007), ch. 2.

² Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni*, p. 87.

³ J. Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1997), pp. 407–8; H. M. Chichester, 'Gordon, Alexander, fourth duke of Gordon', *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11023>> [accessed 15 March 2019].

⁴ E.g., Bowron and Kerber, *Pompeo Batoni*, pp. 53–5, 66.

Fashionably dressed in a hunting outfit that echoed a military uniform, Gordon's open pose displayed the benefits of his chosen sport: a strong, graceful and healthy body, an easy mastery over his horse (controlled by one hand) and dogs, and his skills in marksmanship, represented by the gun and dead game.

This chapter investigates how elite culture celebrated and used physical exercise, exertion and hardship during the Grand Tour's process of masculine formation by examining three sets of activities: exercise regimes, in which riding, fencing and dancing played an important part; sports and physical pastimes, which ranged from hunting, tennis, cricket and swimming to promenades, pleasure rides and dancing at balls; and lastly the physical process of travelling itself, which involved exposure to danger and discomfort via rough and mountainous roads, carriage accidents and poor accommodation.

These activities were profoundly important to the success of a Grand Tour in several ways. While they were non-military pursuits, they were nevertheless closely associated with martial culture. Riding, fencing and dancing were an accepted part of military training and polite masculinity, and sports such as hunting had long been associated with demonstrations of martial prowess. As a preparation for war, they created alternative opportunities to encounter danger in a manner that still refined the necessary masculine skills and virtues of courage, endurance and self-control. This ongoing belief that physical exercise and elite sports were a highly effective method of military training shaped the dynamics of elite social (and particularly homosocial) leisure activities. Successful displays of physical skill and prowess served as a form of social capital which led to an increased degree of admiration and respect among peers and social superiors.

These activities were also linked to a wider pedagogical celebration of physical hardship. Hardship, it was believed, developed a young man's courage, patriotism and capacity to defend his country. As the very nature of the Grand Tour ensured a protracted exposure to the 'wholesome' dangers, hazards and discomforts of travelling, Tourists, tutors and writers championed this element of travel. These formative experiences, it was argued, inured men to petty hazards, improved their health, courage and resilience, and refined their perception of danger. Investigating these activities reveals how the martial elements of elite identity seeped into the fabric of what it meant to be an aristocratic male, transmuting into a more general emphasis upon attaining 'hardy' manly traits.

These activities were also used to achieve the goal of establishing and maintaining good physical health. Travel was believed to give access to healthy locations and to contain its own medicinal properties. Grand

Tourists sought to increase their physical wellbeing by travelling to and spending time in salubrious locations, and by establishing healthy daily routines. This regime was based around six ‘non-naturals’ which comprised air; food and drink; sleep and wakefulness; exercise and rest; evacuation and repletion; and the passions of the mind. Eighteenth-century medical thought asserted that balancing the non-naturals through health (or hygiene) regimes constructed around routines of diet, exercise, regular evacuations (via purges, vomits, ‘sweats’ and blood lettings) and healthy locations would enable the attainment of a perfect state of bodily health. Within this context, physical exercise and sporting pastimes were deemed *medicina gymnastica*: health-giving exercises that were widely advocated as an important component in maintaining health.⁵ Historians of medicine have long understood that curative travel to spa towns and other salubrious locations played an important part in eighteenth-century medical practice.⁶ Yet travel was also a preventative medical practice closely associated with youth. Through this, the Grand Tour was intended to enable elite men to establish a foundation of good health to last a lifetime, and to establish a disciplined, well-balanced daily routine that would endure throughout adulthood.

Exercise also needs to be considered in light of other eighteenth-century ‘cultures of movement’.⁷ A wide variety of physical pursuits, sports and play were undertaken by a broad spectrum of British society and supported by an increasingly professionalized industry of venues, trainers and equipment. Elite men, for example, would regularly have the opportunity to dance, ride, hunt, shoot, take part in fencing, boxing and other combative sports, alongside cricket and tennis matches and numerous other ball games.⁸

⁵ See, e.g., A. Emch-Deriaz, ‘The non-naturals made easy’, in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650–1850*, ed. R. Porter (London, 1992), pp. 134–59; R. Batchelor, ‘Thinking about the gym: Greek ideals, Newtonian bodies and exercise in early eighteenth-century Britain’, *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxv (2012), 185–97.

⁶ See *Pathologies of Travel*, ed. R. Wrigley and G. Revill (Amsterdam, 2000); *Resorts and Ports: European Seaside Towns Since 1700*, ed. P. Borsay and J. K. Walton (Bristol, 2011); R. Bates, ‘The Petit Tour to Spa, 1763–87’, in *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven and S. Goldsmith (London, 2017), pp. 127–46.

⁷ For a discussion of this term, see R. von Mallinckrodt and A. Schattner, ‘Introduction’, in *Sports and Physical Exercise in Early Modern Culture: New Perspectives on the History of Sport and Motion*, ed. R. von Mallinckrodt and A. Schattner (London and New York, 2016), p. 6.

⁸ See, e.g., Von Mallinckrodt and Schattner, *Sports and Physical Exercise*, ed. S. Harrow; M. Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship* (University Park, Pa., 2017); J. Allen, *Swimming with Dr Johnson and Mrs Thrale: Sport, Health and Exercise in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2012); M. de Belin, *From*

Scholars beyond the realm of sports history have often been reluctant to consider how sport and exercise shaped masculine identity and culture, particularly as such pastimes were often castigated as boorish wastes of time that encouraged gentlemen to neglect their duties. Yet the widespread popularity of such pursuits strongly points to their importance in codes of eighteenth-century elite masculinity.⁹ In the 1720s alone most of the key aristocratic families had representatives who took part in large-scale hunts, while gentlemen received boxing lessons at the London academy of the champion pugilist, James Figg (established in 1719). In the same decade, Figg's pugilistic contest with Ned Sutton in 1727 attracted more than a thousand spectators, including Sir Robert Walpole, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift.¹⁰ On a visit to England in 1728, the Swiss traveller, César de Saussure, described how cricket – a sport requiring agility and skill – was played by everyone, 'the common people and also men of rank'.¹¹

This popularity was accompanied by a body of literature that celebrated sports, play and exertion as healthy, virtuous and even patriotic activities,¹² all embedded in the rationale and interests of the Grand Tour. Moreover, an examination of the way in which Grand Tour cultures of exercise, sport and travel were shaped by an honourable, military mentality towards dangers, and by pedagogical theories of wholesome hardship, further reveals how elite men and their families sought to embrace the transformative qualities of danger.

The Grand Tour as a health regime

It was a commonly held tenet of eighteenth-century medical theory that an individual's health was closely connected to his or her environment.¹³ Since

the Deer to the Fox: the Hunting Transition and the Landscape, 1600–1850 (Hatfield, 2013); E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven, Conn., 2007).

⁹ R. Holt, 'Historians and the history of sport', *Sport in History*, xxxiv (2014), 1–33, at p. 6. For criticisms of sport, see K. Downing, 'The gentleman boxer: boxing, manners, and masculinity in eighteenth-century England', *Men and Masculinities*, xii (2012), 328–52, at pp. 237–8; S. Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England: a Social and Political History* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1988), pp. 63–5.

¹⁰ S. Rees, *The Charlton Hunt: a History* (Chichester, 1998); Downing, 'The gentleman boxer', pp. 335–6.

¹¹ D. Underdown, *Start of Play: Cricket and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2001), pp. 15–16.

¹² See, e.g., P. Radford, 'The Olympic games in the long eighteenth century', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxv (2012), 161–84.

¹³ See V. Janković, *Confronting the Climate: British Airs and the Making of Environmental Medicine* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 2–3; J. Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago, Ill., 2007), ch. 5.

bad air (otherwise known as miasmas or mal'aria) was thought to spread sickness, good air was essential for healthy living. Other factors, such as season, temperature, wind, soil fertility, and proximity to large bodies of water, also influenced health. A dry, temperate and brisk climate that was free from excessive heat, unhealthy exhalations from the earth and undue humidity was commonly deemed the best combination. This much was agreed on; however, in their detail climate theories were often fragmented, illogical, biased and contradictory.¹⁴ Public and private discussions contained a bewildering array of opinions on the respective healthiness of various locations and geographies.¹⁵ Nevertheless, even temporary residence in a healthy climate was thought to improve physical wellbeing. Travelling to healthy locations and spa towns was therefore a common prescription for those who could afford such excursions.

Equally, though, travel exposed individuals to unhealthy locations and climates. Grand Tourists and their families were keenly aware of this dichotomy. In 1779, during his stay in Rome, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke, contracted a severe case of malaria.¹⁶ He and members of his wider circle were acutely conscious that, as this disease was closely associated with Rome's environs, travel was in part responsible for his illness. Yet, it was also hoped that travel would bring him back to full health. This proved to be the case. On the first day of journeying from Rome, Yorke claimed, 'I begin already to feel the salutary effects' of the journey.¹⁷ Travel allowed him to 'pick up my quota of flesh & strength in the excellent air of Switzerland', and to receive expert consultation and treatment in Spa.¹⁸

Grand Tourists used travel reactively, as a cure for ill health, and proactively, as a spur to an improved physical state. In 1726, the Anglo-Irish nobleman, Sir John Perceval, 1st earl of Egmont, congratulated his nephew, Edward Southwell, on his ability 'to travell [*sic*] advantageously'. To Egmont, advantageous travel led to good health. He believed that because Southwell's Grand Tour had involved 'so many Countrys [*sic*] and in so short a time', it must have 'laid in a Stock of health for fourscore years'.¹⁹ Travelling 'advantageously' also meant establishing and maintaining

¹⁴ C. Brant, 'Climates of gender', in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844*, ed. A. Gilroy (Manchester, 2000), pp. 129-30.

¹⁵ For examples of this, see J. C. Riley, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (New York, 1987).

¹⁶ See WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/33, Thomas Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert, 15 Sept. 1779; Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 331, Yorke, Rome, to Hardwicke, 24 March 1779.

¹⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's Grand Tour journal, 14 Apr. 1779.

¹⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, Yorke's Grand Tour journal, 14 Apr. 1779.

¹⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 47031, fo. 202v, Sir John Perceval, 1st earl of Egmont, Charlton to Edward Southwell, 14 Sept. 1726. My thanks to Richard Ansell for sharing this with me.

a regular daily routine in a healthy location. This belief was shaped by the established medical theory that the body was a system in which humoral matter needed to be kept in balance.²⁰

Imbalances were caused by a misapplication of the external, environmental, factors – the non-naturals – which, if correctly applied, could forestall disease entirely and enable a permanent state of health.²¹ This ‘conservative’, rather than ‘restorative’, approach to medicine and health was popular among eighteenth-century medical authorities. Achille Le Bègue de Presle, Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s physician, declared in *Le Conservateur de la Santé* (1763) that medicine was ‘the art of maintaining man’s good health’.²² He, Samuel-Auguste Tissot, George Cheyne and numerous other prominent physicians sought to achieve this by advising their patients and publishing health regimes organized around the classic grid of non-naturals. These typically included keeping regular hours of rising and sleeping, alongside a daily routine that balanced gainful, rational employment of the mind with play, rest and exercise. Maintaining a good diet was important, as was fasting and purging through emetics and sweating. Attention was also given to finding a healthy environment, avoiding excess and attending to one’s spiritual needs.²³

Considerable evidence exists that patients were encouraged to take up these practices, but it remains – as Michael Stolberg noted – much harder to ascertain whether they followed this advice.²⁴ Establishing regimes like these was not easy. Wealth, leisure and education were all essential prerequisites in this quest for physical wellbeing.²⁵ Grand Tourists had these in abundance, and the efforts made by tutors and families to encourage young men to establish daily regimes indicates that the Tour was recognized by elite families as a privileged opportunity to establish disciplined, healthy habits that would last into adult life. Studying these regimes therefore sheds light on ways in which some eighteenth-century precepts became practice.

²⁰ M. 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. C. Osborne and W. De Blécourt (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 90–1, 97.

²¹ E.g., L. J. Rather, ‘The “six things non-natural”: a note on the origins and fate of a doctrine and a phrase’, *Clio Medica*, iii (1968), 337–47.

²² Quoted in W. Coleman, ‘Health and hygiene in the Encyclopédie: a medical doctrine for the bourgeoisie’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, xxix (1974), 339–421, at p. 401.

²³ Coleman, ‘Health and hygiene’, pp. 412–1; Emch-Deriaz, ‘The non-naturals made easy’, pp. 134–59.

²⁴ M. Stolberg, *Experiencing Illness and the Sick Body in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 21–3, 44.

²⁵ Coleman, ‘Health and hygiene’, p. 399.

Letters from Grand Tourists, parents and tutors stressed regularity and the importance of maintaining set hours of rising, studying, eating, exercising and socializing. Sometimes these timetables were also imposed by academies attended by Tourists. In 1739, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, described how 'We begin riding at 8 o'clock in the morning, dance at 10, fence at 11, all dine together at half an hour after 12', followed by an afternoon of study at the Accademia Reale.²⁶ In other cases, timetables were imposed by parents, tutors or the Tourists themselves. In 1776, the parents of George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, created a particularly overambitious two-week timetable for their son while he stayed in Strasbourg. In this, Herbert was faced with a packed day that lasted from 7am until 6pm, in which the non-naturals were well-represented (Figure 2.2). Sleep and watch, motion and rest, evacuation and repletion, were all accounted for in a rigid daily structure that attempted to dictate when Herbert woke, studied, exercised, ate and rested. An accompanying memorandum sought to deal with nutrition and diet: 'Butter, & Greasy Trash, thick Cream &c disagree cruelly with Ld: Herbert', whereas he should break his morning fast with 'a cup of cold Camomile tea early every morning'.²⁷ Careful thought was given to attaining the correct balance between exercise, temperature, air, rest and nutrition. 'All bodily Exercises' should be in the morning and never after dinner. When playing tennis, Herbert was to wear 'Flannel Socks' and change 'every thing of dress' before leaving the court. Exercise should always be followed by rest, and by taking a carriage or chair home.²⁸

Other Tourists attempted to balance the non-naturals in completely different ways, as John Holroyd's 1763 description of his weekly routine in Lausanne shows:

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, from thence to my Chamber, which I never quit during the Whole morning except for the Riding House, We dine about a quarter before two o'clock, We sit a very short time after dinner, then to the Abovementioned Club, 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

²⁶ Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9th earl of Lincoln, Turin, to duke of Newcastle, 25 Nov. 1739, in *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima (Montreal, 1975), p. 230.

²⁷ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/278, 'Instructions', 1776.

²⁸ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/278, 'Instructions', 1776.

necessary while the days are short) for the sake of exercise & travel up & down the Hills or along the side of the Lake.²⁹

Holroyd's regime started by stimulating the internal and external workings of the body with elements of hydrotherapy, followed by a day that moved from studying in isolation, dining, exercise and socializing. These were all deemed important in balancing the passions of the mind.

Tourists' regimes allocated significant amounts of time, often three to four hours per day, to physical exercise. Between riding, fencing, dancing, tennis, parade and shooting, Herbert was expected to spend twelve of his forty-three timetabled hours (nearly 30 per cent of his week) in physical pursuits. Lincoln's timetable for the Accademia Reale similarly demanded four uninterrupted hours of daily exercise each morning. Between 1726 and 1728, William Bentinck, the Anglo-Dutch 1st Count Bentinck, undertook an extensive Grand Tour planned by his guardian, the Dutch nobleman and diplomat, Unico Wilhelm, Comte de Wassanaer. As part of this, he attended academies in Lunéville and Geneva where he often spent two or three hours riding in a ménage each day.³⁰ Timetabled physical exercises were typically described as 'riding, fencing, and dancing'. However, this probably involved a much wider range of activity. Advertisements for the Accademia Reale dating from 1678 show that this general description also incorporated vaulting, leaping, wrestling and running.³¹ Lincoln, for example, was familiar enough with gymnastic exercises to take part in a leaping competition, despite only ever describing his exercise regime at the Accademia Reale as involving 'riding, fencing and dancing'. These regimes resulted in an observable improvement. During his stay at the academy in Lunéville in 1726, Bentinck boasted to the dowager countess of Portland that 'I am at least three good inches slenderer than you saw me'.³² Half a century on, David Stevenson – tutor to Viscount Lewisham – commented in 1775 and 1776 on how 'the effects' of Lewisham's exercises in Paris and Tours became 'more visible every Day' as the young man's figure improved.³³

²⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 136, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker, 19 Dec. 1763.

³⁰ Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, William Bentinck, 1st Count Bentinck, Geneva, to Elizabeth Bentinck, countess dowager of Portland, 2 Jan. 1727.

³¹ Quoted in P. Bianchi, 'Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel settecento', in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI–XIX)*, ed. M. Bellabarba and J. P. Niederkorn (Berlin, 2010), pp. 140–1.

³² Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, Bentinck, Lunéville, to Lady Portland, 5 Aug. 1726.

³³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, David Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth, 4 Jan. 1776; D(W)1778/V/885, Stevenson, Tours, to Dartmouth, 20 Sept. 1775; D(W)1778/V/886,

Where these regimes were performed was as important as what they entailed. Grand Tourists' opinions on Europe's un/healthiest locations were every bit as individual and contradictory as the contemporary published accounts, but there were two relatively constant opinions. First, malaria was universally feared but also understood to be geographically bound to Rome and the surrounding Pontine Marshes, and temporally bound to the summer months of July, August and September. For the most part, Grand Tour itineraries were deliberately designed to avoid these locations during this three-month period.³⁴ Second, it was generally accepted that the northern European climate was more bracing and invigorating.³⁵ As a result, Tourists almost always established their health regimes when staying at destinations deemed as having such climates. Particular value was given to the 'wholesome' and 'excellent' 'Air of Health' found in the Alps.³⁶ Grand Tourists who established routines while staying in Swiss cities explicitly celebrated the dual effects of climate and regime on their bodies. During the 1760s, Edward Gibbon marvelled at his 'robust', uninterrupted good health when in Lausanne, while Holroyd claimed that 'The regularity of these Countries agree [*sic*] well with the Elegance of my Constitution'.³⁷

Good health could also potentially be achieved by the nature and speed of travel itself. The degree to which travel was a healthy practice provoked extensive contemporary discussion. Exposure to many changes in air quality, temperature and climate had the potential to unsettle a constitution; but it was also argued that a healthy body could be trained to withstand these changing environments. Naturally, it was suggested that travellers of a superior rank were more capable of achieving this.³⁸ Reflecting an awareness of both sides of this debate, Grand Tour correspondence shows how many Tourists and families worried about the detrimental effects of fast travel, especially during the summer heats. However, they also took pride in their ability to withstand extensive changes in climate without harm. Writing from Rome in December 1755, the tutor William Whitehead, reported that

Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth, 4 Jan. 1776.

³⁴ E.g., Joseph Spence, Florence, to Mrs Spence, 23 Aug. 1732, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 117.

³⁵ C. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 119, 123.

³⁶ E.g., Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 357, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke, 20 June 1779; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 359, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke, 7 July 1779.

³⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34883, fo. 63, Edward Gibbon, Lausanne, to Dorothea Gibbon née Patton, 17 Feb. 1764; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 151. Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker [undated, 1764].

³⁸ See F. A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, Md., 1995), p. 10.

his two travelling companions – George Bussy Villiers, later 4th earl of Jersey, and George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd earl of Harcourt – ‘thank God, continue mighty well through all their change of Climate & Seasons’.³⁹ David Stevenson was similarly pleased to report in the 1770s that Viscount Lewisham, remained ‘in high Health & in full Bloom’, and that ‘the poor Medicine Chest is entirely neglected’ no matter where they were.⁴⁰ Stevenson went further in anticipating that further travel, in the form of a ‘Tour of Swisse ... ought rather to increase than diminish’ Lewisham’s health.⁴¹ Both he and Lewisham firmly believed that the practice of travel, combined with the healthy Alpine air, was directly responsible for their excellent ‘health and spirits’.⁴²

By showing that these Grand Tourists withstood and even flourished in scenarios of extensive travel and change, tutors were deliberately drawing attention to their charges’ superior constitutions. Holroyd made a similar claim when he reluctantly decided to send his servant, William, back to England in 1764: William’s ‘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’.⁴³ In contrast, Holroyd claimed that he had been completely unaffected. Elite men it would appear were not just cosmopolitan in their identities and social networks; they also claimed that their bodies were designed for a cosmopolitan lifestyle.

Read together, Grand Tour letters, diaries and tutor reports often contain a narrative arc in which the Tourist’s health and fitness improved as he travelled. For example, when Lord Lincoln began his Grand Tour in 1739, he was the sole survivor of an illness that had resulted in the deaths of his parents and all his siblings.⁴⁴ Being himself ‘Not of so strong a make’ meant that Lincoln travelled in slower and shorter stages than some other Tourists.⁴⁵ During his time at the Accademia Reale, when he undertook a strict regime of vigorous daily exercise, Lincoln and his tutor Joseph Spence began to claim that his constitution was improving. At one stage, exasperated by his anxious uncle’s demands for updates, Lincoln exclaimed, ‘I am better in

³⁹ LMA, Acc. 510/248, William Whitehead, Rome, to Lord Jersey, 27 Dec. 1755.

⁴⁰ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth, 7 March 1776; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Rennes, to Dartmouth, 29 March 1776; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Paris, to Dartmouth, 18 May 1777; D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Brussels, to Dartmouth, 8 June 1776.

⁴¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 1 July 1777.

⁴² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

⁴³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 149, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Baker, 12 Apr. 1764.

⁴⁴ Klima, ‘Introduction’, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 8. See Herbert’s Grand Tour (both published and manuscript) for a similar narrative.

⁴⁵ Spence, Paris, to Mrs Spence, 23 Sept. 1739, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 221.

health at present than ever I have been, and have by no means any thoughts of dying abroad'.⁴⁶ These improvements continued as Lincoln and Spence travelled through the summer heats of Italy and southern France. By July 1741, they had arrived at Montpellier, where Lincoln's mother had previously brought her young family in a failed attempt to improve their health. Lincoln's condition was now a cause for celebration. Spence triumphantly, if poignantly, reflected that the family would 'be surprised to see how much stronger and better he is grown now'.⁴⁷

Physical prowess on the Grand Tour

Victorious declarations like these were more than just a commentary on Lincoln's health. Almost a year earlier, in September 1740, the young man had sent his uncle, the duke of Newcastle, a long, lively letter. This described the circumstances in which he had sprained his leg so badly that his and Spence's departure from Turin had been delayed for several months while he recuperated at the baths of Acqui. The accident had occurred during a private party at the country home of Domenico Rivarola, the marquis de Riverols, a self-exiled Corsican patriot who would go on to raise and command a Corsican regiment for Charles Emmanuel in 1744.⁴⁸ On the day in question, Lincoln had ridden twenty miles in the rain and arrived soaked to the skin. The count de la Trinité offered him a change of clothes, which Lincoln accepted even though they were too large and made him look 'a very ridiculous figure' at dinner. By responsibly putting his health first, Lincoln had compromised his masculine standing by becoming the butt of 'many jokes'. In the lull between dinner and the ball, the company was walking the gardens when Lincoln was presented with an opportunity to regain his honour: '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'.⁴⁹

Lincoln did not describe what the competition entailed but Christian Salzmann's *Gymnastics for Youth* (1800) details several likely options. Leaping competitions involved seeing who could jump the longest or highest unaided or with a staff. These feats could be measured by tapes, by gradually raising a post or rope, or by increasing the height from which the competitors jumped (see Figure 3.2).⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Lincoln, Acqui, to Newcastle, [?] Sept. 1740, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 315.

⁴⁷ Spence, Antibes, to Mrs Spence, 31 July 1741, Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 400.

⁴⁸ Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 309, n. 3.

⁴⁹ Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle, 2 Sept. 1740, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 306–8.

⁵⁰ C. G. Salzmann, *Gymnastics for Youth or a Practical Guide ... to healthful and amusing exercises for the use of schools ...* (London, 1800), ch. 11.



Figure 3.2. Anon, 'The leap in height with & without a pole' from Christian Salzmänn, *Gymnastics for Youth...* (London, 1800), p. 215.

Private Collection Look and Learn/Barbara Low Collection/Bridgeman Images.

At first, the competition went well:

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 victorious antagonist, exulting over me, reaped from me the immortal honour I had so very lately gained.⁵¹

Lincoln's letter was an explanation of his injury, but he used this account to make several other points. First, despite his misfortune, this was a statement on how his general health was greatly improved, to the extent that he could now ride twenty miles in the rain with no ill effect. Second, it provided Lincoln with an opportunity to boast about his physical prowess, which had enabled him to defeat one competitor and 'exert' himself against another. Both his health and physicality were the result of the time devoted to his daily regime and exercise at the Accademia Reale. Third, in detailing the honour of being invited to a private event, Lincoln revelled in his successful integration and easy interaction with Savoyard royalty and nobility. His jumping partner, the prince of Carignan, for example, was the nineteen-year-old Louis-Victor-Joseph of the royal house of Savoy and a prince of the blood.⁵²

Lincoln's account made it clear that his social success was partly indebted to his newly acquired physical prowess. He also hinted that his public display of skill had salvaged whatever damage had been done to his masculine and social standing during dinner. Furthermore, keenly aware of the 'military air' and culture of the Savoyard nobility, Lincoln deliberately used the language of chivalry and honour to describe his competition: 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 used jousting terms, like 'champion', 'enter the lists' and 'field of battle', to describe the second bout. Having been selected as a worthy adversary by the prince of Carignan – who in addition to his lineage was related to the famous military commander, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and was expected to become a central figure in Turin's military culture – Lincoln equated his athletic performance to a military one.

Lincoln's anecdote demonstrates how exercises and sports were an integral part of the Grand Tourist's leisure time. In Naples during the 1770s,

⁵¹ Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle, 2 Sept. 1740, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 307–8.

⁵² Spence, Turin, to Mrs Spence, 8 June 1740, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 288.



Figure 3.3. Pietro Fabris, 'Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st earl of Seaforth 1744–1781 at Home in Naples: Fencing Scene' (PG 2610, 1771).

National Galleries of Scotland/Bridgeman Images. Purchased 1985 with the assistance of the Art Fund.

for example, Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Fortrose, a Scottish expatriate in his early thirties, encouraged young British men to take part in his fencing competitions and daily practice of swimming in the bay.⁵³ At the start of the decade he commissioned the artist Pietro Fabris to produce a two-piece watercolour, 'Kenneth Mackenzie, 1st earl of Seaforth 1744–1781 at Home in Naples: Fencing Scene', which depicts Mackenzie (centre) overseeing one such competition in his room (see Figure 3.3).

Because of its importance within elite society and courtly ritual, hunting was a particularly common pastime taken up by Grand Tourists travelling between European courts. Tourists enthusiastically took the opportunity to hunt stag and boar, as these quarries were increasingly rare in Britain and offered a faster, more dangerous chase.⁵⁴ Hunting was also another way

⁵³ P. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta* (London, 1776), pp. 10–12, quoted in I. Jenkins and K. Sloan, 'Introduction', in *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection*, ed. I. Jenkins and K. Sloan (London, 1996), p. 15.

⁵⁴ For the decline of these quarries and further changes to eighteenth-century hunts, see M. de Belin, *From the Deer to the Fox: the Hunting Transition and the Landscape, 1600–1850*

of demonstrating one's physicality and earning the respect of one's fellow hunters. Almost exactly a year before his jumping competition, Lord Lincoln claimed he had 'gained much honour in stopping the hounds as they were running the wrong deer', during a long hunt with the Savoyard king.⁵⁵ In 1726, Bentinck outlined how his skill and enthusiasm for hunting placed him on a footing of intimacy with Prince Frederick of Hanover, claiming that the prince 'never goes out a hunting or any where hereabouts but he takes me along with him'.⁵⁶ Writing in February 1780, Herbert likewise claimed that he had won the admiration of 'the Piedmontese Spectators' by jumping his horse through the countryside surrounding Turin.⁵⁷

Lincoln, Bentinck and Herbert were from extremely well-connected families and therefore sought to impress the social circles to which they already belonged. In contrast, John Holroyd, whose family had far fewer connections, sometimes struggled to enter more exclusive society. On joining the French king's hunt in September 1763, Holroyd received a distinctly unwelcoming reception. However, his standing had changed noticeably by the end of the hunt. Holroyd and his fellow Englishmen's skills in horsemanship were such that they were able to keep up with the chase – despite the fact that Louis XVI changed horses three times while Holroyd and his compatriots had ridden the same borrowed mounts throughout. This feat of skill even attracted attention from the king who 'surveyed us English very much'.⁵⁸ Episodes like this suggest that sporting pastimes were as important to social success as balls, salons and formal court presentations, and that displays of physical prowess were an admired masculine quality.

Sport, athletic ability and physical skill were valued pastimes and qualities because they were believed to prepare elite men for war. 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'.⁵⁹ The ever-present elements of danger, discomfort and exertion were crucial to this. In 1733, one advocate of hunting described how it entailed noble, heroic and 'Manly Toils which laid the Foundation of Prowess and Glory in the

(Hatfield, 2013); J. Bevan, 'Agricultural change and the development of foxhunting in the eighteenth century', *Agricultural History Review*, lviii (2010), pp. 49–75.

⁵⁵ Lincoln, Turin, to Newcastle, 25 Nov. 1739, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 230.

⁵⁶ Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, Bentinck, Hanover, to Lady Portland, 15 Oct. 1726.

⁵⁷ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert's journal, 26 Feb. 1780.

⁵⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fos. 126–7, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker, 1 Sept. 1763.

⁵⁹ *Sporting Magazine*, Apr. 1802, p. 3, quoted in Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, p. 43.

ancient Heroes'. Seven decades on, and in a similar vein, John Aikin's 'Critical Essay on Sommersville's poem of the Chase' (1800) stated that war and the chase were the image of one another.⁶⁰ Hunting, it was argued, provided a challenging space in which to develop skills required of cavalry officers, such as horsemanship, as well as gaining an eye for the terrain and overcoming fear.⁶¹ Similarly, if more controversially, boxing was believed to prepare British men for war by combating luxury and effeminacy and infusing them with 'Strength, Hardiness, Courage and Honor'.⁶²

Conscious of this, Grand Tourists did not just use their descriptions of sport to lay claims to social success. They also played up the fact that they were undertaking physically dangerous activities which demanded courage and skill. Holroyd, for one, described how the added risks of wild boar hunting required sturdy boots as a 'defence against The Boar, The Trees, The Kick of an horse, or the falling of an Horse on the leg'. In the heat of a particular chase, he saw a man thrown and 'dragged by the leg a considerable way'.⁶³ Of course, the very fact that these harms did not befall Holroyd was another way of underscoring his superior skill.

That Tourists viewed sporting accomplishments as an acceptable substitute for (if not the equivalent to) proving one's honour in battle is revealed in a series of letters exchanged in the early 1740s between Lincoln's contemporaries – the members of the Common Room club. This club shared a competitive enthusiasm for a range of sports, including tennis, boxing, cricket, riding and fencing.⁶⁴ That enthusiasm also spilt over into examples of riotous behaviour and into military ambition, as is shown in comments relating to two club members, the 'German Counts', William, count of Schaumburg-Lippe, and his brother, George. When Benjamin Tate and his tutor, Thomas Dampier, were reunited with the counts at Leiden University in 1741, they wrote to club members still gathered at Geneva, that the counts were enjoying 'battleing it with ye Dutch Students

⁶⁰ Deuchar, *Sporting Art*, p. 54.

⁶¹ Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur*, pp. 94–5.

⁶² P. Radford, 'Lifting the spirits 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*, xii (2005), 249–70, at p. 264. See R. Ungar, 'The construction of the body politic and the politics of the body: boxing as battle ground for conservatives and radicals in late Georgian England', *Sport in History*, xxxi (2011), 363–80.

⁶³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 126–7, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker, 1 Sept. 1763; Add. MS. 61979 A, Holroyd's Diary, 11 July 1762.

⁶⁴ For examples of the group undertaking these activities, see Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22998, Richard Pococke's travel journals, 1 June 1741, 28 June 1741, 5 July 1741, 1 June 1741; NRO, WKC 7/46/12, Robert Price, Lyons, to the Bloods, 24 Oct. 1741; WKC 7/46/11, Price, Paris, to the Bloods, 9 Nov. 1741.

in ye Streets. They talk much of ye Irish valour in these Recontres', and that '[George] is to go soon [to] meet his Father in Gelderland, where His Regiment lies. The young Count [William] is at last destined for ye English Service: His Friends are soliciting for a Place in ye Army for Him'.⁶⁵

The rest of the Common Room greatly admired the counts' martial behaviour and the courageous, honourable virtues they embodied. In marked contrast was their low opinion of the actions and character of another Grand Tourist, Sir Bouchier Wrey, or – as he was dubbed by club members – 'Sir Butcher Trey'. The son of a Jacobite sympathizer, Wrey made his Grand Tour in 1737–40. As Henry French and Mark Rothery observed, the Common Room saw Wrey as 'a preposterous fantasist who subverted his claims to high honour by his thoroughly disreputable behaviour', compulsive boasting and lying.⁶⁶ Dismayed to find that Wrey was also at Leiden, Tate, Dampier and the counts became particularly angry when Sir Bouchier learned of Count William's earnest desire to have 'a Pair of Colours in the English services' and instantly claimed to have an equal amount of military courage.⁶⁷ This, they believed, dishonoured Count William's reputation for bravery and genuine commitment to the military.

Count William was not the only Common Room club member whose reputation Wrey sullied. Another was Sir Bouchier's old school-fellow, Robert Price, who had since become another greatly admired member. Unlike the counts, Price had no military ambition. Nevertheless, 'He loved manly exercises, and excelled in them all', and was one of the finest boxers and tennis players in England.⁶⁸ The club members were extremely proud of Price's athletic ability, which set the standard for their own physical performances. Writing from Leiden, Dampier reported that he and Count William had played a tennis match. Before the game, Count William had 'talk'd much of his being improved & hinted that he thought Himself a Match for Price'. Despite William's fighting talk, Dampier crowed 'he could not beat me, tho' I played with my Cloaths on all ye time & He not'.⁶⁹ When Dampier, Tate and the counts subsequently heard that Wrey was claiming to having beaten 'Price at School & knocked Him down twice' during a boxing match, they were incensed.⁷⁰ Viewing this as an insult similar to that

⁶⁵ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, Thomas Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods, 19 Apr. 1741.

⁶⁶ H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1830* (Oxford, 2012), p. 110.

⁶⁷ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, Thomas Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods, 19 Apr. 1741.

⁶⁸ W. Coxe, *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet...* (3 vols., London, 1811), i. 160.

⁶⁹ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods, 19 Apr. 1741.

⁷⁰ NRO, WKC 7/46/9, Dampier, Rotterdam, to the Bloods, 19 Apr. 1741.

suffered by Count William, club members expressed their disgust at Wrey's attempts to lay claim to a greater degree of physical prowess by dishonouring a man known for his athletic ability. The praise given to Count William's martial ambitions *and* to Robert Price's athleticism is evidence of how far both traits were valued by elite men.

Enduring hardship and the challenges of the road

Participation in active service, and especially in armed conflict, remained the clearest indication that an individual possessed the virtue of bravery. In his *Treatise of Military Discipline* (1727), Humphrey Bland observed that 'The military profession has in all Ages been esteemed the most Honourable from the Danger that attends it'.⁷¹ Writing mid century, Samuel Johnson asserted that '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'.⁷² Yet, for all the attention paid to those in combat, the attributes associated with soldiery were not the sole preserve of military men. The Common Room club's frustrations and the respect earned by Tourists during hunts, tennis matches and jumping competitions, for example, offer an intriguing insight into how demonstrations of physical prowess, courage and honour were valued *because* of their martial connotations, but in a manner that also prized them in non-military contexts.

Courage in the face of danger and hardship exerted sway as a fundamental testing point of masculinity in a wide range of scenarios. The famous Swiss Alpine explorer, Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, glamorized the manly attitude behind a willingness to embrace danger in his *Voyages dans les Alpes* (1779–96), in which he spoke admiringly 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'.⁷³ The late century English moralist Charles Moore, while disapproving of some of the 'causes and incitements to courage', similarly acknowledged that '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

⁷¹ H. Bland, *A Treatise of Military Discipline in which is Laid Down and Explained the Duty of the Officer and Soldier, Thro' the Several Branches of the Service* (London, 1727), p. 114.

⁷² J. Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. C. P. Chadsey and G. Ross (New York, 1945), pp. 449–50.

⁷³ H.-B. de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes...* (Neuchâtel, 1779–96), quoted in R. MacFarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: a History of a Fascination* (New York, 2003), p. 71.

effects of his prowess'.⁷⁴ For as long as the ideal of elite martial leadership carried weight with aristocratic and gentry men, the ability to confront and overcome hardship, danger and risk remained of central importance.

The eighteenth-century elite held a deeply ingrained belief that exposure to danger was transformative. It defined a person's nobility, conferred a special knowledge and status, and cultivated the virtues of courage, fortitude and endurance. This transformative danger did not have to be located in a battle or at the point of a sword. It could be encountered on the hunting field, during a jumping competition, or – as seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century educational theory consistently advocated – in many other forms of physical hardship and exercise. In 1622, Henry Peacham quoted the advice of Horace:

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.⁷⁵

A belief that children could be prepared for war and adult life through exposure to hardship, an outdoor life and 'dangers rife' was later endorsed by John Locke in his highly influential treatise, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693).⁷⁶ It was Locke's firm opinion that 'A Gentleman in any Age ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear Arms, and be a Soldier'. From the cradle, boys should be exposed to the open air, plain diets, hard beds, early mornings, thin shoes and clothes, and cold water.⁷⁷ These measures would, argued Locke, create the 'strong Constitution' and ability 'to endure Hardships: and Fatigue' that was a 'requisite ... to one that will make any Figure in the World'.⁷⁸ Furthermore, 'As the Strength of the Body lies chiefly in being able to endure Hardships, so also does that of the Mind'.⁷⁹ Boys needed to be 'harden'd against all Sufferings, especially of the Body, and have a tenderness only of Shame and for Reputation'. Achieving

⁷⁴ C. Moore, *A Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide, to which are added ... Two Treatises on Duelling and Gaming* (2 vols., London, 1790), ii. 262.

⁷⁵ H. Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman...* (London, 1622), p. 31.

⁷⁶ For discussions of Locke's influence, see S. Bygrave, *Uses of Education: Readings in Enlightenment in England* (Lewisburg, Pa., 2009), pp. 33–4, 98; A. Fletcher, *Growing up in England: the Experience of Childhood, 1600–1914* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2008), p. 80.

⁷⁷ J. Locke, *Some Thoughts on Education* (London, 1693), pp. 4–25.

⁷⁸ Locke, *Some Thoughts*, pp. 3, 8.

⁷⁹ Locke, *Some Thoughts*, pp. 32–3.

a 'brawniness and insensibility of Mind' and body was 'the best Armour' against the evils of the world.⁸⁰

Locke's plea for mental and physical robustness also dealt briefly with the importance of recreation. Dancing, riding the great horse, fencing and wrestling were 'of use to a Gentleman both in Peace and War', in contributing to a man's courage and martial ability.⁸¹ Importantly, Locke 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'.⁸² In Locke's understanding, elite men's greatest pleasures and diversions should be rooted in embracing hard and painful labour.

While Locke's wider thoughts on education had a profound influence on early eighteenth-century pedagogical texts, his focus on virtue of hardship and exercise appear to have received little attention. By the mid century, however, they had become a dominate theme. James Nelson's 1753 study of childrearing is one example of this renewed attention. For Nelson the bearing of hardship imparted a 'command of Countenance, a dauntless Air and ... 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'.⁸³ George Chapman, author of a *Treatise on Education* (1773), was another champion of the Lockean approach: '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 exercise, it enables the soul to exert its native strength'.⁸⁴ Chapman argued that young men should be 'almost continually in motion' and trained like the ancient Roman and Greek youths.⁸⁵ This would make their bodies 'more hardy and vigorous', and 'diffused a manly, independent, patriotic spirit', military virtue and public liberty.⁸⁶ Learning how to 'suffer pain with a manly spirit ... a lesson for which they may have occasion in the different stages of life', was

⁸⁰ Locke, *Some Thoughts*, pp. 127–8.

⁸¹ Locke, *Some Thoughts*, pp. 237–40.

⁸² Locke, *Some Thoughts*, pp. 245.

⁸³ J. Nelson, *An Essay on the Government of Children ... Health, Manners and Education* (London, 1753), pp. 215–6.

⁸⁴ G. Chapman, *A Treatise on Education: in two parts* (London, 1773), pp. 5, 6, 7, 40, 130–2.

⁸⁵ Chapman, *Treatise*, pp. 133, 135. See Bygrave, *Education*, ch. 3 for the complex debates over Sparta and educational ideals.

⁸⁶ Chapman, *Treatise*, pp. 11–17.

deemed vital for this goal.⁸⁷ Three decades on, William Barrow, a writer on boys' education, 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'.⁸⁸ As these few seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commentaries show, and the historian Elizabeth Foyster observed, physical hardship and exercise were enduringly important educational elements throughout the early modern period and into the nineteenth century. Working from the premise of *mens sana in corpore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body), eighteenth-century pedagogical thinkers regarded experience of hardship as an effective means of developing manly virtues of courage, fortitude, resolution, patriotic spirit and a self-control which in turn enabled them to command others.⁸⁹

What were the implications of such commentaries for the practice of travel on the Grand Tour? Crossing seas and rivers, traversing mountains and journeying on roads of every description, Grand Tourists used a wide variety of transportation. They took ships, water diligences and carriages of every sort, were carried in chairs and sledges, rode on horseback and on mules, and even went on foot. The roads across Europe cut through wide variations in terrain, weather and topographical hazards, of which the Alpine passes of Mont Cenis, Simplon and St Bernard were among the most challenging. Away from the dangers of an Alpine crossing, the privations experienced on the road ranged from carriage accidents to rough tracks, hard, flea-ridden beds and dirty inns. These travelling conditions provoked an endless litany of complaints from eighteenth-century travellers, including many Grand Tourists.⁹⁰ And yet they were also thought to play an important role in the Grand Tour's agenda of masculine formation. Collectively they created a prolonged encounter with hardships and hazards on a scale that could not be easily replicated elsewhere during a young man's lifetime.

⁸⁷ Chapman, *Treatise*, p. 134.

⁸⁸ W. Barrow, *An Essay on Education* (2 vols., London, 1802), ii. 162, quoted in M. Cohen, "'Manners" make the man: politeness, chivalry and the construction of masculinity, 1750–1830', *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2005), 312–29, at p. 324.

⁸⁹ E. Foyster, 'Boys will be boys? Manhood and aggression, 1660–1800', in *English Masculinities 1660–1800*, ed. T. Hitchcock and M. Cohen (London, 1999), pp. 153, 164. This culture ran alongside, and counter to, a growing emphasis on the physical and emotional comfort within an 18th-century domestic setting. See J. Stobart and C. Prytz, 'Comfort in English and Swedish country houses, c.1760–1820', *Social History*, xliii (2018), 234–58, for the latest literature on this.

⁹⁰ See J. Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992) for typical examples.

Pedagogical writers celebrated such adversity as an opportunity for physical and emotional development. In his *The Voyage of Italy* (1670) Richard Lassels claimed that privations:

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.*⁹¹

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 visage; that is, makes a bad *dinnar* go downe, and a bad *horse* go on'.⁹² Such views were echoed in Maximilien Misson's *A New Voyage to Italy* (1695). This was an account of the Grand Tour of Charles Butler, later earl of Arran, who travelled between 1678–8, with Misson as his tutor and Samuel Waring as a companion.⁹³ Misson reflected on their travelling conditions: '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'.⁹⁴ Yet Misson also maintained that 'with a good Stock of Health, Money, Chearfulness and Patience, we have surmounted these difficulties, even almost without taking notice of them'. 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, have easily overcome all those Obstacles'.⁹⁵ For Misson, 'Travelling is attended with *Pleasure* and *Profit*, but 'tis no less certain that these Advantages cannot be obtain'd without *Pain*'.⁹⁶

As Michèle Cohen has shown, seventeenth-century conduct literature clearly stated that the hardships of the Grand Tour produced men, not just

⁹¹ R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*... (Paris, 1670), preface, pp. 141–2.

⁹² Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, preface.

⁹³ R. Ansell, 'Reading and writing travels: Maximilien Misson, Samuel Waring and the afterlives of European voyages, c.1687–1714', *English Historical Review*, cxxxiii (2018), 1446–77.

⁹⁴ M. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy. With curious observations on several other countries: as Germany; Switzerland; Savoy; Geneva; Flanders, and Holland* (London, 1695), p. 144.

⁹⁵ Misson, *New Voyage to Italy*, pp. 144–5.

⁹⁶ Misson, *New Voyage to Italy*, p. 305.

gentlemen.⁹⁷ In contrast, this assertion, often drawn directly from travel experiences, was remarkably absent from subsequent eighteenth-century publications on travel and gentlemanly conduct. Commentators such as Joseph Addison or Thomas Nugent made no reference to the value of travel's adversities; and nor did this form part of Richard Hurd's reimagining of the 3rd earl of Shaftesbury's defence of the Tour in his *Dialogues on the Use of Foreign Travel* (1762).⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the letters and diaries of eighteenth-century Grand Tourists and their tutors show that elite families held tenaciously to an earlier understanding of the Tour's wholesome hardships. This commitment was evident in two main discourses. First, Tourists echoed Lassels and Locke in demonstrating that they took pleasure in hardship. These experiences, they insisted, resulted in 'mirth' and cheerfulness. As Helen Yallop has demonstrated in her study of eighteenth-century attitudes towards aging, cheerfulness has a distinct set of social and moral values. It conveyed notions of calm, freedom from passional turmoil, humanistic appreciation, civic virtue and closeness to God.⁹⁹ In this context, cheerfulness demonstrated that the soundness of mind and body remained uninterrupted by the demands of travelling and was representative of patience, stoutness and hardiness. This active embrace of privation and challenge was a dominant theme in William Bentinck's descriptions of the central European leg of his tour. Travelling between 1726 and 1728, Bentinck 'scribbled' a letter while 'hungry and cold' on the road between Dresden and Prague. In it, he described how he and his tutor, Moses Bernege, had 'walked about twelve mile a foot, having no mind to break our necks, or be drown'd', while travelling with a poorly mended carriage along bad roads surrounded by steep precipices. Yet Bentinck was far from downhearted and jauntily continued that:

This is the best country in the world to use one's self to hardness. Indeed in the towns, one meets with pretty good houses now and then, but in all the villages, one must lye upon straw, very often stinking, because there is no fresh to be had ... add to that bugs, and fleas, and the vermin that grows in the straw, and it will make a very pretty bed, but I have one suit of cloaths, which is condemned to me upon the road, which is already as dirty as it can be and in that I lye down and sleep as comfortable in a bed. In the beginning I did not like it a bit, but

⁹⁷ M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), p. 58.

⁹⁸ R. Hurd, *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel Considered as a Part of an English Gentleman's Education: between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke* (Dublin, 1764).

⁹⁹ H. Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New York, 2015), pp. 85–90.

now, I do not mind it; and the only comfort Mr Bernege and I have, is to laugh at one another; and his good humour with my aversion to melancholy supply the want of a great many things, which would be very disagreeable without.¹⁰⁰

Half a century on, Viscount Lewisham – described by his tutor as ‘one of the best Travellers I know’ – maintained a similar sense of cheerful pleasure in his letters home, written during the 1770s.¹⁰¹ While his brother William and tutor were laid low by seasickness during the Calais crossing, and unable to sleep in Pont St. Maxenne 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 scratching flea bites was a good form of exercise.¹⁰² Lewisham’s determination to show that these trials actually increased his overall enjoyment is particularly evident in a detailed account of his entry to Basle. Having given their places in the carriage to their servants, he and Stevenson were on horseback when they were caught in a ferocious thunderstorm several miles from the town. Alarmed, the pair took ‘the shelter of a couple of chevystices [crevasses]’ and ‘were completely wet through’: ‘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’.¹⁰³

Their bedraggled appearance – ‘wet, dirty, & dismal’ – may have entertained the crowds, but it did not please the landlord, who refused to serve them until an acquaintance luckily vouched for their status. Guiltily concluding that he had used three pages ‘very foolishly ... describing a very common event (simply that of being wet through!)’, Lewisham was evidently intensely pleased by an experience in which he simultaneously became both a questing knight – heroically returning to a town of cheering spectators – and a vagabond Odysseus.¹⁰⁴

Eighteenth-century Tourists’ second way of embracing the challenges of the road was to claim that these experiences enhanced men’s capacity to withstand and judge danger and discomfort. Lewisham’s contemporary, Philip Yorke, was at pains to describe the dangers of the ‘frightful’ route to the Baths of Leuk and over the Simplon Pass as he travelled through them in 1778 with his tutor Colonel Wettstein. On the Pass, ‘The road was so

¹⁰⁰ Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, Bentinck, Prague, to Lady Portland, 18 Jan. 1727.

¹⁰¹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Rennes, to Dartmouth, 29 March 1776.

¹⁰² SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Calais, to Dartmouth, 20 July 1775; D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth, 31 July 1775; D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Tours, to Dartmouth, 26 Aug. 1775.

¹⁰³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth, 8 Aug. 1777.

¹⁰⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth, 8 Aug. 1777.

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'.¹⁰⁵ Their guide told them 'with all the sangfroid possible', that he had been thrown two hundred yards down a precipice into a torrent. When his tutor's horse 'began to kick & run', he [Wettstein] 'was obliged to throw himself off the side of the rock to avoid falling into the river'.¹⁰⁶ Yet Yorke then proceeded to state that the road was not actually that 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'.¹⁰⁷

Safety lay in the ability to control one's body and mind. Those incapable of this had to ensure their safety by surrendering control to others. Yorke's later entries show how his travel 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'.¹⁰⁸ The more Yorke travelled, the more he became inured to danger. The tutor William Coxe echoed Yorke's sentiments almost exactly in his published account of Herbert's Grand Tour, also during the 1770s. Coxe wrote dismissively of those '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'.¹⁰⁹

After travelling through Switzerland and on Baltic routes with Herbert in the late 1770s, Coxe accompanied another Tourist, Samuel Whitbread, in 1784. On his return from this second tour, Coxe set out how repeated exposure to physical hazard had shifted his perception of what was, and was not, dangerous. In Coxe's words:

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 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

¹⁰⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Yorke's journal, 24–27 July 1778.

¹⁰⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Yorke's journal, 26 July 1778.

¹⁰⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Yorke's journal, 24 July 1778.

¹⁰⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Yorke's journal, 14 May 1779.

¹⁰⁹ W. Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland: in a Series of Letters to William Melmoth* (3 vols., London, 1789), i. 372.

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.¹¹⁰

Coxe's double play on 'accurate composition' took a humorous punt at the unreliable narrations of travellers 'who are unused to mountainous countries, or whose heads are apt to turn giddy'.¹¹¹ But even as he recorded his ability to ride and read simultaneously, he sought to remind readers that the Alps remained hazardous terrain: what had changed, ultimately, was Coxe's capacity to cope with these hazards. In his *Travels into Poland* – Coxe's description of the Baltic and Scandinavian legs of Herbert's Tour – he described how it was not just Alpine precipices that had inured him to danger, but their sleeping arrangements as well:

We frequently observed sparks to drop from [the lamps] upon the straw which was prepared for our beds ... 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.¹¹²

This concept of 'supineness', an indolent state of inertia, is also present in Bentinck and Lewisham's accounts of flea-invested straw beds and Yorke's description of the Alpine passes. But in each case supineness was balanced against robust activity. Elite young men and tutors alike sought to present themselves as travellers who, by accommodating themselves to so-called minor dangers and hardships, proved their ability to confront much greater trials.

The performances and narratives of cheerful resilience went well beyond establishing themselves as good travellers, and instead made a bid to claim a very particular type of hardy masculine identity. For example, Herbert and his tutors, Coxe and Floyd, were extremely proud of their unusual Grand Tour route which explored the harsh terrains of the Alps and the fringes of the Arctic wastes. These collective experiences of hardship in travel – tested and affirmed within each other's presence – gave the three

¹¹⁰ Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, iii. 337.

¹¹¹ Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, iii. 313, 372, 374.

¹¹² W. Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark* (3 vols., Dublin, 1784), i. 278–9.

men a sense of masculine superiority over those who endured fewer physical challenges and privations. 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'. These lesser men were juxtaposed against 'my Coxe [who] is certainly nothing less than a hardy, stout, Man' and even his manservant, Laurent, 'a most excellent Fellow on these Expeditions'.¹¹³ On his return home to rejoin his regiment, Captain John Floyd also mocked those who reacted with dismay to a severe British winter frost. Exclaiming that the temperature never even reached minus eight degrees, he remembered how 'at St: Petersburg we had [minus] 28 – You may laugh if You please, but I find myself infinitely the better for that northern Jaunt'.¹¹⁴

In their narratives surrounding sports, physical exertion and the practice of travel, Tourists and tutors alike outlined how the Grand Tour exposed them to challenging terrains and activities from which they expanded their capacity for hardship and danger. Through this, they conveyed a deep-seated understanding that danger and discomfort were positive attributes in masculine formation, and a desire to identify with a hardy male performance that would be appreciated and praised by others. Despite this, the construction and expression of a successful elite masculinity depended on more than forbearance and physical prowess. Any one of the multiple masculinities that made up the elite whole had to be kept in check and motivated by the higher ideals of emulative male conduct. Any elite man whose participation in sports became unregulated, for example, was subject to reproach.¹¹⁵ The tipping point between acceptable and unacceptable physical pastimes revolved around the issue of responsibility and duty: did these activities, trials and dangers, as pleasurable as they might be, prepare and aid elite men in carrying out their aristocratic roles? Returning to the writings of the Common Room club provides one further case study of how this question was dealt with between friends.

Robert Price and his fellow Common Room club member, William Windham, both died in 1761, at the relatively young age of forty-four. Their deaths prompted another club member, Richard Aldworth Neville, to reflect with deep affection on the lives of his friends. These reflections

¹¹³ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert's Grand Tour journal, 1 Dec. 1779.

¹¹⁴ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/28, John Floyd, Stamford, to Herbert, 20 Jan. 1780.

¹¹⁵ See, e.g., the frequent association made by Grand Tourists between King Ferdinand IV of Naples's obsessive love of hunting and his complete neglect of kingship. K. Sloan, "'Observations on the Kingdom of Naples": William Hamilton's diplomatic career', in Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, p. 30.

were subsequently published in William Coxe's study of Windham's tutor, Benjamin Stillingfleet. Aldworth Neville began by acknowledging both men's love of athleticism and sports, but reached completely different conclusions on whether this was a beneficial pastime. Price's athleticism was praised without reservation. This was not because Price was the most talented, but because he turned that ability 'as he did every other, to good purposes, and good purposes only' by, for example, only using his skill in boxing 'to correct impertinence'. Moreover, Price's love of sport was subservient to his wider sense of duty. When Price's father had confessed his fears that tennis might lead his son into bad company, Price immediately gave up the sport in an act of filial devotion.¹¹⁶

For Aldworth Neville, Price's most admirable quality was that he 'never failed in any one essential duty of father, husband, son, friend, or neighbour'.¹¹⁷ Sporting pastimes were not allowed to hinder that quality. In contrast, he wrote far more censoriously about William Windham's sporting talents. Though a man of 'bright imagination, and extensive knowledge', Windham's 'utter abhorrence of restraint' tragically meant that neither his mind nor his athleticism was applied to any 'good purpose'. Instead, his pleasure in sport led to disreputable company and wasted years. Fortunately, Windham was redeemed in later life by his involvement in the New Militia movement. Indeed, such was his dedication that Windham was 'pointed out as the man who by his pen, and his example, had most contributed to carry it into perfection'.¹¹⁸ The militia had, in his friend's opinion, finally channelled Windham's abilities in an appropriate direction: the service of his country.

No matter how enjoyable, any physical activity on the Grand Tour had to fulfil the wider purpose of preparing elite young men for their adult responsibilities and duties. War, exercise, sport and travel itself were all harnessed towards this end. The next chapter explores the ways in which the natural phenomena of the Alpine glaciers and mountain passes, and the southern Italian volcano of Mount Vesuvius, were also approached by Grand Tourists as a novel way of attaining well-established goals. Eighteenth-century Grand Tourists certainly encountered these natural marvels as sites of the sublime and of scientific curiosity. But they also regarded and experienced these distinctive landscapes as another opportunity for formative encounters with dangers that complemented and went beyond their day-to-day opportunities to participate in sports or overcome the routine hardships of the road.

¹¹⁶ Coxe, *Literary Life*, i. 160.

¹¹⁷ Coxe, *Literary Life*, i. 161.

¹¹⁸ Coxe, *Literary Life*, i. 161.

4. Fire and ice: mountains, glaciers and volcanoes

When traversing Mount Cenis in August 1764, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, spied Rocciamelone, believed then to be one of the highest peaks in the Alps. In a letter to his aunt, Holroyd noted that ‘Some imagine Hannibal encouraged his Army by The View of Italy from thence’, though the young traveller was sceptical ‘that a good General would fatigue his Army by marching up such a mountain for the sake of a prospect’.¹ As recounted by Livy and Polybius, the exploits of Hannibal and the Carthaginian army during the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) were well known to Grand Tourists. Alongside reflecting on Hannibal’s passage through the Alps, they and other eighteenth-century travellers commented frequently on the Carthaginians’ famous victories against the Roman Republic as they journeyed through the Italian landscape.²

Eighteenth-century tourists were equally interested in Hannibal’s failures. Unable to bring an increasingly wary Roman army to battle, Hannibal had been forced to make his winter headquarters in Capua, a city sixteen miles north of Naples. Here, Livy alleged, he met his downfall not through violence, but luxury and indolence. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers were fascinated by the role played by Capua and the fertile Italian south in the Carthaginian general’s decline. In 1617, Fynes Moryson described ‘The Capuan delights’ as a world-renowned ‘earthly Paradise’ famous for ‘corrupting the Army of *Hanniball*’.³ Just over fifty years later, in 1670, Richard

¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 154, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Genoa, to Mrs Baker, 13 Aug. 1764.

² They were particularly interested to see where the battle of Lake Trasimene had been fought. See, e.g., St Andrews University Library Special Collections, MS. 38271/19/11, Walter Bowman, Florence, to Arthur Balfour, 7 Apr. 1733; Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19941, fo. 35, Edward Thomas, Terni to Jeremiah Milles, 3 March 1751; J. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy; with Anecdotes Relating to some Eminent Characters* (2 vols., London, 1781), i. 459; J. Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy, in the Years 1802 and 1803* (2nd edn., London, 1816), p. 82. My sincere thanks to Rosemary Sweet for generously sharing these with me.

³ F. Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Years Travel Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland* (3 vols., London, 1617), iii. 106, quoted in C. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999), p. 61.

Lassels elaborated that ‘It was this country which with its delights, broke *Hannibals* army; which neither *snow could coole, nor Alpes stop, nor Romans Vanquish*’.⁴ By the eighteenth century, travellers talked less about the fall of Hannibal’s army, and focused more directly on the general himself. In 1726, for example, John Breval described how Hannibal had become ‘infected with the vice of the country’ and ‘gave himself up to ease and pleasure leading to his own downfall’.⁵ In 1744, Charles Thompson concurred: ‘the famous *Hannibal* wasted his Time, and debauched his Army’ at Capua. As a consequence of the general’s individual failings, ‘the *Romans* recover’d from the Consternation into which they had been thrown’ and ‘obliged him to abandon *Italy*’.⁶

For eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, Hannibal was both an exemplary figure of classical renown and a grim warning. He was a great general of antiquity and one of history’s foremost military strategists, yet he lost his identity, purpose and vigour when on the cusp of victory. Shaped by contemporary beliefs that climate and environment powerfully affected human temperament, identity and physical health, eighteenth-century commentators placed considerably emphasis on *where* Hannibal’s actions took place. The general endured and triumphed in the cold snowy heights of the Alps and fell in the luxurious richness of the Italian south. In ascribing Hannibal’s failures to the corruptive allure of luxury and an easeful climate, commentators linked the general to the persistent fear that undertaking a Grand Tour would result in the loss of one’s own identity through a prolonged exposure to negative foreign influences.⁷ Was it possible for elite young men to absorb the best of sophisticated, cosmopolitan Europe and the classical past, while also retaining their Britishness? A consideration of how Grand Tourists responded to the cautionary tale of Hannibal provides insight into how they also responded to the risk of losing their own identity during their travels abroad. As with Hannibal, the combination of place and performance – particularly how they performed in response to the topographies, climates and dangers of the Alpine mountains and glaciers and Vesuvius and the Italian south – was key.

As the most accessible active volcano in Europe, Vesuvius exercised an enormous draw upon travellers. An ascent of its flanks had been a fixture in

⁴ R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, part II (Paris, 1670), p. 268, quoted in Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, p. 61.

⁵ J. Breval, *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe Relating Chiefly to their History and Antiquities. Collected upon the Spot in Several Tours since 1723* (2 vols., London, 1738), i. 73.

⁶ C. Thompson, *The Travels of the Late Charles Thompson Esq. Containing his Observations on France, Italy, Turkey in Europe, the Holy Land, Arabia and Egypt* (3 vols., London, 1744), i. 187.

⁷ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, pp. 193–5.

travellers' itineraries of Naples since at least the late seventeenth century.⁸ In contrast, the mountains and glaciers of the Alps only came into vogue in the mid to late eighteenth century. During the 1760s and 1770s, Alpine touristic infrastructures rapidly developed.⁹ The first inn built at Chamonix, at the base of Mont Blanc, opened in 1764, with excursions to the glaciers costing three shillings. By 1780, the village had three inns catering for more than 1,500 visitors per annum.¹⁰ Eighteenth-century touristic engagement with these sites of natural phenomena is typically associated with the conceptual framework of the sublime and the subsequent rise of romantic travel culture. From late seventeenth-century translations of the Greek critic, Dionysius Longinus, to Edmund Burke's widely-read *Philosophical Enquiry* (1757) and the romantic writers of the early nineteenth century, Alpine landscapes and Mount Vesuvius were identified as a crucial source of the sublime.¹¹ The latter was an affective, transformative, irresistible glimpse of infinity that overwhelmed the mind, body and soul and largely defeated attempts to express the experience.¹² Crucially, the sublime was conceptualized as a distanced, physically safe encounter in which the 'eyes and ears [remained] the only inlet'.¹³ As Burke stated, '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'.¹⁴ This was, therefore, primarily a visual, aesthetic and philosophical encounter with landscape, taken in from carriages and viewing points. The presumption in much existing literature is that, in chasing the sublime, Grand Tourists did not cling to the rocks themselves.

Despite the need for physical safety, romantic travel literature emphasized that the sublime and its counterpart, beauty, could be dangerously destabilizing to the mind and the self. Crossing the Alps was a 'behavioural transgression' which, in moving across boundaries from

⁸ See C. Duffy, *The Landscapes of the Sublime 1700–1830: Classic Ground* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 68–9, 72, 86; D. M. Pyle, *Volcanoes: Encounters through the Ages* (Oxford, 2017), p. 63.

⁹ H. Berghoff and B. 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. H. Berghoff et al. (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 5; P. P. Bernard, *Rush to the Alps: the Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (Boulder, Col., 1978), pp. 14–17.

¹⁰ C. Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (New York, 1969), p. 197; R. MacFarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: a History of a Fascination* (New York, 2003), p. 117.

¹¹ Duffy, *Landscapes of the Sublime*, p. 73.

¹² A. Ashfield and P. de Bolla, *The Sublime: a Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 6–11; P. Shaw, *The Sublime* (London, 2006), pp. 1–3.

¹³ Ashfield and de Bolla, *The Sublime*, pp. 15, 100.

¹⁴ Ashfield and de Bolla, *The Sublime*, p. 14.

north to south, invited a disruptive encounter.¹⁵ Chloe Chard has mapped how late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century romantic travel writers increasingly embraced these narratives of transgression and destabilization in their travel writing and their engagement with the Alps and Vesuvius. Within this, she explored how Hannibal's crossing of the Alps was seen as an act of aspiration and self-affirmation. 'The Carthaginian's qualities of sublime aspiration' were tied to 'the sublimity of the landscape, which, in its vastness and wildness, tests and confirms this aspiration'.¹⁶ In contrast, the destabilizing effeminization that Hannibal experienced in the warm south warned of the 'perilous allurements to be encountered by the contemporary traveller in Italy'.¹⁷

This chapter offers a substantially different reading of how the pre-Romantic eighteenth-century Grand Tourists engaged with the Alps and Vesuvius, and how this informed their interpretation of Hannibal. Neither embracing nor passively fearing the destabilizing effeminization of the south, Tourists instead used their encounters with these climates and natural phenomena to further their own aims and agendas. These aims were much less preoccupied with the distant delights of the sublime than has previously been suggested, and rather more concerned with undertaking a set of practices that stemmed from an enduring Grand Tour tradition of hardy physicality in travel. By the time they reached Switzerland and the Alps, many Grand Tourists had already encountered multiple hardships and dangers on the roads, sports fields and battlefields of France, the Low Countries, the German principalities and Austria. Yet in the Alps they not only took the mountain roads, but often deliberately stepped off them and on to the mountains and glaciers themselves. In doing this, Tourists sought an experience of these locations that focused on a physical confrontation with the dangers these structures posed. This act of hardy, rational and controlled physicality was being performed in a climate viewed as emblematic of the 'north' and highly conducive to forming healthy, vigorous, and virtuous bodies and masculinities. Moreover, this hardy, strapping 'northern' physicality was maintained as Grand Tourists travelled on to the 'south' – again by embracing the hardships of Italian roads and, ultimately, by climbing Vesuvius. This was intended as a defiant act of displacement which demonstrated that, unlike Hannibal, elite eighteenth-century men could encounter, resist and overcome the effects of the luxurious south.

¹⁵ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, pp. 177–8. See also K. Hanley, 'Wordsworth's Grand Tour', in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775–1844*, ed. A. Gilroy (Manchester, 2000), pp. 71–92.

¹⁶ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, p. 195.

¹⁷ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, pp. 61, 79, 194.

By enduring and even flourishing in the harsh environs of the mountains, glaciers, *and* the heat and ash of Vesuvius, these young men sought to prove the fixed nature of their northern British identity.

Grand Tourists' representations of their engagement with the Alps and Vesuvius bore remarkable similarities. Accounts of both locations focused on the highly physical nature of the encounter and the strenuous exertion required. Grand Tourists claimed that their curiosity and courage impelled them to move ever closer to the heart of the danger, and they emphasized their ability to view these environs and their hazards with a rational, objective eye. In many ways, the Grand Tour's engagement with natural phenomena was closely associated with the eighteenth-century culture of enlightened scientific exploration and the period's nascent culture of mountaineering. Exploring the connections between these three cultures reveals how each was bound up with demonstrations of the ubiquitous elite masculine virtues of courage, honour, endurance and self-control in proximity to a series of uniquely challenging landscapes.

Going beyond the sublime

Grand Tourists were *au fait* with the theory and culture of the sublime, especially as the sublime experiences of the Alps and Vesuvius became an integral aspect of travel culture during the 1760s and 1770s.¹⁸ During these decades, Grand Tourists made confident, enthusiastic use of sublime terminology. Accounts of the 'wild', 'rough', 'romantick', 'magnificently horrid', and 'horribly majestic' Alpine scenery abounded.¹⁹ Even prior to Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* (1757), there is plentiful evidence that early eighteenth-century travellers were starting to view mountains in this way.²⁰ One of the richest earlier examples of this is Thomas Gray's 1739 account of the Grande Chartreuse and Mount Cenis, which anticipated Burke's concept of 'delightful horror' by nearly twenty years.²¹ Travelling with Horace Walpole and Henry Seymour Conway, Gray reflected that the road to the Grande Chartreuse offered the ideal sublime encounter as 'You have Death perpetually before your eyes, only so far removed, as to compose

¹⁸ See, e.g., Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*.

¹⁹ E.g., Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 61979 A, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield's Grand Tour journal, 19–21 July; Add. MS. 36259, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke's Grand Tour journal, 17–18 June 1778.

²⁰ See M. Hope Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959); K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (London, 1983), pp. 258–61.

²¹ E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757), pp. 52, 129.

the mind without frightening it'. In contrast, 'Mont Cenis ... carries the permission mountains have of being frightful rather too far; ... with too much danger to give one time to reflect upon their beauties'.²²

Gray's account is unusual for its full engagement with the complexities of the sublime's aesthetic and philosophic theory. The majority of Tour accounts of natural phenomena throughout the century were far less sophisticated. Whether gazing on the snowy Alps or ashy Vesuvius, Tourists typically focused on what they could *see*, rather than *feel*, and gave scant thought to the sublime's capacity for spiritual and philosophical elevation. Moreover, many of the Tourists examined in this book also rejected Gray's desire to keep danger and death 'removed', and instead sought much closer, physical encounters with nature.

One of the earliest examples of this entirely different engagement with the Alps took place almost concurrently with Walpole and Gray's experience of delightful horror. In June 1741, the latter's contemporaries and friends in the Common Room club undertook a six-day expedition to the glaciers of Savoy under the enthusiastic leadership of William Windham. Leaving Geneva on horseback, Windham, Robert Price, Richard Aldworth Neville, Thomas Hamilton, 7th earl of Haddington, his younger brother, George Hamilton Baillie, Windham's tutor Benjamin Stillingfleet, a former tutor Walter Chetwynd and Richard Pococke – an Anglican clergyman, antiquarian and explorer, recently returned from the Levant – followed the River Arve via the Maule and Cluse to the village of Chamonix. From there, they examined the end of what is now called the Mer de Glace glacier. The following day, they climbed the Montanvers (height: 6,889 feet, 3,444 feet above Chamonix and 492 feet above the ice). Climbing this mountain, which was much higher than the glacier and ran right alongside it, enabled them to scramble down directly onto the ice itself. Begun at noon and completed just before sunset, the expedition took about eight hours. On their return to Geneva, they later spent five hours climbing the Maule.

Early descriptions of this expedition were given in Pococke's travel diary and a letter from Windham to the French miniaturist, Jacques-Antoine Arlaud.²³ Manuscript copies of Windham's account were circulated in Geneva, Rouen and Paris. A printed version appeared first in French in the *Journal Helvétique* in 1743, and then a year later as the anonymous first half of an English pamphlet submitted to the Royal Society as *An Account of the Glacieres or Ice Alps in Savoy*.²⁴ The second part of the pamphlet was written

²² Thomas Gray, Turin, to Richard West, 16 Nov. 1739, in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Jackson Toynbee, Whibley and Starr, pp. 128–9.

²³ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22998, Richard Pococke's travel journals, 30 June–1 July 1741.

²⁴ P. Martel [and W. Windham], *An Account of the Glacieres or Ice Alps in Savoy: in Two*

by Peter Martel, a Genevan instrument-maker, who had been inspired to lead a follow-up expedition in 1742 with Étienne Martin, a cutler; Étienne Chevalier, a goldsmith; M. Giraud-Duval, a wholesale grocer; and M. Roze, a botanist. The publication also included maps and illustrations by Martel and another Common Room club member, Robert Price.

In his account of the Common Room's expedition of June 1741, Windham offered a lacklustre engagement with sublime discourse. Rather than relay 'the Beauty and Variety of the Situations and Prospects', he preferred to frame his 'faithful Relation of the *Incidents* of the Journey' in relation to the precedents and discourses of scientific explorations and voyages.²⁵ Windham delighted in emphasizing that the Common Room had advanced deeper into the terrain than 'all the Travellers, who had been to the *Glacieres* hitherto, had been satisfied with'.²⁶ The most vivid part of his account documented how this decision to go further resulted in an increasingly dangerous route as they forged on to and up the Montenvers, and then down on to the glacier ice.

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.²⁷

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 firm footing; so that we went down partly falling, partly sliding on our Hands and Knees.²⁸

Letters (London, 1744). See J. S. Rowlinson, "Our common room in Geneva" and the early exploration of the Alps of Savoy', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, lii (1998), 221–35, at p. 225.

²⁵ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 1 (my italics).

²⁶ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 3–4.

²⁷ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 5–8.

²⁸ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 8–9.

Windham's narrative focused on the physical experience and strain of moving through a hostile terrain which had the ability to wreak 'terrible Havock' upon itself and the human body. Its treacherous ever-changing ice chasms, shifting earth, snow and avalanches created an environment that, in the words of Thomas Gray, pressed too much danger upon the individual. A misstep would result in death and it was only after they reached the relative safety of the summit that the view changed from one 'terrible enough to make most People's Heads turn' to one of 'Pleasure'.²⁹ Instead of reflecting on sublime infinity, Windham paid close attention to the physical and sensory state of the party's condition by referring to their speed, breathing rates, the sounds of ice cracking, and sensations of clinging, slipping, falling and sliding. He even attempted to recreate this physical experience for his readers through long sentences that, through clause after clause, built arduously like an ascent.³⁰

By the 1760s and 70s, expeditions like the Common Room's had become much more frequent among Grand Tourists with lengthy perambulations around the Alps now increasingly common. One such example is that of John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield who, prior to crossing Mount Cenis and reflecting on Hannibal's passing, undertook 'an expedition amongst the Alps' in October 1763 with Admiral Byng's nephew and Lord Palmerston. This involved climbing 'up a Precipice to a Hermits habitation in the side of a rocky Mountain'.³¹ Similar expeditions followed in the next decade. During a ten-month Alpine tour, between January and November 1776, the 'Triumvirate' – George Augustus Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke and his tutors, the Revd William Coxe and Captain John Floyd – visited St Gotthard, the glaciers of Grindelwald and Savoy, the Valais and St Maurice. They later, and more unusually, also undertook an ice trek during the Baltic leg of their Tour (autumn/winter 1778–9). In 1778, Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke also visited the Grindelwald glaciers and walked the mountains of Glaris.³² In summer 1777, Herbert and Yorke's contemporary, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth – along with his tutor, David Stevenson – likewise spent four months on a tour riding and walking through the Alps, and wrote detailed letters about this experience. These provided some perfunctory references to the sublime: '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

²⁹ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 8.

³⁰ My sincere thanks to Dr Amy Milka for her analysis of this passage.

³¹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 130–1, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker, 20 Oct. 1763.

³² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, Yorke's journal, June–July 1778.

will now try whether I can collect them sufficiently to make out a letter'.³³

This approach was swiftly abandoned in favour of detailing his party's more adventurous exploits. These descriptions ranged from vividly celebrating their encounter with hardships on the road to Basle (discussed in chapter 3) to relishing the hazardous elements of climbing several glaciers and mountains and dramatically telling his parents, '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'.³⁴

Lewisham's and Stevenson's 'most considerable expedition' was climbing 'the snowy tops of [the Canton of Appenzell's] highest mountain which with incredible difficulty and danger we have lately visited'.³⁵ This was probably Mount Säntis (8,209 feet), which is the highest peak in north-eastern Switzerland. They undertook the climb with a guide and several unnamed companions. Dealing swiftly with the six- or seven-hour ascent to the summit ('the highest point of our mountain above the region of snow') and the view ('a frightful distance below us'), Lewisham devoted most of his letter to the increasingly hazardous descent. Stumbling on 'a precipice of snow of near 200 foot ... nearly perpendicular', Lewisham fell and 'descended with incredible velocity upon my b----'. Fortunately, '[A]s the valley underneath was full of snow I was not the least hurt, and the method of conveyance was found so agreeable that my example was almost universally followed'. The party remained cheerful and unharmed, 'except that our breeches & the parts they cover were a little a la glace'.³⁶ The next stage was less entertaining; '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'.³⁷ After an anxious wait while the guide rediscovered the path, they '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'.³⁸ By referring back to the first precipice, Lewisham emphasized the proximity of death and underscored the need for considerable physical and emotional courage and endurance. Only upon their return to the

³³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, Constance, to William Legge, 2nd earl of Dartmouth, 8 Aug. 1777.

³⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

³⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth, 8 Aug. 1777.

³⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

³⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

³⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

safety of Appenzell, could they relax and bury ‘all our cares, dangers & fatigues into oblivion’.³⁹

During these expeditions, members of the Common Room, Lewisham and other eighteenth-century Grand Tourists were most likely ‘scrambling’ – a mountaineering term which straddles the gap between hill walking and climbing, and indicates the essential use of hands in the ascent or descent of a rock face or ridge. Scrambling is technically and physically less demanding than advanced rock climbing, yet the absence of ropes means that the danger involved should not be underestimated.⁴⁰ These activities were therefore the forerunners of later nineteenth- and twentieth-century practices of mountaineering, hillwalking and rambling. As one of the earliest documented Grand Tour commentaries on the physical dangers of Alpine climbing, the Common Room expedition of 1741 has often been discussed in light of the history of mountaineering. The expedition’s alleged ‘discovery’ of Chamonix and Mount Blanc has long been cited as having had a profound influence on late eighteenth-century Alpinist pioneers such as Horace-Bénédict de Saussure.⁴¹ More recently, Peter Hansen has dispelled this ‘foundation’ myth by placing their activities within the wider eighteenth-century context of local, state-led and scientific Alpine exploration.⁴² But it is also important to remember that these men were, first and foremost, Grand Tourists, and that their activities therefore need to be assessed within the context of the Tour’s cultures and purposes. Certainly, by the 1770s, accounts like Lewisham’s are notable primarily because they convey a strong sense of just how *unremarkable* these activities were deemed by eighteenth-century Tourists. They were a matter of great personal pride, but there is no indication that – unlike the near-contemporaneous activities of figures like de Saussure – they were considered pioneering feats worthy of renown. Instead, Lewisham’s narrative strongly indicates that they were taking part in a leisure activity that had its dangers and dramas but was now supported by an early tourist infrastructure.

Irrespective of whether Tourists travelled to Italy through France or via Germany and Austria, their routes meant that the first natural phenomenon they traversed was typically the Alpine range. However, their

³⁹ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

⁴⁰ S. Bainbridge, ‘Writing from the perilous ridge: romanticism and the invention of rock climbing’, *Romanticism*, xix (2013), 246–60, at pp. 246–7.

⁴¹ See, e.g., G. R. de Beer, *Early Travellers in Switzerland* (Oxford, 1949), p. 34; J. Ring, *How the English Made the Alps* (London, 2000), pp. 15, 18; R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: the Story of a House* (London, 1962), pp. 119–20.

⁴² P. H. Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man: Mountaineering After the Age of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013), pp. 33–8.

most challenging physical encounter was often with the southern Italian volcano, Mount Vesuvius. Close to the city of Naples, Vesuvius was the most accessible active volcano in Europe. Its height constantly changes due to eruptions, but it is around 4,000 feet. In the eighteenth century, the practice of climbing Vesuvius was partially eased by a well-oiled touristic infrastructure of carriages, mules, guides, porters and refreshments, and was undertaken by men and women of varying ages. Nevertheless, it remained one of the most physically strenuous activities performed by travellers while in Italy.⁴³ Even the most active Grand Tourists confessed it to be a challenge. William Bentinck, 1st Count Bentinck, an enthusiastically energetic huntsman, described the ascent as the ‘hardest work I ever did in my life’ when he climbed Vesuvius in April 1727.⁴⁴ Herbert was so hungry after he returned from his climb in August 1779, that he immediately sat down to an excellent dinner with Lady Hamilton before going home to ‘clean myself’.⁴⁵ For some, the physical challenges were too great or unappealing. Unsurprisingly, given their reactions to the Alps, Walpole and Gray were content to remain at a distance when visiting Naples in 1740.⁴⁶ In 1771, Philip Francis ‘climbed up a little of it with great Fatigue, but soon gave it up’.⁴⁷

Naples hosted an international range of residential and visiting artists who were also fascinated by the volcano. Seven of these are featured throughout this chapter. Two, Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–97) and John ‘Warwick’ Smith (1749–1831), visited Naples and Vesuvius as part of their artistic training. Wright travelled to Italy in 1773–5 as an established artist. His numerous, highly popular depictions of Vesuvius explored the themes of light, the sublime and landscape on a grand scale.⁴⁸ Smith, meanwhile, was a talented watercolourist under the patronage of George Greville, 2nd earl of Warwick. He climbed and sketched Vesuvius numerous times during his Italian training between 1776 and 1781.⁴⁹ Other artists were established

⁴³ Duffy, *Landscapes*, pp. 86–7.

⁴⁴ Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, William Bentinck, 1st Count Bentinck, Naples, to Elizabeth Bentinck, countess dowager of Portland, 28 Apr. 1727.

⁴⁵ ‘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, 1939), pp. 246–7.

⁴⁶ Gray, Naples, to Mrs Gray, 14 June 1740 in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Jackson Toynbee, Whibley and Starr, p. 164

⁴⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 40759, Sir Philip Francis’s travel journal, 12 Aug. 1772.

⁴⁸ J. Egerton, ‘Joseph Wright of Derby’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30044>> [accessed 15 March 2019].

⁴⁹ S. Fenwick, ‘John Smith’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25851>> [accessed 15 March 2019]; J. Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1997), p. 869.



Figure 4.1. Joseph Wright of Derby, 'Vesuvius from Portici' (97.29, c.1774–6).

Courtesy of the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California. Purchased with funds from the Frances Crandall Dyke Bequest.



Figure 4.2. Michael Wutky, 'Eruption of Vesuvius, seen across the Gulf of Naples' (GG-742, c.1790/1800).

By permission of Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien/The Paintings Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.

Fire and ice: mountains, glaciers and volcanoes



Figure 4.3. Pierre-Jacques Volaire, 'An Eruption of Vesuvius by Moonlight' (CVCSC:0259.S, 1774).

By permission of Compton Verney, Warwickshire, UK and Bridgeman Images.



Figure 4.4. Pierre-Jacques Volaire, 'Vesuvius Erupting at Night' (CVCSC:0343.S, 1771).

By permission of Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.



Figure 4.5. Jakob Philipp Hackert, 'An Eruption of Vesuvius in 1774,' (Neg. Nr. M10111, c.1774-5).

By permission of Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

Figure 4.6. Detail of Jakob Philipp Hackert, 'An Eruption of Vesuvius in 1774' (Neg. Nr. M10111, c.1774-5).

By permission of Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.





Figure 4.7. Michael Wutky, 'The Summit of Vesuvius Erupting' (GG-390, c.1790/1800).

By permission of Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien/The Paintings Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.



Figure 4.8. John 'Warwick' Smith, 'from Album of Views in Italy, [24] Crater [of Vesuvius]' (T05846, 1778).

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Figure 4.9. Henry Tresham, 'The Ascent of Vesuvius, 1785–91' (B1977.14.6296, 1785–91).

Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.



Figure 4.10. Pietro Fabris, 'Interior view of Crater of Mount Vesuvius ... plate IX', from William Hamilton, *Campi Phlegraei* (Naples, 1776).

By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

members of the Neapolitan international community. The French landscape painter, Pierre-Jacques Volaire (1729–c.1792), for example, was based in Naples from the 1760s onwards. His prolific depictions of Vesuvius featured an ‘exuberantly dramatic reportage’ style that derived from on-the-spot sketches and frequently featured Tourists themselves.⁵⁰ Volaire’s work was collected by a prestigious, international group of residents and visitors as popular mementos of their climbs.⁵¹ The Irish artist, Henry Tresham (1751–1814), was another who travelled to Italy in 1775 with the ambition of becoming a history painter. He found more success as an agent and dealer but nevertheless produced several watercolours of tourists and guides attaining the volcano’s summit.⁵²

Wright, Volaire, Smith and Tresham were, at times, ruefully conscious of their superficial knowledge of volcanology.⁵³ In contrast, other artists – including Pietro Fabris, Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807) and Michael Wutky (1739–c.1823) – were celebrated for their scientific accuracy. Fabris was probably Italian-born and lived in Naples from 1754 to 1804. His work was popular among the expatriate community (he was commissioned to produce Fortrose’s ‘At home in Naples’ scenes discussed in chapter 3) and he collaborated closely with Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy-extraordinary to the Spanish court in Naples and a renowned volcanologist. In their most substantial collaboration, Fabris produced fifty-four geologically accurate gouache drawings for Hamilton’s *Campi Phlegraei: Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies* (1776).⁵⁴ Hackert, a German court painter to King Ferdinand of Naples, and Wutky, an Austrian painter, also worked closely with Hamilton. Their geological studies of volcanoes in action often showed realistic groups of observers starkly outlined against an awesome natural spectacle.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Wilton and I. Bignamini (London, 1996), p. 145; N. Spinosa, ‘Landscape painting in Naples – from a portrait of the city to scenes of strong emotion’, in *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: Views of Naples from Baroque to Romanticism, 1631–1830*, ed. S. Cassani, trans. S. Cragie (Naples, 1990), p. 18.

⁵¹ P. Walch, ‘Foreign artists at Naples: 1750–1799’, *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxi (1979), p. 251.

⁵² J. Egerton, ‘Henry Tresham’, *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27709>> [accessed 15 March 2019]; Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 952–3.

⁵³ R. Hamblyn, ‘Private cabinets and popular geology: the British audiences for volcanoes in the eighteenth century’, in *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830*, ed. C. Chard and H. Langdon (New Haven, Conn., 1996), pp. 196–200; J. Egerton, *Wright of Derby* (London, 1990), p. 15.

⁵⁴ Hamblyn, ‘Private cabinets’, p. 182; E. Benezit et al., *Dictionary of Artists* (14 vols., Paris, 2006), v. 394–5.

⁵⁵ Wilton and Bignamini, *Lure of Italy*, p. 148; Spinosa, ‘Landscape painting’, p. 20; Benezit, *Dictionary*, vi. 991–2.

These depictions of Vesuvius and the frail bodies of its human observers were popular among the elite community. Alongside describing their encounters with the volcano in letters and diaries, they often commemorated them by commissioning, purchasing and displaying this artwork. Remarkable similarities are revealed when comparing such artwork with descriptions by Grand Tourists and their tutors of the ascent of Vesuvius. Both visual and textual accounts from across the century emphasized the volcano's perilous might and the ever-present threat to the human observer, no matter where they stood. They also paid close attention to the overwhelming physical and sensory nature of the climb while stressing that the ideal response to the volcano was that of the elite man who calmly observed and pressed nearer to the spectacle and danger.

Artistic depictions of Vesuvius used five distinct viewpoints which moved ever closer to the heart of the volcano. The first was a sublime, long-distance view of a violent, large-scale eruption, in which a barrier of vineyards, fields or the bay of Naples offered a sense of distance and tenuous safety (see Figures 4.1–4.2). The second viewpoint moved on to Vesuvius's lower slopes. Situated some eight miles from Naples, this was the threshold where visitors left their carriages to inspect the lower lava flows and to watch small-scale eruptions. Volaire, in particular, produced numerous iterations of this viewpoint (see front cover image and Figure 4.3). Set at night and showing Tourists watching the eruptions, these created a sense of hazard, heat and drama by contrasting livid red fire and lava, charcoal ash and steam, and dark night skies. A third viewpoint, also often shown at night, was of the ascent between the base and summit. Hackert (Figures 4.5–4.6) and Wutky (Figure 4.7), for example, produced dramatic images of spectators and guides on foot midway up Vesuvius during the 1774 eruption. The fourth viewpoint showed Tourists and guides attaining the summit and on the very edge of the crater (see Figures 4.8–4.9). Finally, in the fifth view, Fabris (Figure 4.10) used a suspended viewpoint to show Tourists inside the crater, examining its distinct features. The fourth and fifth views depict Vesuvius in a calmer, daylight state. Even so, representations of yellow sulphur, steam and an often-active cone erupting with hot rocks hinted at the mountain's ever-present potential for violence.

Written accounts also partitioned encounters with Vesuvius into a series of zones that became progressively more challenging. Many Grand Tourists and tutors were thrilled by their first sight of Vesuvius, but found it unfulfilling to remain at a distance. In 1732, Joseph Spence, during his first Grand Tour as tutor to Charles Sackville, Lord Middlesex, later 2nd duke of Dorset, described how he had 'a most distinct view of Vesuvius' from his roof, but that 'It was with a great deal of impatience that I waited for the

morning when we were to go up'.⁵⁶ Spence went on to describe how the 'rising and badness of the way' forced a transition from carriage to mules to walking to scrambling. The final stage was 'infinitely the worst' as 'the way is so steep and bad that you are forced to quit even then and be dragged up the two last miles by men who make a trade of it ... Two of these honest men get just before you, with strong girdles on; you take hold of the girdles, and then they draw, and you climb up as fast as you can'.⁵⁷

Descriptions of these physical sensations and the climb's difficulties remained unchanged cross the century. In the words of William Bentinck in 1727, the climbers encountered 'the quantity of cinders and hot ashes, which make one fall back again about three quarters of each step one takes'.⁵⁸ Spence admitted that this exhausting terrain forced the climbers and their assistants to 'rest very often'.⁵⁹ Despite this, the punishing environment meant that 'one must do the rest all out of breath, because the fire that is under one's feet hinders you from standing still an instant in the same place'.⁶⁰ In 1773, George Finch, 9th earl of Winchilsea found the sulphurous emissions and smoke to be the 'worst part of going up' as 'if you happen to breath any of it which you cannot avoid, it is really suffocating'.⁶¹ Vesuvius, then, was a spectacle to be experienced with the whole body: upon attaining the summit, Tourists felt the 'Earth tremble at every eruption of the stones', heard the 'tremendous' noise of the explosion, and saw liquid rocks flying and hardening.⁶² This intense physical, sensory experience was depicted in Voltaire's, Wutky's and Hackert's evocative representations of steam, smoke and the glowing lava reds reflecting off bodies bent double with effort (front cover and Figures 4.3–4.7), and in the labouring figures toiling their way up to the summit in Smith's and Tresham's work (Figures 4.8–4.9). Any Tourist who had undertaken this climb would surely have viewed these pieces as excellent visual reminders of their arduous ascent.

⁵⁶ Joseph Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence, 5 June 1732, in *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima (Montreal, 1975), p. 110.

⁵⁷ Joseph Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence, 5 June 1732, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, pp. 110–11.

⁵⁸ Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, Bentinck, Naples, to Lady Portland, 28 Apr. 1727.

⁵⁹ Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence, 5 June 1732, in Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters*, p. 111.

⁶⁰ Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, Bentinck, Naples, to Lady Portland, 28 Apr. 1727.

⁶¹ ROLLR, DG7 Bundle 32/49, George Finch, 9th earl of Winchilsea, Naples, to his mother, Lady Charlotte Finch, 25 Apr. 1773.

⁶² Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 302, Yorke, Naples, to Philip Yorke, 2nd earl of Hardwicke, 31 Jan. 1779.



Figure 4.11. John Shackleton or James Dagnia, 'William Windham II (1717–61) in the uniform of a Hussar' (NT 1401251, Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1742–67).

By permission of the National Trust.

The human body was central to these textual and visual accounts. The spectacle, drama and scale of the volcano was either relayed through written descriptions of an author's bodily and sensory reactions, or depicted in the image of frail human figures silhouetted against the glowing lava or the summit's skyline. Both media also offered a bold statement on the body's immediacy to danger, and the elite male response to this proximity. The artworks depict three bodily reactions to the peril of Vesuvius. The first was to flee in terror and superstitiously beg the intervention of Januarius, the patron saint of Naples (see, for example, Volaire's *Eruption of Vesuvius from the Ponte della Maddalena*, 1782). Closely associated with uneducated Neapolitans, this response was deemed unacceptable by northern elite men. The second response was to stand one's ground and gaze upon the dangerous spectacle with a poised calmness, curiosity and delight. Volaire, Wutky, Hackert and Fabris repeatedly associated this reaction with contemporary elite men (Figures 4.2–4.10 and front cover). Whether watching a large-scale eruption from across the bay, at the very edge of a lava flow, or inside the crater itself, these fashionably-dressed figures stood, sat, gestured and reclined with easy elegance.⁶³

The third reaction was to move even closer. This shifted the elite man from the role of willing spectator to someone prepared to confront the dangers before them. In *Vesuvius Erupting at Night* (1771, Figure 4.4), Volaire populates Vesuvius's steep flanks with three sets of climbers. One foolhardy group perch on a tree hanging perilously close to the lava. The most adventurous are situated even higher on a distant ridge. In *An Eruption of Vesuvius in 1774* (Figure 4.5), Hackert includes a party climbing a steep rockface to examine the source of an active secondary vent; three have made it, and pose casually silhouetted against the flowing lava. Immediately below them, two further figures are frozen mid-climb, clinging to the rockface just next to the falling lava (see Figure 4.6 for details). Written narratives nearly always depicted Grand Tourists performing this third reaction: climbing up the volcano and striving, as far as possible, to reach the source and summit of the danger. Such accounts typically emphasized the fact that they and their guides persevered until the danger became impassable. Herbert noted that his failure to attain the summit in 1779 was due to a 'mixture of smoke and cloud' which meant that members of the party could no longer breathe.⁶⁴ On a clear run, Grand Tourists described how they would even climb onto the 'principal chimney' inside the crater. There, they were only halted by the

⁶³ J. Brewer, 'Sublime tourism, Neapolitan science and counter-revolution: Vesuvius and Pompeii in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century,' paper given 24 Feb. 2015 to the Centre of Eighteenth Century Studies Research Seminar, University of York.

⁶⁴ 'Herbert's journal', in Herbert, *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, pp. 246–7.

impossibility of entering into the volcano itself.

Despite the fact that one expedition took place amidst fire and ash, and the other in snow and ice, the practices and narrative conventions surrounding Vesuvius and the Alpine mountains and glaciers bore a remarkable similarity. Both were steep, hazardous terrains that were 'off the beaten track' and appreciated as natural phenomena worthy of Grand Tourists' time and attention. Both were also explored through primarily physical encounters that required strength, exertion and an unflinching response to danger. Rather than retreating, Grand Tourists consistently sought to depict themselves as courageously and curiously pressing forward until the danger became impassable before pausing to calmly survey the spectacle before them.

Men of science or men of courage?

Vesuvius and the Alps were highly unpredictable environments. Mountain paths could be lost, avalanches occurred without warning, glacial ice chasms moved, and the timing and extent of Vesuvius's next eruption remained, in popular opinion, unknowable. By doing more than simply travelling through the Alps or viewing Vesuvius from afar, Grand Tourists were acting within the context of the hardy and martial elite culture of honourably confronting danger. This suggests that they saw mountains, glaciers and volcanoes as being imbued with the same transformative dangers as the battlefield, sportsfield and the hard road. These were locations where elite men could undertake a performative confrontation with danger. This in turn had value in terms of their social and masculine standing and the development of emulative male virtues.

In Grand Tour accounts of the Alps, these connections were made visible from the outset. The Common Room's private and published accounts of their Chamonix climb in summer 1741 readily treated their Alpine activities as a natural extension of their homosocial, sporting and martial conduct. These 'exceedingly cheerful' adventures were marked by laughter, conviviality and practical jokes. Richard Pococke, for example, surprised the party by dressing up in Arabic dress, procured during his recent travels to the Middle East.⁶⁵ As a far more experienced traveller, Pococke viewed the expedition as a 'diversion in such good company' after his 'long travels & fatigues'.⁶⁶ At the top of the Chamonix glacier, club members crowned their achievement by participating in other typical elite homosocial activities: a hunt and a toast to 'Admiral *Vernon's* Health, and Success to *British* Arms

⁶⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22998, Richard Pococke's travel journals, 19–20 June 1741.

⁶⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22998, Richard Pococke's travel journals, 19–20 June 1741.

[sic].⁶⁷ The toast was either to the famous admiral's recent victory at Porto Bello (1739) or a premature celebration of Vernon's conduct at Cartagena (1741), a battle which he was initially rumoured to have won. Through this act of ceremony, the Common Room demonstrated their pride in Britain's naval prowess and growing empire and yoked their achievement of climbing the glacier to a victory in arms.

William Windham's account of the Common Room's expedition also placed great emphasis on celebrating the group's feats of physical skill and endurance. These, he claimed, astonished their guides who had been 'so much persuaded that we should never be able to go through with our Talk' that they made additional preparation 'in case we should be overcome with Fatigue'.⁶⁸ In outlining the group's refusal to be put off by warnings of danger and their level-headed calm on the precipice and ice cracks, Windham paired this physical performance with the same internal masculine virtues of 'strength', courage, endurance and 'resolution' that were repeatedly linked to war.⁶⁹

Windham and the Common Room's Alpine encounter took place in 1741, two years prior to George Townshend, 1st Marquis Townshend's decision to volunteer in 1743 during his Grand Tour. The latter was a close family friend and Norfolk neighbour of Windham, who may himself have also volunteered with the Austrian or Prussian army sometime after 1741 (see chapter 2 for details). Windham, as was shown at the end of chapter 3, then returned home to a few wasted decades before becoming heavily involved with the New Militia movement. This involvement came about through Townsend, who was the architect of the New Militia Bill (1757). Following Townshend's appointment as colonel of the Norfolk Militia, Windham served as his deputy and subsequently produced a manual for training militia troops, *Plan of Discipline, Composed for the Use of the Militia of the County of Norfolk* (1759).⁷⁰

Although Windham and Townsend could not have anticipated their future involvement in the militia movement, their Tour writings from the 1730s and 1740s made clear that both believed elite men had a natural aptitude for military affairs and that the sports and physical pursuits undertaken during a Grand Tour would be useful in preparing themselves, and others, for military leadership. Townshend, for example, was convinced that his Grand Tour experience of volunteering had prepared him to raise

⁶⁷ [Windham], *Glaciers*, pp. 10, 11.

⁶⁸ [Windham], *Glaciers*, p. 5.

⁶⁹ [Windham], *Glaciers*, pp. 1, 5.

⁷⁰ M. McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 46, 104, 126.

his own regiment on his return to England. Others likewise saw Windham's experience as readying him for militia service from the 1750s. In the words of Richard Aldworth Neville, his fellow club member, Windham – having been 'peculiarly attentive to the system established in the Prussian army, at that time the School of Europe during his Grand Tour' – later 'applied the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country' when writing his *Plan of Discipline*.⁷¹ Windham himself believed his Alpine activities had played an important part, as is evident from his commemorative Grand Tour portrait, commissioned after his return from Europe in about 1742. Here the military and Alpine elements of his Tour met. The portrait depicted Windham in the uniform of an Austrian Hussar, holding an ice pick and with a looming craggy rock formation in the background (see Figure 4.11).

In his 1759 *Plan* for the militia, Windham stressed the importance of organic movement, unity, discipline and self-control instilled through the instruction of officers and via drill work.⁷² This use of military terminology and an emphasis on discipline had been anticipated in his 1744 pamphlet on the Common Room's Alpine expedition.⁷³ Here, he described the club as a 'Company' that travelled 'well armed' and who were prepared to get themselves 'out of a Scrape'.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the ascent of the glacier was described as a test of discipline which had only been made possible by enforced 'Rules': '[That] 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 water should be taken regularly. These criteria prevented 'those among us who were the most in wind, from fatiguing the rest, by pushing on too fast'.⁷⁵ 'In wind' was a phrase often used in military and boxing circles, and referred to men who were ready or fit for action.⁷⁶ The Common Room were, Windham claimed, displaying leadership qualities by combining rational intelligence,

⁷¹ W. Coxe, *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet ...* (3 vols., London, 1811), i. 164.

⁷² For an analysis of William Windham, *Plan of Discipline, Composed for the Use of the Militia of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1759), see M. McCormack, 'Liberty and discipline: militia training literature in mid-Georgian England', in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1850: Men of Arms*, ed. C. Kennedy and M. McCormack (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 165, 167–8, 171.

⁷³ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 10, 11.

⁷⁴ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 11.

⁷⁵ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 1, 5.

⁷⁶ '20. *in wind* (*fig.* from 11d) ready or fit for action of some kind. *Obs.*, *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/229181?rskey=mz5gAo&result=2&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 3 Sept. 2015].

discipline and teamwork alongside a physical capacity to embrace a difficult natural environment. The physical challenges posed by the Alpine terrain therefore offered, in the opinion of Windham and later Grand Tourists, an ideal opportunity to test, demonstrate and depict their identity as elite men of courage and as future military leaders.

At the same time, Tourists' encounters with Alpine and Neapolitan landscapes were not just opportunities to test fearlessness and physicality. They were also motivated by their desire to promote themselves as enlightened men of science. Eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers approached the world as an exhibition to be explored and ordered.⁷⁷ Marshalled by organizations emerging from the seventeenth-century scientific revolution – of which the Royal Society was the leading British example – travellers, explorers and natural historians contributed to the collection of knowledge through detailed reports, measurements and observations.⁷⁸ Demonstrating a curiosity about the 'overall map of knowledge' was an important element of elite masculinity for those aspiring to become fashionable and cultured gentlemen.⁷⁹ The Grand Tour provided a series of opportunities to do this. Tourists examined cabinets of curiosity, visited industries like the Hungarian salt, silver and gold mines, and engaged with Europe's scientific communities through conversation and attendance at lectures and experiments.

Grasping the chance to demonstrate their enlightened curiosity through direct observation of natural phenomena was an important part of this performance. Nowhere was more suited to this task than the environment of Naples. The 'natural productions' of this region could even, it was admitted by the art dealer, J. C. Hippisley, outweigh 'the Wonders of Art in Antient & Modern Rome'.⁸⁰ During their stay in Naples, Tourists visited the Phlegraean Fields and carried out various 'experiments'; testing the heat of the earth with their swords, boiling eggs in sulphurous water and witnessing the infamous *grotto del cane* experiment, where a dog was suffocated by the cave's toxic air and then revived.⁸¹ Their accounts of Vesuvius in particular often mimicked the style and tone of Royal Society reports in an effort to demonstrate a capacity for precise observation. For example, in August 1779,

⁷⁷ J. A. Hayden, 'Intersections and cross-fertilization', in *Travel Narratives: the New Science and Literary Discourse, 1569–1750*, ed. J. A. Hayden (Farnham, 2012), pp. 8–10; C. Withers, 'Geography, natural history and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment: putting the world in its place', *History Workshop Journal*, xxix (1995), 137–63.

⁷⁸ D. Carey, 'Compiling nature's history: travellers and travel narratives in the early royal society', *Annals of Science*, liv (1997), 269–92, at pp. 272–4.

⁷⁹ J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 117–18.

⁸⁰ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/33, J. C. Hippisley, Rome, to Herbert, 20 Aug. 1779.

⁸¹ J. Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1992), p. 47.

Herbert joined the diplomat and volcanologist, Sir William Hamilton, on a trip to the volcano. Herbert's letters to William Coxe later relayed a series of precise measurements, including of a stone thrown up during a recent major eruption that was '108 English feet round and 17 high'.⁸² Herbert also detailed Hamilton's discovery of vitrification, a process by which the heated rock liquifies, leaks from the solid rock and then gradually transforms into 'the common pummy stone'.⁸³ Tourists were keen to demonstrate their knowledge of leading volcanological theories. Holroyd and Winchilsea drew on the work of natural philosophers including Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, and Athanasius Kircher to argue that the two volcanoes, Vesuvius and Solfatara, were connected by underground hollows.⁸⁴

William Windham and the Common Room club were similarly eager to present themselves as gentlemen and patrons of science. As J. S. Rowlinson has observed, Windham used his 1744 pamphlet, *An Account of the Glacieres or Ice Alps of the Savoy*, to secure his election to the Royal Society. Windham was proposed as a potential member in October 1743, the pamphlet was offered as evidence of his suitability in January 1744, and he was elected a Fellow that same month. The pamphlet was also an attempt to establish himself as a patron of his co-author Peter Martel, who came to London in 1743 in the hope of establishing himself as a maker of scientific instruments.⁸⁵ Windham's ambitions fitted in with his and the group's overall interests and abilities. At least two of the tutors were talented men of science. John Williamson, tutor to the earl of Haddington, was a renowned mathematician whose work was praised by the University of Oxford's Savilian professor of astronomy, James Bradley. In Geneva, Williamson was an established member of the 'Beaux Esprits', a weekly meeting of Geneva's leading mathematicians.⁸⁶ In 1749, he was elected to the Royal Society with the backing of influential figures such as the Society's president, Sir Martin Folkes, and the mathematician, Benjamin Robins.⁸⁷ Windham's tutor, Benjamin Stillingfleet, also excelled in mathematics and later became famous for his contributions to botany.⁸⁸

⁸² WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/34, Herbert, Rome, to William Coxe, 22 Aug. 1779.

⁸³ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/6, Herbert's journal, 11 Sept. 1779.

⁸⁴ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 170, Holroyd, Naples, to Mrs Baker, 7 Apr. 1765; ROLLR, DG7 Bundle 32/48/1-2, Winchilsea, Naples, to Lady Charlotte Finch, 18 Apr. 1773.

⁸⁵ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 28; J. S. Rowlinson, 'Our common room in Geneva and the early exploration of the Alps of Savoy', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, lii (1998), 221-35, at pp. 226-7.

⁸⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22998, Richard Pococke's travel journals, 2-13 June 1741.

⁸⁷ Rowlinson, 'Common room', p. 228.

⁸⁸ I. D. Hughes, 'Stillingfleet, Benjamin', *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/26525>> [accessed 1 Feb. 2013].

Windham himself had displayed a considerable aptitude for mathematics and science-based subjects since childhood.⁸⁹ His Grand Tour notebooks and letters regularly contained mathematical formula, lists of instruments and notes on other scientific expeditions. While in Paris in 1738, he attended lectures at the French Academy of Sciences on the 1736 Lapland expedition undertaken by the Swedish physicist, Anders Celsius, and French mathematician, Pierre Maupertuis.⁹⁰ His pamphlet also quoted several important publications on Alpine exploration, including J. J. Scheuchzer's influential *Inter Alpinum* (1723) and Abraham Ruchat's *Les Délices de la Suisse* (1714). His desire to be considered a man of science and exploration is evident in his repeated use of the term 'curiosity' throughout his pamphlet. In a document of twelve pages, Windham used the term eight times and often invoked it at each decision point for turning back or moving forward.⁹¹ 'Curiosity', with all its connotations with natural philosophy, exploration and travel, was being deliberately identified as a key motivation for the Common Room's glacier expedition in a bid to highlight their scientific ambitions.⁹²

There was, however, a clear tension between this well-intentioned ambition and Windham's actual willingness to undertake the arduous processes of observation and recording. In truth, the 1744 publication's real scientific value lay in Martel's report on the 1742 expedition. This had been undertaken by a well-equipped team with specialisms in botany, mineralogy and chemistry, and resulted in an account rich in precise measurements and detailed observations of temperature, glacier structure, mineralogy and flora. In contrast, Windham's study reveals that he and the rest of the Common Room were distinctly uninterested in the scientific exactness that was the hallmark of leading natural philosophers and explorers. On discovering that their best mathematician, John Williamson, had decided not to attend, they 'chose not to take the Trouble of carrying' any of their mathematical instruments – despite the fact that Windham and Stillingfleet were both capable of using them.⁹³ Windham even confessed to having forgotten to take a compass. Without equipment, it was 'impossible for the Eye to judge exactly', a circumstance that restricted Windham's report to vague estimates.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ E.g., NRO, WKC 6/24/, Patrick St Claire, Susted, to Ashe Windham, 21 July 1729.

⁹⁰ NRO, WKC 7/45/9, Windham, Geneva, to Ashe Windham, 21 Feb. 1738.

⁹¹ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12.

⁹² For further thought on the role of curiosity in travel, see J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: the Theory of Travel, 1500–1800* (London, 1995).

⁹³ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 2.

⁹⁴ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 8.

Such reluctance probably stemmed from a gentlemanly desire to rise above excessive attention to detail. As such, Windham and the Common Room were more interested in asserting their credentials as enlightened men of science through other means. Barbara Moira Stafford argued that eighteenth-century scientific travellers used a language of action that replicated the bodily experience of immediacy by detailing the sensory, physiological and physical hardships of travel. This deliberate strategy was used to establish their authority and inquisitive role within the physical world.⁹⁵ As already discussed, Windham's account used these very same tactics by prioritizing the sensory and physical challenges of the ascent. This was overtly linked to presenting Common Room members as pioneering explorers who created new opportunities for others. Windham asserted that 'All the Merit we can pretend to is having opened the way to others who may have the Curiosity of the same kind'. He sought to give the expedition further colour by claiming their party had 'the Air of a Caravan' and that they encountered the primitive superstitions of 'Ignorant' locals who believed that witches played on the ice. While 'the terrible Description People had given us of the Country was much exaggerated', Windham nonetheless emphasized that his party's scientific curiosity resulted in supposedly necessary acts of privation, such as camping in a meadow or killing and dressing a sheep 'upon the Spot'.⁹⁶

Windham's attraction to the rougher, harder, more adventurous elements of exploration is evident in his detailed description of the Maupertuis Lapland expedition of 1736. Here he gave considerable space to outlining the stubborn persistence that allowed Swedish and French explorers to endure numerous 'terrible' dangers and discomforts to achieve their research aims.⁹⁷ Windham was not alone in this fixation. As Stafford noted, the wider eighteenth-century scientific community celebrated a masculine mindset that required an active life and willingness to face constant risk. Exploration narratives made frequent reference to a discomfort, danger and terror that, while 'severely felt and highly disagreeable', was integral to the pursuit of scientific goals. In their combination of physicality with a commitment to truth and sense of purpose, elite men of science, Stafford argued, drew on wider formulations of masculinity rooted in the figures of Odysseus and the questing chivalric knight.⁹⁸ The performance and identity of the enlightened man of science was therefore inherently connected to the

⁹⁵ B. M. Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 374–8, 379, 400.

⁹⁶ [Windham], *Glacieres*, pp. 1–3, 10–12.

⁹⁷ NRO, WKC 7/45/9, Windham, Geneva, to Ashe Windham, 21 Feb. 1738.

⁹⁸ Stafford, *Voyage into Substance*, pp. 381–2, 387–9.

martial, hardy masculinities celebrated by Tourists elsewhere in their other experiences of physical discomfort and danger.

This connection was evident in how the scientific community regarded Sir William Hamilton (1730–1806), who served as envoy-extraordinary to the Spanish court in Naples from 1764 to 1799, and was a well-known figure to Grand Tourists visiting Naples from the mid 1760s. In later life, Hamilton was regularly lampooned in the press for his obsessive collecting and his role as the elderly cuckold in the affair between his second wife, Emma, and Vice-Admiral Nelson. Yet in his earlier career, Sir William was regarded as an active and able diplomat who had previously served in the military, an excellent host, a tasteful collector, a skilled hunter and marksman, and an international authority in volcanology and the natural sciences.⁹⁹ He was, in many ways, regarded as a figure who embodied the fusing of elite gentlemanliness and scientific enquiry.

Hamilton's intellectual reputation was secured by his accounts of the eruption of Vesuvius in September 1765 and October 1767. These were widely circulated and led to his rapid election to the Royal Society.¹⁰⁰ The reports documented a commitment to detailed empirical observation, but also described the dangers he underwent to achieve such observations on the slopes of Vesuvius.¹⁰¹ This included one narrow escape in October 1767:

As I imagined that there would be no danger in approaching the mountain when the lava had vent, I went up immediately accompanied by one peasant only ... I was making my observations upon the lava ... when on a sudden, about noon, I heard a violent noise within the mountain, and at about a quarter of a mile off the place where I stood, the mountain split and with much noise, from this new mouth, a fountain of liquid fire shot up many feet high, and then like a torrent, rolled on directly towards us; in an instant, clouds of black smoak [*sic*] and ashes caused almost total darkness; the explosions from the top of the mountain were much louder than any thunder I ever heard, and the smell of the sulphur was very offensive. My guide alarmed took to his heels; and I must confess that I was not at my ease. I followed close, and we ran near three miles without stopping; as the earth continued to shake under our feet, 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 pass; besides, the pumice-stones, falling upon us like hail, were of such a size as to

⁹⁹ See *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection*, ed. I. Jenkins and K. Sloan (London, 1996).

¹⁰⁰ J. Thackery, 'The modern Pliny: William Hamilton and Vesuvius', in Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, p. 73; M. C. W. Sleep, 'Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803): his work and influence in geology', *Annals of Science*, xxv (1969), 319–38, at p. 322.

¹⁰¹ Thackery, 'Pliny', p. 73.

cause a disagreeable sensation upon the part where they fell. After having taken breath, as the earth still trembled greatly, I thought it most prudent to leave the mountain, and return to my Villa, where I found my family in a great alarm, at the continual and violent explosions of the Volcano.¹⁰²

Hamilton's account contained many of the traits present in Grand Tourists' narratives of Vesuvius and the Alps, but dramatically escalated. His observations used all of his senses: he saw the eruption, was blinded by ash, was deafened by the noise, smelt the sulphur, and felt the earth tremble and the pumice-stones sting his skin. His survival involved the strenuous, sustained physical activity of running for three miles, and the ability to assess the situation while in pain and under pressure. This, therefore, was a description which showcased his manly courage, coolheadedness, physicality and endurance.

Hamilton's bravery and fortitude was widely celebrated. John Stuart, Lord Mount Stuart envied his passing a night on Vesuvius and considered his Royal Society election richly deserved 'for the pains you have been at'.¹⁰³ The lord chancellor, Charles Yorke – father of Philip and himself a Society fellow – wrote of how the physician Samuel Simmons was similarly 'full of admiration at your [Hamilton's] philosophic fortitude in the midst of the Horrors of Vesuvius. I told him, with what tranquillity you had expresst [*sic*] your hope to me, that another concussion would lay the mountain open to the observation of the curious. We could not help fearing that you would suffer the fate of Pliny'.¹⁰⁴

This comparison with Pliny the Elder, who was killed while observing Vesuvius during the 79 AD eruption, was also made by French *volcanists*, who called Hamilton 'Le Pline moderne du Vesuve'.¹⁰⁵ John Thackery suggested that this comparison gestured to Hamilton's entwined interests of Vesuvius and classical antiquity while also warning him not to take his fascination too far.¹⁰⁶ However, the comparison was also an admiring acknowledgement of Sir William's unflinching commitment to examining a potentially deadly phenomenon. Hamilton's ability to maintain calm and detailed observations while under immense pressure and danger was therefore important to his international reputation as a gentleman and man of science.

Perhaps because of the exploits of men like Hamilton and the celebrated

¹⁰² Sir W. Hamilton, *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and Other Volcanos: in a Series of Letters, Addressed to the Royal Society* (London, 1772), pp. 26–8.

¹⁰³ Quoted in Thackery, 'Pliny', p. 66.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Thackery, 'Pliny', pp. 66, 68.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Thackery, 'Pliny', p. 68.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in Thackery, 'Pliny', p. 69.

naturalist Joseph Banks, whose *Endeavour* voyage was completed in 1771, Grand Tourists' admiration for and selective association with the more adventurous qualities of Enlightened men of science strengthened in the late eighteenth century. Yet, in the Alps, these comparisons appeared to be increasingly divorced from any scientific contexts. In 1777, part way through their Alpine tour, David Stevenson reported to his student's father, William, 2nd earl of 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[ewisham] 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.¹⁰⁷

Stevenson's comparison of Lewisham with Sir Joseph Banks made no reference to the latter's scientific discoveries; nor does Stevenson indicate that Lewisham might aspire to become a leading natural philosopher. While Stevenson's and Lewisham's descriptions of their 'expeditions' used typical tropes of exploration – such as the lost, panicked guide, and the primitive behaviours of the 'inhabitants of the mountain' – they made no reference to any scientific observations. Rather, the comparison with Banks and these references took place solely within the context of a pleasurable adventure that was 'diverting', 'most amusing' and had contributed to the formation of an elite man who was resilient, unflinching and courageous in the face of danger, rather than an observant man of science.¹⁰⁸

Demonstrating such qualities in word and deed was important, not least because men like Hamilton openly looked for these virtues in the men they met. In September 1778, about a year after Lewisham's and Stevenson's 'vagabond' adventures, Hamilton wrote to Joseph Banks: 'I long'd for you, [Daniel] Solander & Charles Greville, for tho' I have some company with me on these expeditions [up Vesuvius] sometimes, yet they have in general so much fear & so little Curiosity that I have rather be alone'.¹⁰⁹

Hamilton's frustration and longing for men of equal curiosity and courage had been provoked by the poor conduct of the Neapolitan Duke

¹⁰⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, David Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 10 Sept. 1777.

¹⁰⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

¹⁰⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34048, Sir William Hamilton, Portici, to Joseph Banks, 22 Sept. 1778. Solander was the Swedish botanist who joined the *Endeavour* expedition. Greville was Hamilton's nephew.

Calabritto, Don Francesco, who had gone to view Vesuvius's lava flows with his wife and another man described as an engineer. When 'the lava set fire to some juniper bushes & made a sudden blaze', wrote Sir William, 'the Duke thought a new Eruption. He ran away crying out to the Engineer, per l'amor di Dio avete cura della mia cara Duchessa [for God's sake you take care of my dear Duchess], & never stopped till he got to his Coach'.¹¹⁰ Hamilton found the duke's nervous cowardice, relayed to him by the duchess herself, amusing, but he was also infuriated by the duke's ignorance. Without courage and composure, Hamilton reasoned, the duke – and elite men more generally – would never learn whether or not they were safe in the face of natural phenomena.

Hamilton's strictures on admirable and less acceptable male conduct were also intended for the numerous elite Grand Tourists who passed through Naples. As part of his responsibilities as British ambassador, Sir William played an important and influential role of host, mentor and assessor for these young men, while also casting a critical eye over their appearances and performances. He and other ambassadors dispensed advice, wisdom and wrote reports on their progress to parents and other interested parties.¹¹¹ One such report was written by Hamilton to Lewisham's father in February 1778, seven months before his complaint to Banks. On this occasion Sir William chose to 'defer telling you exactly what I think of Ld Lewisham till I have seen more of him but as yet I cannot find the least fault in him except that his outside is a little too fat'. Hamilton's plans for Lewisham included directing him on 'a tour of the Curious spots in this Country rich with monuments of antiquity, and great operations of nature both of which he seems to have a great taste for'.¹¹² As Hamilton frequently accompanied Grand Tourists up Vesuvius himself, this was evidently an opportunity to assess their qualities as men. Grand Tourists were keenly aware that Hamilton was an arbiter of what made a successful masculine performance and would have paid close attention to what he said, did and expected with regard to the dangers of Vesuvius.

The allure of presenting themselves as men of courage and action was appealing to young Grand Tourists. Writing in the 1740s, Windham prominently associated the virtues of courage and endurance with

¹¹⁰ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34048, Hamilton, Portici, to Banks, 22 Sept. 1778. My sincere thanks to Dr Gaia Bruno for her assistance with the translation and identifying the duke.

¹¹¹ S. Goldsmith, 'The social challenge: northern and central European societies on the eighteenth-century aristocratic Grand Tour', in *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven and S. Goldsmith (London and New York, 2017), pp. 69, 71, 74.

¹¹² SRO, D(W)1778/III/365, Hamilton, Naples, to Dartmouth, 17 Feb. 1778.

Richard Pococke who, having travelled extensively around Europe and the Middle East, was 'far from fearing Hardship'. Having long had a 'great Desire to make this Excursion', Windham had previously been deterred by 'the Difficulty in getting Company'. When Pococke arrived in Geneva, Windham was delighted to have finally found a man of 'like Inclination'.¹¹³ In this, Windham was hinting that physical and mental strength, endurance and fearlessness were equal, if not superior, to one's intellectual ability. This reasoning underpinned his comments on the failure of the tutor and mathematician, John Williamson, to attend the expedition. Windham singled Williamson out as the most intelligent and therefore potentially the most valuable member of a scientific expedition. Yet Williamson was so afraid of physical 'fatigue' that he failed to take part. Windham blamed the expedition's failure to carry out more detailed measurements on Williamson's lack of physical strength and mental resolution.¹¹⁴ This, of course, was a hypocritical judgement that ignored Windham's own culpability. However, these comments carried the clear implication that without the requisite physical and mental strength, Williamson's intellectual ability was of only limited use.

In describing their engagements with the Alps and Vesuvius, Grand Tourists across the eighteenth century took the opportunity to present themselves as hardy adventurers, and to claim a reputation for military readiness, enlightened knowledge and even a certain glamour. Yet these actions and accounts were also about demonstrating more than this – serving as proof of an enduring ability to maintain a physical capacity for hardiness, vigour and health that was perceived as inherently British, and to resist the most dangerous aspects of foreign influence.

Besting Hannibal: fixing identities on the Grand Tour

Despite the many similarities in why and how Grand Tourists engaged with the Alps and Vesuvius, these remained two extremely different environments and climates. Tourists and their families accorded particular significance to the distinctiveness of these sites, drawing on wider beliefs that climate and environment shaped individual and national human characteristics, such as health, temperament, morality, identity and physical appearance.¹¹⁵ Central to eighteenth-century climate theory was the belief, inherited and adapted

¹¹³ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ [Windham], *Glacieres*, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ R. Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2000), pp. 21–4; F. A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, Md., 1995), pp. 7–10.

from classical thought, that the world was composed of three distinct environmental systems: the ‘temperate zone’ which produced the most admirable people and forms of government; the ‘torrid south’ which gave rise to enfeebled bodies, increased sexual desire and intellectual creativity – typically resulting in indolent people and tyrannical governments; and the ‘frigid north’ which resulted in strong bodies, fierce spirits, and dull minds.¹¹⁶

Easily shaped by prejudice, climate theory was readily adaptable to evolving political circumstances. Thus, by the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the boundaries of these zones had moved to reflect a shift in political power from the Mediterranean to northern Europe. Some interpretations argued that the temperate zone had shifted to include the British Isles.¹¹⁷ For others, Britain remained in the northern zone, but the negative traits associated with a frigid climate were overlooked in favour of focusing on the positive qualities of industriousness, strong bodies, steady natures and fierce independent spirits.¹¹⁸ Similar associations were made with Alpine countries, particularly Switzerland, which was admired for its republican government.

By contrast Italy and southern Europe were seen as either a peripheral beneficiary of the temperate climate or a region that had slipped into the torrid zone. Southern Mediterranean societies were increasingly linked with passion, sexual desire and tyranny.¹¹⁹ For example, eighteenth-century commentators saw Rome’s poisonous air and the Roman Campagna’s malaria infestation as a metaphor for rotteness in the midst of pleasure. Rome’s unhealthy climate was held responsible for its reputation as a cradle of artistic and political genius, for the decline of the Roman empire and for the tyranny of the Catholic Church.¹²⁰ Likewise, Sweet observed that Naples’s ‘peculiar balance of menace and attraction’ was firmly linked to

¹¹⁶ Wheeler, *Complexion*, pp. 21–3; Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, pp. 7–8.

¹¹⁷ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, pp. 7–10.

¹¹⁸ Wheeler, *Complexion*, pp. 23–4.

¹¹⁹ See e.g. N. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, 2006); R. Miles, *Gothic Writing, 1750–1820: a Genealogy* (London, 1993), pp. 87–9. It is important to note that climate was not seen as the only cause of corruption. Tyrannous, greedy governments, Catholicism and a whole host of social, cultural, religious, economic and political shortcomings were also blamed (see e.g., R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 199–203).

¹²⁰ See C. Chard, ‘Lassitude and revival in the warm south: relaxing and exciting travel (1750–1830)’, in *Pathologies of Travel*, ed. R. Wrigley and G. Revill (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 188–9; R. Wrigley, ‘Mapping “mal’arai” in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Rome’, in *Pathologies of Travel*, ed. Wrigley and Revill, p. 208; R. Wrigley, ‘Making sense of Rome’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xxxv (2012), 551–64.

its climate and surroundings.¹²¹ Its menace lay in Neapolitans' reputation for crime, a fanatical devotion to Catholicism and hysteria, and was closely entwined with the looming, unpredictable Vesuvius.¹²² Naples's reputation for pleasure came from the region's mild climate and the remarkably fertile soil. With little need to labour, the populace had gained an ancient reputation for *otium* (lazy indolence), which was blamed for the city's repeated submission to conquest.¹²³

Climate theory sought to explain the perceived differences between men, cultures and political systems across the world. But proponents also argued that individuals who moved from one climate zone to another were subject to substantial change. Alongside a medical belief in an environment's power to preserve or destroy health, transitions in climate were thought to alter temperament, identity and even skin colour. Thus, it was posited that within ten generations the descendants of a white man from a northern climate would become black by living in a 'torrid zone', and vice versa.¹²⁴ These beliefs featured prominently in eighteenth-century travel writings. Accounts of Naples, for example, often highlighted how the intoxicating, luxurious climate affected the mind and body.¹²⁵ James Boswell, who visited Naples in March 1765, claimed that 'a man's mind never failed to catch the spirit of the climate in which he breathes'. Giving full rein to his libertine inclinations, he wrote that 'My blood was inflamed by the burning climate, and my passions were violent. I indulged in them; my mind had almost nothing to do with it'.¹²⁶ Writing in 1787, the German writer and statesman, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, exclaimed 'Naples is a paradise, and everyone lives, as it were, in a state of intoxicated self-forgetfulness. It is the same with me. I hardly recognize myself. I feel like a completely different person'.¹²⁷

The danger that Grand Tourists might irreversibly become completely

¹²¹ Sweet, *Cities*, pp. 164–5, 172, 180, 183, 185, 188–91; A. Canepa, 'From degenerate scoundrel to noble savage: the Italian stereotype in eighteenth-century British travel literature', *English Miscellany*, xxii (1971), 107–46.

¹²² For the link between volcanoes, politics and revolution, see N. Daly, 'The volcanic disaster narrative: from pleasure garden to canvas, page, and stage', *Victorian Studies*, liii (2011), 255–85.

¹²³ Sweet, *Cities*, pp. 167–9.

¹²⁴ Wheeler, *Complexion*, pp. 4–6, 22.

¹²⁵ C. Chard, 'Comedy, antiquity, the feminine and the foreign: Emma Hamilton and Corinne', in *The Impact of Italy: the Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. C. Hornsby (London, 2000), p. 151.

¹²⁶ *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France 1765–66*, ed. F. Brady and F. K. A. Pottle (London, 1955), p. 6.

¹²⁷ Quoted in A. Rauser, 'Living statues and neoclassical dress in late eighteenth-century Naples', *Art History*, xxxviii (2015), 462–87, at p. 464.

different people during their travels by succumbing to the allure of the foreign was a matter of well-publicized concern. Yet, given that young elite Grand Tourists were sent abroad to consolidate identities that were specifically adult, male, British and socially superior, it will not be surprising to find that elite culture actively sought to mitigate the negative effects of young men's movement across climate zones. As with their response to hazards posed by travel and health, aristocratic families sought to implement a series of measures designed to protect their sons and to use potential dangers as opportunities to test and demonstrate a hardy identity. These measures hinged on a belief that healthy bodies could resist the disorientating effects of climate and travel if they prepared and engaged well with new climates.¹²⁸

Several strategies were used. First, families ensured that Tourists spent a suitable amount of time in climates and locations that were deemed 'northern' in nature. This was consciously perceived as a preparatory period in which young men could safely develop their physical health, virtues and morals within political, social and religious systems that contained elements worthy of emulation. This process also enabled Tourists to build up a degree of resistance before entering the 'south'. As will be demonstrated, the time spent in the Alps was deemed particularly important for achieving this. Second, families thought carefully about when their sons were ready to enter Italy. Upon doing so, Grand Tourists were expected to resist the negative effects of the Italian climate by maintaining physical behaviours and virtues that they had acquired in the north. These, it was argued, would guard and sustain a 'northern' identity while in a 'southern' climate. For the most part, this was an ad hoc, scattered set of beliefs and practices that were rarely directly articulated. This said, the similarities relating to Lewisham's and Herbert's Grand Tours suggest that elite British families also held to some broadly coherent strategies when travelling south to the Mediterranean.

In spring 1776, Herbert was at the military academy in Strasbourg. During this time, his parents and two tutors discussed where he should go next. All agreed that the success of Herbert's Italian sojourn depended on timing it correctly, yet the question of *when* remained open to debate. Herbert's mother, Lady Pembroke, was particularly vehement in insisting that her son was not yet ready:

Now I must talk a little odly to explain why I am so strenuous about the exact time of his being in Italy; I would not for the world have his passions first awaken'd there, as that will be a critical time, when the happiest thing for him, will be to draw him as much as possible into the company of people of fashion, & real bon ton, as the endeavouring to please them will refine his manners, &

¹²⁸ Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, p. 10; Wheeler, *Complexion*, p. 123.

teach him complacency; in Italy they scorn every idea of decency, & morality, & will give him much too little trouble; & I suppose it will be very natural that he should form great prejudices & partialities for the *place & people* where he first falls in love, in ever so small a degree, & *the turn he takes then, may remain very, very long, if not for ever*. This will be the case probably by the time you are establish'd in the next Station; and as this is rather a difficult subject for me to talk upon, I had better quit it for present. I will only add that certainly the very best thing that can happen to a very young man, is to fall desperately in love with a woman of fashion, who is clever, & who likes him enough to teach him to endeavour to please her, & yet keep him at his proper distance – I should fear nothing in your visiting Switzerland, but the making too long a visit to Voltaire.¹²⁹

Lady Pembroke's ostensible concern was that her son might fall in love with an unsuitable Italian woman who would take him out of good company and compromise the benefits that might otherwise be gained from the Grand Tour. Yet her comments were framed by assumptions regarding the relationship between climate, manners and physical health – note, for example, her emphasis on the dual importance of 'place & people'; moreover, these fears were heightened by Lady Pembroke's conviction that any changes to her son's temperament, disposition and body would be especially difficult, if not impossible, to reverse.¹³⁰

One of Herbert's tutors, William Coxe, agreed that 'your ladyship [is] much in the right for wishing Italy may be ye last place before his return home'.¹³¹ Their joint solution was to ensure that Herbert had sufficient time in the suitably 'northern' environments of Switzerland and Vienna, which Lady Pembroke championed as a temperate city of health, morality and fashionable elegance. After this, Herbert travelled even further north to Russia, Sweden and Denmark. During this time, he matured in his studies and social graces, undertook substantial daily regimes of exercise, and experienced prolonged periods of exposure to Alpine and Arctic hardships. When her son finally prepared to enter Italy in April 1779, Lady Pembroke believed him to be well equipped: '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'.¹³²

The preparatory role played by the Alps is also made clear in the correspondence between Lord Lewisham, his tutor Stevenson and

¹²⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Elizabeth Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe, 1 March 1776.

¹³⁰ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Lady Elizabeth Pembroke, Whitehall, to Coxe, 1 March 1776.

¹³¹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/27, Coxe, Strasbourg, to Lady Pembroke, 17 March 1776.

¹³² WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/31, Lady Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 20 Apr. [1779].

Lewisham's father, Dartmouth. These exchanges happened as Lewisham and Stevenson explored the Alpine mountains and glaciers and prepared to enter Italy in September 1777. As Stevenson explained to Dartmouth, the duo's time in the Alps had blessed them with health, happiness and the virtues of courage, resolution and cheerful endurance. Daily riding in the summer sun had even tanned 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'.¹³³ This change in appearance was given as evidence of health and wellbeing, but Stevenson was careful to assure Dartmouth that it was a temporary one: 'We intend however being very Clear & handsome before we attack the Alps [referring here specifically to the Alpine crossings], as we have a wonderful magazine of Health to build upon'.¹³⁴ In assuring Dartmouth that Lewisham's skin colour would lighten before reaching Turin, Stevenson offered a subtle reassurance that travelling in Italy would not risk a permanent change in Lewisham's appearance or character. This promise of a successful outcome owed much to his student's 'magazine of Health'. In this militarized image, Stevenson conveyed a belief that health and physical robustness were not just to be stored, they were also to be expended as a defence against less salubrious regions of Europe.

On receiving Stevenson's letter, Dartmouth wrote to his son with some carefully worded advice. He was delighted that Lewisham had performed so well on a Grand Tour that had sprawled across the societies and courts of France, the Netherlands, the German principalities and Austria, and that Lewisham had so vividly enjoyed all the 'dangers safely passed, & difficulties overcome'. Now Dartmouth looked to prepare him for the particular challenges of an Italian society and climate. He did so by invoking the example and warning of Hannibal:

Your road will now be so smooth in comparison to what it has been ... Having passed the Alps like Hannibal, for I conclude you carried vinegar in your pocket, as he did, you have nothing to do, but, like him, to enjoy the Luxurious sweets of Italy; your future progress in pursuit of either the wonders of art, or the Beauties of nature, will be attended with no more difficulty or danger than will just be sufficient to whet your appetite & keep you upon your guard, & if you can contrive to maintain the prudence & sagacity, which you have hitherto observed, you will come home just such as I wish & expect to find you.¹³⁵

In his reference to Hannibal's supposed use of vinegar and fire to break through a rockfall, Dartmouth directly correlated the Carthaginian's

¹³³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 10 Sept. 1777.

¹³⁴ SRO, D(W)1778/V/886, Stevenson, Geneva, to Dartmouth, 10 Sept. 1777.

¹³⁵ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, [unknown location], to Lewisham, 30 Sept. 1777.

achievements with Lewisham's. There were, however, limits to Hannibal's use as a role model. Dartmouth encouraged Lewisham to enjoy Italy's 'Luxurious sweets' and continue his aesthetic education, but he also called on his son to remain 'upon your guard' against the 'rage of passions'. That this should be achieved without the 'dearly bought hindsight experience' was an implicit but clear reference to Hannibal's failure at Capua.¹³⁶

Frustratingly, few letters from Lewisham's time in Italy survive. Nevertheless, the idea that the luxury and ease of Italy should be vigorously resisted was evident in other Grand Tour accounts. For example, as Herbert entered Italy, Sir Robert Murray Keith – British ambassador in Vienna, and someone who also knew Lewisham well – expressed his condolences that Herbert's father, the earl of Pembroke, was making him 'traverse all the Southern Provinces of Italy in this broiling Season of the year'. However, Keith went on to express his confidence in Herbert, since 'you are a dutiful Son, and a hardy Soldier, you will get through the fiery Furnace with a better grace than ever a Son of Israel did, and I hope without singeing your wings, in any Shapes'.¹³⁷

Keith referred to the story in the Book of Daniel, where the Israelites, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, were thrown into a furnace by King Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship his golden statue. Joined by an angel, they remained unscathed by the flames. In a reference to the sexual exploits of the 10th earl of Pembroke during his own Italian Tour, Keith continued: 'You made me laugh heartily by your account of the Italian impatience to know le jeune Pembroke – the Ladies will I am afraid have great Claims upon your Person – pray let me know how far you have been inclined to Satisfy them? All Italy combined will not make a macaroni of you, that is my Comfort'.¹³⁸

As discussed in chapter 1, Keith was untroubled by Herbert's enjoyment of these women's attention. Instead, he declared himself confident that Herbert would navigate the hazards, such as venereal disease or a tiresome *inamorata*, which came with these pleasures. More importantly, in both commentaries, Keith was adamant that Herbert's British identity would remain unchanged during his exposure to the Italian climate, and that he ran no risk of becoming Italianate.

Keith's confidence owed much to his conviction that Herbert would continue to be the 'hardy Soldier'. Maintaining hardiness involved rejecting the indolent traits characteristic of so many Italian men. Thus,

¹³⁶ SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, Dartmouth, [unknown location], to Lewisham, 30 Sept. 1777.

¹³⁷ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/26, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert, 12 Aug. 1779.

¹³⁸ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/26, Sir Robert Keith, Vienna, to Herbert, 12 Aug. 1779.

several Tourists noted their decision to walk in Venice rather than use a gondola. Gondolas, it was argued, kept elite Venetians 'indolent, inactive and effeminate for want of manly exercise', and permanently on the cusp of manhood.¹³⁹ Herbert's travel diary records how he took this resistance to its fullest extent by determinedly continuing a performance of energetic hardiness in the Italian south.

While he made no reference to Hannibal, Herbert's crucial pitting of northern hardiness against the perils of the luxurious south took place at Capua, where Hannibal 'gave himself up to ease and pleasure'.¹⁴⁰ Travelling back from Naples to Rome in September 1779, Herbert spent the night at Capua:

What a Night have I passed, 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.¹⁴¹

In his remaining entries – written en route to Rome (which Hannibal famously never reached) – Herbert described his conscious rejection of ease and luxury. Walking through the rain and outpacing his mules and driver, he shook off the deleterious effects of Naples and restored his body to its hardy, 'heroic' capacity. Two nights later, Herbert assembled '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'.¹⁴² This Lockean aversion to a soft bed was followed by a cheerful account of a day's walking through the rain and his endurance of a 'most violent ache in my stomach' which eventually 'I happily gott rid of, by a proper evacuation under a hedge'.¹⁴³ Having quite literally evacuated the Neapolitan influences from his body, Herbert rejoined his chaise and reached Rome on the following day, unvanquished.

Hannibal was a spectral presence in Grand Tour culture. Though he did not dominate discourses and descriptions, Grand Tourists were nevertheless well aware of his legendary triumphs and failures as they moved from north to south, and especially as they travelled through Italy. Moreover, examples like Herbert's account of travelling between Naples and Rome demonstrate the importance attached to combining performance and place. In light of

¹³⁹ Sweet, *Cities*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁰ Breval, *Remarks*, i. 73.

¹⁴¹ 'Herbert's journal', in Herbert, *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, p. 255.

¹⁴² 'Herbert's journal', in Herbert, *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, p. 259.

¹⁴³ 'Herbert's journal', in Herbert, *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, p. 261.

this, this chapter now returns to a consideration of the physical actions of Grand Tourists in Naples and when on Vesuvius.

As the southernmost point of the Tour, with its powerful otium-inducing climate, Naples was regarded as the destination where elite British men had greatest need of their capacity for resistance. Physical exertion was deemed crucial to this. The daily bathing regime of the British expatriate, Lord Fortrose in the 1770s – as described in chapter 3 – was not, therefore, simply part of a routine exercise regime. Each morning, Fortrose and his companions rowed half a mile out to sea and underwent a course in maritime survival skills. Neapolitan watermen instructed them on how to swim in a suit of clothes and strip in the water. One of Fortrose's companions was the seventeen-year old, William Fullerton, from a Scottish gentry family. His tutor, the travel writer and scientist Patrick Brydone, later published an account of their travels in which he claimed that these daily swims had enabled the group to resist the threat of lassitude posed by Naples's south-east wind. Such was its effect that it had given one 'smart Parisian marquis', full of 'animal spirits' and vigour, an almost suicidal depression. This led Brydone to conclude that 'we should all of us been as bad as the French marquis' had it not been for their daily swim.¹⁴⁴

Swimming was not a particularly common Grand Tour activity. However, almost all Grand Tourists in Naples – including the most inactive – did commit themselves to the most physically demanding element of any Italian travel itinerary: climbing Vesuvius. In doing so, they placed themselves at the heart of Italy's dangers.¹⁴⁵ Here, in the numerous descriptions of volcanic ash entrapping their legs, of noxious gases leaving them breathless, and of the sheer degree of exhaustion, the enchanting corruption of Naples's sweet air and the enervating effects of its climate was perhaps mirrored in a more menacing fashion. Yet climbing Vesuvius was an idealized act of resistance that was also, implicitly, a conquest. The volcano's weakening effects were certainly felt, but they were also overcome. Ascending Vesuvius was therefore imagined as a symbolic and literal act of hardy, vigorous exertion that was defiantly out of place in a climate of debilitating ease. This demonstrated a fixed, enduring Britishness consolidated in an act of physical prowess, hardiness and manly conduct that was fundamentally northern in nature. The English writer and literary hostess, Hester Thrale Piozzi, captured this fusion of challenge, defiance and triumph during a visit to Naples in 1785–6. Coming as part of a three-year tour of Europe after her second, controversial marriage to the Italian musician, Gabriel

¹⁴⁴ P. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta* (2 vols., London, 1773), i. 7, 10–12.

¹⁴⁵ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, p. 125.

Piozzi, she was struck by the demonstration of British national character witnessed around and on the volcano: ‘The wonder is that nobody gets killed by venturing near [Vesuvius], while red-hot stones are flying about them so ... the Italians are always recounting the exploits of these rash Britons who look into the crater and carry their wives and children up to the top’.¹⁴⁶

The relationship between the Grand Tour and Europe’s natural phenomena has often been subsumed within the wider histories of the sublime and the rise of mountaineering. Studies such as Peter Hansen’s remarkable *The Summits of Modern Man* (2013), for example, located the 1741 expedition of William Windham and the Common Room club as instances of a broader cultural shift. Driven by ‘assertions of individual will and curiosity’ and the ‘abandonment of self-restriction’, their actions were, he argued, part of the onset of modernity that grew out of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and would subsequently characterize nineteenth-century cultures of mountaineering.¹⁴⁷ The nascent cultures of both the sublime and of mountain sports did indeed influence the culture of the Grand Tour. Nevertheless, the responses of young Grand Tourists to mountains, glaciers, Vesuvius – and to the danger and hardship that accompanied them – were equally and profoundly shaped by wider cultural reiterations of long-established concepts of elite masculinity, power and responsibility. The Common Room’s expedition in 1741, for example, was directly shaped by eighteenth-century elite understanding of the relationship between honour, masculinity and the confrontation of danger. As a result, the potential connection between Alpine exploration and the military was easily made. During the 1760s and 1770s – as elite men grew increasingly articulate in asserting the value of martiality and expressed a growing enthusiasm for the domestic militia, but as opportunities for continental military volunteering declined – part of the growing appeal of adding an Alpine dimension to their Tour itineraries was surely because the challenges of such hazardous natural terrains offered a suitable substitute for the battlefield as a rite and site of initiation.

In these circumstances, Grand Tourists’ performances in the Alps and Vesuvius fulfilled a similar function to their displays of sporting prowess or hunting. This shift foregrounded the nineteenth- and twentieth-century status of mountains as the ultimate test of man, but in a manner that melded it with pre-existing concepts of elite masculinity. Furthermore, in climbing

¹⁴⁶ H. Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London, 1789), p. 535.

¹⁴⁷ Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man*, pp. 11, 33.

mountains and glaciers (rather than simply crossing the Alpine passes), and by travelling further than Hannibal into the heart of the luxurious south (where they climbed Vesuvius and returned unscathed), eighteenth-century Tourists sought to demonstrate their capacity to outperform a legendary figure of military renown. By doing so, they also hoped to successfully complete an extensive rite of initiation that used the terrains, climates, cultures and hazards of Europe to form and test their identity. Unlike the later Romantic travellers, their goal was to demonstrate an identity that was fixed and enduring, rather than subject to destabilization.

In demonstrating how Tourists physically engaged with danger, and how they rationalized and idealized this engagement, this chapter has outlined an elite masculine identity which rested on performances and physical activities that took place within hazardous contexts. The physical and psychological challenges that confronted young men on the Tour were considerable, and normative expectations regarding their response to peril and danger were often highly unrealistic. This prompts two important questions: were Grand Tourists always as brave as their writings suggest; or did they make careful use of their subsequent rhetorical construction and textual representation to compensate for their shortcomings? The construction of the masculine self through the act of writing correspondence, diaries and other 'ego-documents' needs to be appreciated and assessed. The following chapter will explore the ways in which men recorded their experience of and emotions towards danger, the motivations for and outcomes of writing up these encounters, and the influence of writing for intended readerships. By focusing on retrospective construction and narration, it will reveal how Tourists crafted and framed their writings. In doing so, close attention was paid to the dangers these young men had faced and to the emotional and physical reactions they experienced subsequently. How Grand Tourists relayed and crafted their responses to peril – what they did and did not say, and to whom – was an essential component in the construction and demonstration of elite masculinity.

5. Dogs, servants and masculinities: writing about danger and emotion on the Grand Tour*

This book has continually emphasized the practices, rationales and manly ideals that informed the Grand Tour's culture of encountering danger. In this final chapter the focus shifts to consider the rhetorical ways by which Tourists represented their embodied physical, mental and emotional responses to danger in written accounts. Letters, diaries and memoirs were carefully crafted, widely circulated tools that aided in the construction of the self to a wider audience.¹ This chapter also returns to the premise established in the Introduction, that the Grand Tour contained several elite masculine identities. In their letters, diaries and memoirs, Grand Tourists creatively used their encounters with, responses to, and narratives of danger to construct individual claims to this variety of masculine identities which ranged from a hardy masculinity to others based on fashion, sensibility and literature. These narratives were also used to affirm ongoing collective elite assertions of social superiority, emotional hegemony and fitness for leadership.

Chapter 1 outlined how the concept of danger comprises three areas: the physical, empirical reality of being in danger; the perception and assessment of risk prior to the event; and the retrospective processing and communicating of emotional and physical reactions to danger. This chapter focuses on the third area. As Joanna Bourke observed, the very process of speaking and writing about emotions is an act of memory. Individuals writing about feeling afraid record the memory of that feeling rather than the actual experience of it. This process of parsing a memory and fitting it

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¹ See e.g., G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England* (Newark, N.J., 2005), p. 22; M. Fulbrook and U. Rublack, 'In relation: the "social self" and ego-documents', *German History*, xxviii (2010), 263–72; S. M. Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: a Pragmatic Approach* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, Pa., 2002); *Epistolarity Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945*, ed. R. Earle (Aldershot, 1999).

'Dogs, servants and masculinities: writing about danger and emotion on the Grand Tour', in S. Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London, 2020), pp. 185–208. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

into certain narratives changes the construction *and* the sensation of that emotion, to the extent that it alters how the individual feels – and remembers feeling – about an event.² Clare Brant has noted that letter (and journal and memoir) writing formed an important part of the eighteenth-century travel experience in allowing travellers to visibly order their experience into acceptable cultural forms.³ The eighteenth-century practice of writing about such perilous encounters can therefore be considered a process of *reaction* to danger that was also an important part of fully benefiting from the transformative properties that danger supposedly held for elite men.

Studying masculinity and travel through the lens of danger provides the opportunity to consider the physical and emotional responses stimulated by situations of peril. This included fear, terror, relief, thrill and, perhaps most intriguingly, the absence of any emotional reaction at all. By exploring how the emotional components of the original experience and its subsequent narration were marshalled and controlled, insights may be gained, first, into whether emotions were deemed an important part of eighteenth-century masculinity and, second, the ways in which Tourists may have struggled to match their lived reality with the manly standards desired and demanded of them. In doing so, it is useful to consider the Grand Tour in the light of the historian William Reddy's concept of emotional regimes. Reddy viewed emotions in terms of control/resistance and valid/invalid forms of emotional expression and experience. He argued that regimes of power create corresponding normative orders for emotions. Strict emotional regimes require individuals to express normative emotions and avoid deviant ones, while more relaxed regimes offer a degree of emotional navigation and freedom.⁴ As an institution devoted to training young men in elite masculine norms with public and private discourses that often constructed, prescribed or punished certain emotional reactions, the Tour was part of the apparatus that upheld the emotional regime of eighteenth-century British elite maleness.⁵ The emotional conventions surrounding narratives of danger were a central but extremely complex part of this.

² J. Bourke, *Fear: a Cultural History* (London, 2006), pp. 6–7, 74, 287–8. For a wider overview of the history of emotions, see U. Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling, 1700–2000* (Oxford, 2014); J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: an Introduction*, trans. K. Tribe (Oxford, 2015).

³ C. Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke, 2006), p. 229.

⁴ W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 125.

⁵ See S. Goldsmith, 'Nostalgia, homesickness and emotional formation on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour', *Cultural and Social History*, xv (2018), 333–60, for a fuller critique of Reddy's and other history of emotion theories.

For example, young elite men on the Grand Tour frequently wished to present an identity of hardy masculinity in response to danger. This expression sought to demonstrate internal virtues of courage and stoical self-control through physically demanding and observable performance. When reporting on these experiences, Tourists and tutors had to demonstrate their willingness to encounter danger and their courageous retention of physical and emotional self-control and hardiness. Emotions such as fear therefore had to be carefully negotiated. Prior to the advent of sensibility, troublesome emotions could simply be omitted from Grand Tour narratives, but the emerging mid-century culture of sensibility made representing emotion an increasingly challenging task. By the late century, this sort of omission was no longer acceptable. As true courage became associated with those who felt fear but proceeded regardless, Tourists were expected to demonstrate a suitably refined sensibility to danger while also avoiding direct discussions of personal fear.

Wrestling with a vocabulary that remained ill-equipped for this task, Grand Tourists turned, among other things, to discussion of the behaviour of their servants and dogs. According to their masters, neither enjoyed good fortune or conducted themselves particularly well on the Grand Tour. Throughout the eighteenth century, letters, journals and publications reported tearful servants trembling at danger and hapless dogs plummeting off cliffs. Through this, dogs and servants played a crucial function in the narratives of danger constructed by their masters. While dogs acted as extensions of the self, through which emotions of fear and concern could be indulged, servants were often framed as emotionally uncontrolled counterparts, against whom the Grand Tourist laid claim to superior abilities of courage and self-control.

Grand Tourists who wished to portray themselves as hardy men sought to conform to expected emotional standards by sidelining, reconstructing and reallocating inappropriate emotional responses; but did these unwanted reactions ever become uncontrollable? The chapter ends with a consideration of this question and an analysis of how Grand Tourists, tutors and their families carved out spaces for exploring safely these involuntary, messier emotions of fear, distress and concern. By highlighting moments of seemingly irreconcilable tension between the ideals and lived realities of the Grand Tour, this chapter begins to consider the different ways in which the experience and performance of elite eighteenth-century masculinity and danger were internalized.

The fearful and fearless narrative

Grand Tourists and tutors who wished to construct a hardy masculine identity were faced with a set of narrative conundrums. The whole premise of tough and martial masculinity rested on having a favourable reaction when confronted with danger. On such occasions Tourists were required to convey that they had willingly faced and benefited from an objectively dangerous situation. But they also had to show that they had not acted foolishly or needlessly pursued this hazard. These requirements were intended to refute accusations of two longstanding threats to young men's claim to masculinity – foolishness and immaturity – and also to provide reassurances to their families. Striking this balance appears to have been easier for Tourists in the early decades of the century, when expressions of emotional sensitivity were considered less significant. William Windham's 1744 account of the Common Room's glacier expedition, for example, communicated the group's brave and rational approach to danger simply by narrating their actions and accompanying virtues. Emotional reactions had little place within the narrative. Windham avoided mentioning any negative reactions and only vaguely alluded to a favourable emotional response by brief references to pleasure, curiosity and cheerfulness.

By the 1750s, however, men writing about danger increasingly faced the challenge of accommodating sensibility within established forms of masculine identity. Disseminated through literature, drama and images, the cult of sensibility encouraged the expression and physical display of deeply felt emotion in men and women alike. Those who demonstrated a capacity for feeling, it was argued, also demonstrated a capacity for nobility. This in turn validated a new form of admirable masculinity – the man of feeling – who placed greater importance on gentlemen's displays of emotional sensitivity. As Yuval Harari has argued in relation to battlefield narratives, the necessity of making claims to sensibility and refined nerves had a significant impact on narrations of danger. Harari indicated that as sensibility gave rise to sensationalist theories of knowledge, bodily and emotional experiences gained ascendancy over those of the mind.⁶ Prior to this, 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 no 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'.⁷ But with the rise of sensibility,

⁶ Y. N. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 136–8.

⁷ Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, p. 104.

‘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.⁸

As such, 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 enforced an emotional hierarchy in which they remained the most able to control their emotions, but also appropriated to themselves sensibility and emotional capacity as a marker of elite status.⁹ By contrast, exhibitions of extreme bravery among the ranks could be dismissed as insensible, animalistic courage since real bravery acted despite fear, not in ignorance of it. As one early nineteenth-century officer recalled in an autobiographical text from the 1820s, the rank and file ‘may, by possibility, have the courage of a lion, but he cannot possess the feelings of a man’.¹⁰ A similar narrative shift took place in late eighteenth-century Grand Tour writings. By the close of the century young elite men were required to demonstrate a complex blend of masculine attributes while on Tour: stoic pleasure in danger, a capacity for emotional control and enough sensibility to feel danger, all without giving the impression that this heightened sensitivity was in any way indicative of cowardice.

Conveying any sense of pleasure, enjoyment or thrill was equally challenging. As discussed in chapter 1, eighteenth-century understandings of terms like danger, risk, hazard and peril were entwined with the concept of chance. Used alone, they referenced situations in which either a negative or positive outcome was possible. Grand Tourists who wished to show that their experience of danger had been negative could draw on a well-established emotional terminology of ‘fear’, ‘dread’, ‘fright’, ‘alarm’, ‘trepidation’, ‘consternation’ and ‘unease’. In contrast, much of the vocabulary that might be used today to describe positive encounters with danger was still evolving. Cheerfulness was, as chapter 3 explored, commonly deployed to indicate pleasure in wholesome hardships, but descriptions of more intense emotional responses were difficult to establish. Terms like ‘adrenalin’ only appeared in late nineteenth-century medical texts, and were not used in

⁸ Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, pp. 141, 203.

⁹ See S. Knott, ‘Sensibility and the American War for Independence’, *American Historical Review*, cix (2004), 19–40, at pp. 27–30; C. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 70, 79–81.

¹⁰ J. Shipp, *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Military Career of John Shipp* (London, 1890 [1829]), pp. 106–7, quoted in Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, p. 203.

relation to excitement until the early twentieth century.¹¹ ‘Exhilarate’ had a long association with the emotions of cheerfulness and joy but was not linked with physical thrill until well after the eighteenth century.¹² Other key terms were often emotionally neutral in meaning. For example, the terms ‘thrill’ (originally used to describe rending or tearing something) and ‘excitement’ were only linked with emotions through the late seventeenth-century medical theory of nervous systems. Even then, an unequivocal link between ‘thrill’, ‘excitement’ and *pleasurable* sensations was not established until the turn of the nineteenth century.¹³ The Romantic poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, provided an early instance of this emerging understanding and use. Writing in 1802, he described a dangerous descent of Scafell Pike in the Lake District as having resulted in a physical, emotion and spiritual experience that mingled pleasure, exhilaration and fear.¹⁴

In contrast, any eighteenth-century Grand Tourists or tutor using these terms had to work hard to ensure readers understood that these sensations were associated with pleasure. Writing in 1789, for example, the Revd William Coxe attempted to capture the exhilaration of a fast boat ride down the river Limmar with his pupil George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke. Coxe described how they had travelled ‘at a rate of six, eight, and sometimes even ten miles in the hour’, with ‘such velocity’ and ‘the greatest rapidity’. Focusing on the physical sensations of the experience, he highlighted the ‘violence’ of the water ‘beating against the boat’, and how ‘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’.¹⁵ By stressing that he and the rest of the ‘Triumvirate’ had ‘disembarked highly delighted with our expedition’, Coxe tried to emphasize that this fast, physical experience of danger had produced a pleasurable thrill, rather than fear.¹⁶ Descriptions like these required an enormous amount of effort and were consequently rather unusual. As such, even in late eighteenth-

¹¹ ‘adrenaline, n.’, *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/2756?redirectedFrom=adrenaline>> [accessed 23 June 2015].

¹² ‘exhilarate, v.’, *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/66192?redirectedFrom=exhilarate>> [accessed 23 June 2015].

¹³ ‘thrill, n.3’, *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/201258?rskey=L50Btt&result=3&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 23 June 2015]; ‘excitement, n.’, *OED Online* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/65799?redirectedFrom=excitement>> [accessed 23 June 2015].

¹⁴ S. Bainbridge, ‘Writing from the perilous ridge: Romanticism and the invention of rock climbing’, *Romanticism*, xix (2013), 246–60; Bainbridge, ‘Romantic writers and mountaineering’, *Romanticism*, xviii (2012), 1–15, at p. 11.

¹⁵ W. Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland: in a Series of Letters to William Melmoth* (3 vols., London, 1789), i. 146–7.

¹⁶ Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, pp. 146–7.

century narratives of danger, Tourists and tutors found themselves unable to express easily their emotional and physical responses in a manner that reliably conveyed courage and pleasure.

Tourists and tutors therefore typically continued the earlier practice of muting or omitting overly emotional commentaries in their travel narratives. This approach had its advantages. As Susan Fitzmaurice has noted, the process of reading meaning into the familiar letter relied upon anticipated, interpretative exchanges between writer and recipient.¹⁷ In maintaining an emotional silence and dispassionate narrative, the Tourist created a vacuum into which their readers (parents, friends, society) were required to recreate the desired stoicism, courage and sensibility. The reality of Tourists' emotional experience became irrelevant as responses were recast and rewritten to conform to expected modes of correspondence. In ensuring that their readers drew the correct conclusions about their emotional state, Grand Tourists deployed three principal strategies: the objective observational reporting of facts and measurements; the construction of fearful 'others' in the form of servants; and the less common acknowledgement of the fearless servant. The resulting narratives were used to support claims to individual and collective elite power through assertions of a hegemony of emotion, reason and self-control. By the late eighteenth century, this narrative had become even more complex as it was also required to include an appreciation of sensibility.

Grand Tourists drew on their role as gentlemen of science to create a heightened sense of danger through relaying intimidating facts and measurements. For example, in reporting that a hailstone of nearly 'two inches in circumference' had smashed 'just before my horse's feet' in 1778, Lord Lewisham sharpened his reader's understanding of just how dangerous the summer storm outside of Basle had been.¹⁸ In 1763 John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, took a boat trip along the top of the Schaffhausen falls. Now known as the Rhine Falls, this is Europe's largest waterfall. In his letters, he made it clear that this was a dangerous activity by describing how the Rhine was as strong and wide as the Thames, and that the fall was over seventy feet high. Holroyd's boat trip was completed safely, but a tragedy had occurred 'not long' before when 'a Boat with 18 persons was forced down the Fall. Two were saved'.¹⁹ In this dispassionate report, Holroyd objectively established a precedent of danger and indicated how he had fearlessly undertaken an activity that could have resulted in his death.

¹⁷ S. M. Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: a Pragmatic Approach* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, Pa., 2002), pp. 8–11.

¹⁸ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Constance, to Dartmouth, 8 Aug. 1777.

¹⁹ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 132, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker, 10 Nov. 1763.

Grand Tourists also sought to demonstrate that these dangers did indeed engender uncontrollably fearful reactions – just not in themselves or their tutors. This was achieved through the construction of fearful ‘others’, frequently in the figure of servants who accompanied their party. These servants embodied the emotional reactions that might be felt in dangerous circumstances, but with which Tourists were unable or unwilling to directly associate. In his *Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Swisserland* (1779), William Coxe dramatically deployed this approach when describing the Alpine expedition of Lord Herbert:

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.²⁰

Coxe described a man emotionally, verbally and physically out of control as panic ‘seized’ him, leaving him unable to move without ‘assistance’ or control his voice. Coxe’s narrative, which highlights that he himself had already crossed the precipice, strongly emphasizes 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-shipwreck in 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 his own emotional state and those of his aristocratic student, Lord Herbert, and Captain John Floyd. The trio were ‘seriously alarmed’, but their reaction was contained when compared to that of the sailors who ‘were so terrified that they cried’.²¹ While the crew was incapacitated, Herbert and his tutors became increasingly active, establishing mastery over fear and, by extension, mastery over themselves and others. As Coxe put it:

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

²⁰ W. Coxe, *Sketches of the Natural, Civil and Political State of Swisserland* (London, 1779), p. 153.

²¹ W. Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark* (3 vols., Dublin, 1784), iii. 91, 92.

pains, upon a shelving hill of ice, *we* crawled upon our hands and knees, and gained the land, though with much difficulty.²²

Coxe's intensely physical narrative highlighted an enthusiastic display of leadership and the unmistakable masculine endurance of his party directly linked with survival and rooted in the physical body. In 'a crazy open fishing boat' with a 'wholly inexperienced' crew and, apparently, no ship's captain, Coxe's 'we' was implicitly associated with himself, Herbert and Floyd. In this narrative, the fearful crew were a crucial narrative foil against which the trio's superior virtues and capacity for self-control could be manifested.

These discourses offered an ideal first opportunity for elite young men to advocate personal claims towards their innate abilities of superior self-control and, by extension, their right to command others of lesser status. In casting servants and locals as the emotionally uncontrolled 'other' in their discourses on danger, Grand Tourists and their tutors took an active part in a wider ongoing reinforcement of emotional hierarchies. Here, the lower social orders were also characterized as either emotionally uncontrolled or brute-like in their insensitivity. Eighteenth-century views of servants, for example, oscillated between an indulgent paternalistic view of their 'childlike' qualities and a fearful recognition of the need to regulate their more uncontrollable natures.²³ Similarly, military 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'.²⁴ Without the presence and superior qualities of elite men, officers believed that their men would be incapable of controlling themselves in the face of danger.²⁵ In these discourses, the emotional reactions of lower social groups were used against them regardless of their approach. If they expressed emotion, they were castigated as uncontrolled and met with the assertion that 'Those subject to passion deserve to be subject to power'.²⁶ If they accepted their

²² Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, iii. 91. My italics.

²³ E.g., K. Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore, Md., 2009), pp. 20, 114–17, 138; C. Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 20, 114–7, 138, 219, 221.

²⁴ Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, p. 161. For how this emerged in more paternalistic attitudes, see J. 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. A. Forrest, K. Hagemann and J. Rendall (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 26.

²⁵ See Harari, *Ultimate Experience*, pp. 161–4, 185–6; R. Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle in the Age of Napoleon* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 2000), pp. 48, 183–5.

²⁶ N. Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2008), p. 79.

lot, they lacked emotional capacity and a desire for freedom.²⁷ Elite claims to a hegemony of emotion and reason were therefore integral to broader assertions of political and social-cultural dominance.²⁸

Telling stories and jokes about one's servants was a common means of asserting and justifying social dominance, and a popular trope among a wide range of eighteenth-century elite travellers.²⁹ During her travels with her Italian husband in the 1780s, Hester Piozzi described a violent storm in Italy during which her English maid and French valet 'became quite unsupportable to themselves and me; who could only repeat the same unheeded consolations'.³⁰ In 1716–17, when crossing Europe with her husband to take up his diplomatic posting in Constantinople, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu did not limit herself to targeting servants, choosing to allocate men and women closer to her own rank to the role of emotional 'other'. She described, for example, how her husband 'was much more surpriz'd than myselfe' when they realized that their postilions were falling asleep while galloping along the moonlit precipices between Bohemia and Saxony.³¹ During a stormy channel crossing back to England in 1718, she mocked the fears of 'a fellow passenger ... an English Lady': 'I was not at all willing to be drown'd, [but] I could not forbear being entertain'd at [her] double distress' at possibly losing her life and her fine headdress.³²

Elite men did not have the same freedom. Constrained by a shared masculine code of honour which forbade them from making false accusations of cowardice, Tourists had to be careful when casting their peers and social equivalents as emotional subordinates. This was possible in certain circumstances. In October 1776, for example, Lewisham wrote to his mother to describe his descent into a Hungarian mine one hundred fathoms deep using ladders and ropes. Here he sought to demonstrate the bravery of his actions by contrasting them with the conduct of Charles, his younger brother, 'who is prudence itself [and] would not go down'.³³ This gentle mockery was perhaps only possible because Charles was his little brother. However, when socially superior men did cast their peers

²⁷ Eustace, *Passion is the Gale*, pp. 69, 78–9, 87, 158.

²⁸ Eustace, *Passion is the Gale*, pp. 5, 78–9, 87, 261, 188–9, 190, 387.

²⁹ Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp. 219, 221–2.

³⁰ H. Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London, 1789), pp. 256–7.

³¹ *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. R. Halsband (2 vols., Oxford, 1965), i. 281–2.

³² *Lady Mary Montagu: Selected Letters*, ed. I. Grundy (London, 1997), pp. 170–1; E. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 25–7.

³³ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, Lewisham, Vienna, to Dartmouth, 8 Oct. 1776.

as emotional subordinates, it was generally intended as a deliberate insult to someone's masculinity and leadership abilities. This most frequently occurred when Tourists criticized the Italian elite. Writing from Florence in 1729, Stephen Fox, 1st earl of Ilchester, described a violent earthquake which was 'a much more terrible thing than I imagined'. The local reaction was one of hysteria, escalating towards 'universal fright'.³⁴ In the immediate aftermath, Ilchester's landlady 'was in such terrible agonies occasioned by fear that I thought She would have died of the fright, as one of her neighbours has since'. By morning 'all the squares and streets were full of people confessing themselves in their shirts and smocks'. But Ilchester reserved his sternest criticism for the grand duke of Tuscany who had 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'.³⁵ In singling out the grand duke, Ilchester directed a particularly pointed criticism towards the ruling elite of another nation. This criticism was not just symptomatic of a generalized stereotyping of southern Europe as emotionally uncontrolled. It should also be read within the context of the rather cool Anglo-Florentine relations of the 1720s.³⁶ In turn, as these diplomatic relationships improved, so did individual British Tourists' accounts of the grand dukes.

Grand Tourists may often have passed negative comment on the fearfulness and inferior conduct of their servants. But this was not always the case. Indeed, occasionally Tourists' narratives used the concept of a *fearless* servant as an opportunity to contrast elite men's 'informed', intelligent courage with the lower orders' more common 'unthinking' courage. Laurent the Bold, valet to Herbert on his Tour of 1775–80, is one example of a fearless servant. Herbert's Tour was notable for the size of the travelling party, comprising two tutors, his Newfoundland dog Rover, and his manservant Laurent, to whom the Pembroke circle gave the soubriquet 'the Bold'. Unlike the many fearful servants who populated 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 – a man unfazed by even the most challenging conditions. At one point, Laurent fricasseed 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

³⁴ Brit Libr., Add. MS. 51417, Stephen Fox, 1st earl of Ilchester, Florence, to Henry Fox, later 1st Lord Holland, 2 July 1729.

³⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 51417, Stephen Fox, Florence, to Henry Fox, 24 June 1729.

³⁶ R. Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 69–70.

these Expeditions'.³⁷ He matched his master's physicality as they outwalked mules in Italy, and his courage was known beyond their travelling party.³⁸ After reading William 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',³⁹

Coxe provided the most dramatic example of Laurent's boldness in his description of their Mer de Glace expedition, which they undertook during 1776. Coxe identified the principal dangers as the glacier's 500-foot-deep chasms and the slippery nature of the ice. In this context, ice was a particularly symbolic element as a successful navigation of the glacier required an even greater degree of bodily self-control. Sensibly equipped with crampons and spiked poles, Herbert, Coxe and the rest of the party were able to move with increased 'courage and confidence'. This led Coxe to conclude that while 'This account appears terrible; ... we had not the least apprehension of danger'.⁴⁰ However, not all of the party took these precautions. As Coxe continued: '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'.⁴¹ This unnamed servant, almost certainly Laurent, acted with extreme fearlessness and, in doing so, had placed himself in serious danger.

By these actions, Laurent's courage might appear to have outstripped that of his superiors. Despite, or perhaps in response to, this possible threat, the Pembroke circle carefully fashioned Laurent's image in their description of Herbert's Grand Tour. The outcome corresponded with an established eighteenth-century literary figure, dubbed 'the sexy footman' by the historian Kristina Straub. Some male servants, such as footmen, were chosen for their splendid physiques and were imbued with a virile sexual charisma in theatre and literature. This sharpened the struggle for dominance between master and servant, a potential imbalance which Straub argued was addressed from mid century onwards, and in the context of sensibility's growing appeal, through fictional depictions of idealized menservants characterized by their homosocial loyalty to their masters. In his popular novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), Tobias Smollett made clear that the servant

³⁷ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke's Grand Tour journal, 1 Dec. 1779.

³⁸ '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, 1939), p. 259.

³⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/33, Thomas Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert, 14 Feb. 1779.

⁴⁰ Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, i. 421–2.

⁴¹ Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, i. 422.

Clinker's 'manly strength' and physical sexuality was firmly contained by his subservient loyalty, allowing for a compelling cross-class bond that did not threaten the status quo.⁴² The ability to command the loyalty and physical vitality of these hyper-masculine servants became an even greater advertisement for their masters' virtues and ability to command others. At the same time, attempts to depict such relationships and capacities were fraught with difficulties as the potential for the manly servant to outstrip his master in feats of courage often proved hard to control.

In a manner akin to Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, the Pembroke circle were able to control Laurent's masculine image by celebrating their servant's loyalty to Herbert. Here was a man characterized as 'faithfull', 'trusty' and 'honest', whose attachment to his master gained widespread attention. Writing to Herbert from Rome, the art dealer Thomas Jenkins commented on Laurent's absolute determination to rejoin his master in Turin, despite the route being blocked by snow in March 1780.⁴³ Laurent had actually returned to Rome to get married, an act of independence that was generally frowned upon by employers, and which distinguished him from the fictional Clinker who decisively put his master before his love life.⁴⁴ By emphasizing Laurent's loyalty, the Pembroke circle and Jenkins determinedly rewrote his motivations and ignored such inconvenient truths.

Their writings also paralleled canine loyalty with Laurent's apparently single-minded devotion. Floyd and Lady Pembroke depicted Laurent as akin to a guard dog, while a tendency to ask about Laurent and Herbert's dog 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.⁴⁵ The more bestial aspects of this connection were also drawn out. Herbert, drawing upon a debasing connotation with dog breath, recorded how the hungover 'Bold's Br-th over st—k to such a horrible degree lately that I very much doubt of his soundness'.⁴⁶ 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. Laurent was a valet but the Pembrokes' depiction of him can be seen as an early example of elite men's readiness to fuse the characteristics of their outdoor servants and dogs. By the early nineteenth

⁴² Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, pp. 15, 45, 139–40, 155–7.

⁴³ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/33, Thomas Jenkins, Rome, to Herbert, 6 March 1780 and 4 March 1780.

⁴⁴ WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, Herbert's journal, 23 Feb. 1780.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/33, Bromley, Harrow, to Herbert, 14 Feb. 1779; MS. 2057/F4/33, Dr Thomas Eyre, Fovant, to Herbert, 15 Dec. 1779.

⁴⁶ Herbert's journal, in Herbert, *Henry, Elizabeth and George*, p. 256.

century, these men and animals were frequently celebrated for their shared attributes of 'loyalty, vitality, strength, bravery, health or cunning'.⁴⁷ By animalizing Laurent's motives and actions, his 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 recognized and strategically overcame the dangers through using the correct equipment, such as crampons. Thus, Laurent the Bold formed an excellent foil in which his laudable, but ultimately simplistic, courage served to reveal his master's more complex performances.

The Pembroke circle's handling of servants in their Grand Tour narratives suggests a sophisticated awareness of and response to the shifting cultures, discourses and hierarchies of emotion and command. This was accompanied by a determination to establish Herbert with a masculine image suited to a career in the military and the fashionable cult of sensibility. Yet the example of Laurent shows that these strategies were fraught with difficulty. Embodying several masculine traits that his masters sought to attain, Laurent's conduct reveals how men from different social strata could share markers of successful masculinity. To ensure that Laurent's admirable male conduct complemented but did not outstrip their own, Herbert and members of the Pembroke circle established a carefully nuanced and maintained hierarchy of physicality, emotion and command. This creative example of elite self-fashioning and power was – as the next section demonstrates – just one of the ways in which Tourists could exploit narratives of danger to promote a sense of self.

Men of feeling and men of wit: alternative narrations of danger and masculinity

In 1754–6, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, and George Bussy Villiers, later the 4th earl of Jersey – along with their tutor, the poet and playwright, William Whitehead – undertook a Grand Tour. During this time, they performed a range of masculinities including the polite and sociable cosmopolitan, art enthusiast, military tourist and gentleman of science. Yet their efforts did not always meet with approval. The architect Robert Adam, for example, claimed that Nuneham's and Villiers's enthusiasm for continental fashion and manners had gone so far 'as almost to disguise the exterior of an Englishman'.⁴⁸ Though this was

⁴⁷ M. Craske, 'In the realm of nature and beasts', in G. Waterfield, A. French and M. Craske, *Below Stairs: 400 Years of Servants' Portraits* (London, 2003), pp. 160–2.

⁴⁸ J. Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1997), p. 719.

not intended as a compliment, both men – having determinedly pursued the extremes of fashion throughout their travels – would have claimed it as such. This hyperfashionable identity was one that they maintained into adulthood during the 1760s and 1770s, as part of the Macaroni set: a group of gentlemen who continued to adopt the extremes of continental dress and styles after their Grand Tours.⁴⁹ Writing in the 1790s, the literary hostess and author, Elizabeth Montagu, would declare the 4th earl of Jersey to be ‘the Prince of Maccaronies’.⁵⁰

During his Grand Tour, Nuneham’s letters to his sister and parents revealed a similar devotion to fashion and self-presentation, including detailed critiques of his and others’ wardrobes and his fashion purchases for his mother and sisters.⁵¹ In addition, Nuneham strove to establish himself as a man with a reputation for emotional sensitivity. From the mid century, the sentimental ‘man of feeling’ was increasingly viewed as a family figure who expressed his true refinement with intimate, trusted loved ones and friends, and through displays of weeping, sighing and trembling.⁵² Correspondingly, Nuneham cast himself as accomplished in the culture of feeling and encouraged his sister to write to him in a freer, more open style: ‘I have told you over & over again that what ever you say I like, & why will you not put down all your thoughts?’⁵³ He recommended the plays of the French dramatist, Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux (1688–1763), and confidently predicted ‘you will weep ... I never read [*La Mere Confidente*] ... without feeling the most pleasing melancholy in the world’.⁵⁴ He affected to dread numerous horrors as diverse as war, his sister’s reactions to the clothes he brought for her and even the reading of a long book: ‘my courage was never great enough to attempt such a work’.⁵⁵

Nuneham used his experiences of hardship and danger during continental travel to craft his masculine reputation for fashion and feeling. For example, while he appreciated the beauty of mountainous landscapes,

⁴⁹ See, e.g., S. 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. K. D. Murphy and S. O’Driscoll (Lewisburg, Pa., 2013), pp. 241–79; P. McNeil, ‘Macaroni masculinities’, *Fashion Theory*, iv (2000), 373–404.

⁵⁰ H. E. Maxwell, ‘Villiers, George Bussy, fourth earl of Jersey (1735–1805)’, *ODNB* <<https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28295>> [accessed 14 Aug. 2014].

⁵¹ See, e.g., CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-7, George, Viscount Nuneham, later 2nd Earl Harcourt, [Germany], to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt [undated].

⁵² P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660–1800* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 89–90, 93–6, 100.

⁵³ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-3, Nuneham, Reims, to his sister, 25 July 1754.

⁵⁴ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-16, Nuneham, Vienna, to his sister, 14 Sept. 1755.

⁵⁵ E.g., CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-24, Nuneham [The Dutch Republic?], to his sister [undated].

he also emphasized the extreme physical discomfort and fear they instilled in him. Writing in July 1755, he recounted how, 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’.⁵⁶ A mild twelve-mile pleasure trip in an open traineau (sledge) through the snow to Mersenburg in December 1754 dramatically became ‘our Greenland kind of adventure’.⁵⁷ Rather than laying claim to hardiness, Nuneham used these experiences to emphasize his physical delicacy. During the Mersenberg journey, the cold was so intense that he ‘was numbed for a quarter of an Hour so much as not to be able to stand’.⁵⁸ 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’.⁵⁹ Warnings and complaints aside, Nuneham’s narrative was focused principally on his marvellous outfit, which included a pelisse that was so fine and tight that he could not fit his coat over it. This was 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.

On their earlier Tour of 1739–41, Horace Walpole and his friend, the poet Thomas Gray, had proved similarly creative in constructing a distinctive identity through their narration of danger. Throughout his adult life, Walpole invested in a rather unusual elite identity based on disavowing traditional aristocratic ambitions. Though an MP between 1741 and 1768, Walpole resisted active involvement with parliament, government or the military, and in doing so refused to assume an elite command of authority. Yet Walpole also evidently wished to retain a position of privileged exclusivity. This required him to seek other means of distinction via his literary and aesthetic abilities and a dedication to novelty.⁶⁰ Walpole began constructing this rather idiosyncratic identity in earnest during his Grand Tour – as witnessed by his decision to cast himself as uncourageous, uncommanding and non-physical in his accounts of danger.

Throughout his Grand Tour letters, Walpole deliberately disassociated himself from any physical displays of endurance, courage, stoicism and

⁵⁶ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-14, Nuneham, Mentz, to his sister, 29 July 1755.

⁵⁷ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-8, Nuneham, [Germany], to his sister, 18 Dec. 1754.

⁵⁸ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-8, Nuneham, [Germany], to his sister, 18 Dec. 1754.

⁵⁹ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-8, Nuneham, [Germany], to his sister, 18 Dec. 1754.

⁶⁰ See J. Watt, *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764–1832* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 21–39.

fortitude. On his return journey through Italy, for example, he complained vociferously of the discomforts of travel: '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!'⁶¹

His comically witty accounts of danger, particularly the 1739 Mount Cenis crossing, were relayed from Turin in detail to Richard West, a friend of both Gray and Walpole from their Eton days. These further subverted the accepted ideas of a hardy masculine response to danger. The crossing was enlivened by two incidents, the first of which saw the Tourists' porters drink to excess. Walpole reported how, as '[T]he Devil of Discord in the similitude of sour wine' took hold, the men had started to fight and had nearly plunged Gray and himself off 'the very highest precipice of Mount Cenis'.⁶² In this account, Walpole used the familiar trope of the uncontrolled lower orders. The porters were bestial, demonic 'Alpine savages' with 'cloven foot', uncontrollable in their 'rushed' movements and drunkenness. But whereas other Tourists might have demonstrated their ability to regain command over such men, Walpole depicted himself as remaining passively in danger, unable to exert authority over the situation. The second incident during the same crossing was the death of Walpole's dog:

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 [Walpole's dog] 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.⁶³

⁶¹ Horace Walpole, Florence, to Richard West, 4 Dec. 1740, in *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis (48 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1937-), xiii. pp. 238-9.

⁶² Walpole, Turin, to West, 11 Nov. 1739, in Lewis, *Walpole's Correspondence*, xiii. pp. 188-90.

⁶³ Walpole, Turin, to West, 11 Nov. 1739, in Lewis, *Walpole's Correspondence*, xiii. 188-90.

Once again, Walpole's reaction was one of passivity – this time from his chaise where 'I saw it and screamed, but in vain' – and it was the postilion who leapt into action. Walpole portrayed himself as a helpless, almost feminine, victim who was unable to save either himself from a precipice or his dog from a wolf. His documentation of the scream is particularly startling. In this external, involuntary vocal manifestation of an internal lack of control, he effectively undermined any personal claims towards stoicism.

Rather than becoming a pathetic figure, Walpole created a self-reflective masculinity that drew authority from self-mockery. Comically mourning the 'dearest creature', Walpole was alert to the fantastic nature of the incident and the political irony of a King Charles spaniel named Tory being killed by wolves. His two correspondents, Richard West and his cousin Henry Seymour Conway, responded in a similar spirit, and used the incident to showcase their command of classical, literary and historical references. In his reply, West vowed never to praise Mount Cenis 'unless she serves all her wolves as Edgar the Peaceable did', and compared Tory's death to 'poor Mrs Rider ... tore to pieces by the savages'.⁶⁴ Conway's response highlighted his 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 p—ss this ten days ... and that little bark pierced my heart with grief!'⁶⁵ Conway drew upon the popular eighteenth-century trope of pet elegies – a demonstration of verbal dexterity characterized by a certain *jeu d'esprit* – to state that, while his response 'shan't be a letter of condolence, nor will I seal it with black wax', it did 'carry its sadness ... in its countenance and in the very heart and bowels'.⁶⁶ Conway went on to ask that Walpole 'design him an apotheosis *a la payenne* or a canonization *a la bonne catholique*. His [Tory's] exit was so extraordinary that I can't be content unless you make it miraculous'.⁶⁷ Conway closed by placing the dog in a classically inspired afterlife, where

⁶⁴ West, Temple, to Walpole, 13 Dec. 1779, in Lewis, *Walpole's Correspondence*, xiii. 13, 196, n. 2–3. Edgar the Peaceable imposed an annual tribute of three hundred wolves' heads in c.968 upon the Welsh king. 'Mrs Rider' was a reference to Mrs Riding, a character in Antoine-François Prévost d'Exilles' *Le Philosophe anglais* (1731–39).

⁶⁵ Conway, Geneva, to Walpole, 18 Nov. 1739, in Lewis, *Walpole's Correspondence*, xxxvii. 43–4.

⁶⁶ Lewis, *Walpole's Correspondence*, xxxvii. 43–4. See I. Tague, 'Dead pets: satire and sentiment in British elegies and epitaphs for animals', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, xlv (2008), 289–306, at pp. 289, 292–3.

⁶⁷ Conway, Geneva, to Walpole, 18 Nov. 1739, in Lewis, *Walpole's Correspondence*, xxxvii. 43–4.

‘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’.⁶⁸

In the decades following their return to England, Walpole and Gray established considerable literary reputations which drew on the incidents and literary skills first explored in their Grand Tour letters. For example, in 1747 Gray published an elegy on Walpole’s cat, Selina, who drowned in a tub of goldfish. Like the correspondence over Tory’s death, the elegy was a witty, amusing piece.⁶⁹ During the Grand Tour, Gray had also used Tory’s death to experiment with a variety of literary forms, including a farcical parody of his travels. In this, he replaced Tory with himself: ‘[Gray] is devoured by a Wolf, & how it is to be devoured by a Wolf’.⁷⁰ In reimagining Tory’s death as his, he nodded towards a 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 had 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’.⁷¹ In these alternative outcomes, Gray traced the fall that culminated in his imaginary death. Likewise, in sublime discourses individuals frequently traced the fall off the precipice with a fixed gaze that divorced consciousness from the analytical self. This visual and imaginary progress culminated with the victim striking the ground, resulting in an imagined obliteration of the self.⁷² 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.

In their reflections on death, danger and fear, Nuneham, Walpole and Gray were less concerned with charting their emotional reactions than to experiment with the skill, wit and humour that later became an important part of their masculine identities and ambitions. Tory’s grisly demise, for example, was consciously used to that end. And Walpole’s pet was not

⁶⁸ Conway, Geneva, to Walpole, 18 Nov. 1739, in Lewis, *Walpole’s Correspondence*, xxxvii. 43–4.

⁶⁹ Tague, ‘Dead pets’, pp. 289, 300.

⁷⁰ Gray, Florence, to Thomas Wharton, 12 March 1740, in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. P. Jackson Toynbee, L. Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford, 1971), p. 140.

⁷¹ Gray, Turin, to Mrs Gray, 7 Nov. 1739, in Jackson Toynbee, Whibley and Starr, *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, p. 126.

⁷² B. M. Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 352, 408, 413–21, 423.

alone in being used to convey his owners' personal perspectives on their masculinity. As the final section of this chapter explores, dogs on the Grand Tour were often used as opportunities to mediate on danger and the self – though in ways less concerned with deliberate self-presentation and more with managing unwanted reactions to danger.

Dogs, emotions and extensions of the self

Eighteenth-century elites enjoyed close association with their dogs. While dogs were non-human 'others', occupying servile or captive positions, they were also companions and objects of affection.⁷³ As noted, from the mid century male members of the elite sought to promote their reputation for emotional sensibility, and their capacity to be moved by others, as an indicator of superior status. Studies of writings on pets make it clear that eighteenth-century owners' deep sentimental relationships with their animals played an important role in creating opportunities to reflect and emote. Animal deaths led to considerations of human mortality, while political and social satires made frequent reference to pets as extensions or projections of their owners.⁷⁴

Dogs were also a common presence on the Grand Tour and feature regularly in visual sources such as the portraits of Pompeo Batoni. Tourists and their correspondents delighted in drawing out the similarities between themselves and their pets. How then did such projections serve Grand Tourists, especially when pet and owner found themselves in danger? First, they provided another opportunity to affirm a variety of masculine identities ranging from the rejection of demonstrable courage, to the embrace of high emotion or a striving for hardiness. The final moments of Walpole's Tory, for example, were clear indication that the dog – and therefore his master – was totally unsuited to harsh physical terrains. Animals played a similar purpose for George, Viscount Nuneham, who received a barbet dog as a present from a Saxon nobleman. He named the pet Mufty and sent it home to his mother – a gesture which symbolized his deep attachment to his parents and family. The dog died of a leg injury soon after its arrival home and, in death, Mufty presented Nuneham with another opportunity to depict himself as a person of extreme sensibility. Upon receiving the news,

⁷³ I. Tague, 'Companions, servants, or slaves? Considering animals in eighteenth-century Britain', *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, xlix (2010), 111–30.

⁷⁴ E.g., K. Gardner, 'Canis satiricus: Alexander Pope and his dogs', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, xxvi (2013), 228–34; L. Brown, 'The lady, the lapdog and literary alterity', *The Eighteenth Century*, lii (2011), 31–45, at pp. 33–5; Tague, 'Dead pets', p. 298; M. Blackwell, 'The it-narrative in eighteenth-century England: animals and objects in circulation', *Literature Compass*, i (2004), 1–5, at p. 3.

Nuneham wept, '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'.⁷⁵

In contrast, the dogs of Grand Tourists who revelled in hardier, more martial masculinities were much different. Herbert's dog, Rover, was a large, robust Newfoundland who successfully accompanied him on his Scandinavian and Alpine explorations, while John Holroyd's hunting dog – Lady Mary – was so eager to pursue game that she tumbled off a precipice. Both animals were singularly suited to masters who took pride in their hardy enjoyment of outdoor pursuits.

Holroyd and Herbert were both committed to constructing a narrative of tough masculinity, in which they repeatedly sought to mute their emotional reactions to danger. Curiously, however, this practice was disrupted when it came to recounting Rover and Lady Mary's experiences of harm. Such accounts therefore allow us to consider how these young men may have accommodated – or failed to accommodate – emotions of fright, horror and distress, that had been involuntarily experienced in situations of danger, but that they could not openly express in their writings.

Lady Mary fell while her master was crossing the Alps in July 1764. This unsettled Holroyd to the extent that he recounted the episode as a postscript and an additional entry in his letter and journal:⁷⁶ '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'.⁷⁷ Throughout his Tour correspondence, Holroyd wrote often of his attachment to Lady Mary. During Rome's carnival they even exchanged places, as she rode in the carriage as a licentious nobleman while he masqueraded on top of it as her squire.⁷⁸ This attachment was extended during her accident. As with Gray's description of the imagined carriage accident, Holroyd traced his dog's uncontrolled descent, emphasized her headlong tumble and ended by imagining her 'dashed in pieces'. Holroyd then further reinforced their connection by recording how the dog's immediate instinct was to run straight to him. This affectionate relationship

⁷⁵ CBS, MS. D-LE-E2-24, Nuneham [The Dutch Republic?], to his sister [undated].

⁷⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 154, Holroyd, Genoa, to Mrs Baker, 13 Aug. 1764; Add. MS. 61979 A, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal, 19–21 July 1764.

⁷⁷ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 154, Holroyd, Genoa, to Mrs Baker, 13 Aug. 1764.

⁷⁸ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 168, Holroyd, Rome, to Revd Dr Baker, 8 March 1765.

between dog and master perhaps allowed Lady Mary to fulfil a completely different role to the fearful servant by becoming a permissible – or perhaps secretive – site of anxiety and fearful imaginings for her owner. By revisiting the fall several times over a two-month period, Holroyd may, like Gray, have read himself into the dog's fall, imagined his own death, and thus carefully explored fears that could not be easily expressed elsewhere in his chosen masculine discourse.

Imbued with an emotional climate of affection, a Tourist's relationship with his dog provided an outlet for greater emotional expressiveness among hardy, more stoical masculine cultures. But even here, there were limits. When Rover, Herbert's Newfoundland dog, died in unspecified circumstances in 1779, the news generated an outpouring of sympathy. Thomas Eyre, for example, wrote, 'Alas! poor old Rover! I am very sorry the poor old Fellow did not live to see his native Country again'.⁷⁹ Herbert's father, Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, gave his son direct permission to grieve over an animal with a gesture that also reinforced the elite's belief in their superior emotional sensibilities: 'I sincerely regret him, & condole with you, knowing it is a much more serious loss, than vulgar minds can conceive'.⁸⁰ In doing so, Pembroke elevated Rover to a near-human level of dignity and planned out an imaginary funeral procession in which Coxe and Floyd acted as pallbearers. However, although Pembroke encouraged a particular display of sentimentality, he was not inviting his son to indulge in wider expressions of emotional vulnerability. Consequently, when Pembroke's insensitive offer of a new puppy provoked an emotional outburst from Herbert – who advised him that he 'may send it to H-ll' – his mother and father swiftly rebuked him for this display of anger and upset.⁸¹ In tune with orchestrating a narrative of danger that celebrated Herbert's hardy, stoic and self-controlled masculinity, the young man's parents exhibited a rigid disapproval at any splenetic behaviour in their son. This episode was no exception.⁸²

Herbert may have snapped at his father; however, this outburst needs to be set in the context of his parents' difficult marital relationship, his father's highly erratic decision-making, and the increasingly tense relationship between his two tutors. All these factors had a direct and significant impact on Herbert's Grand Tour and his emotional state. His outburst may be considered as an 'emotional refuge', which the historian William Reddy defined as a moment or space in which individuals are able to reduce the

⁷⁹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/33, Eyre, Fovant, to Herbert, 15 Dec. 1779.

⁸⁰ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/29, Henry Herbert, 10th earl of Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 20 Apr. 1779.

⁸¹ WSHC, MS. 2057/F4/31, Lady Elizabeth Pembroke, London, to Herbert, 7 Aug. 1779.

⁸² Goldsmith, 'Nostalgia, homesickness and emotional formation', pp. 346–8.

conflict and tension experienced by conforming to a dominant emotional regime.⁸³ Holroyd's reaction and repeated return to his dog in danger might also be seen in a similar way. These moments offer brief glimpses into the interior struggle to maintain emotional and written performances that lived up to the desired ideal.

As the historian Michael Roper has shown in his psychoanalytical analysis of writings by First World War combatants, unwanted and involuntary responses to traumatic events are almost always present in narratives.⁸⁴ Unlike Nuneham's, Walpole's and Gray's reflections on dogs in danger, it is unclear whether Herbert and Holroyd consciously used these moments as chances to express emotions or whether these were involuntary expressions. A similar uncertainty surrounds the tendency of Grand Tourists to express negative emotions within the concluding lines of their writings. Take, for example, a poem by John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth, written in 1729 after experiencing a violent storm off the coast of Italy. Having vomited due to seasickness, Hervey recorded how:

to revenge th' affront the Sea,
Pour'd such a Torrent back on me,
That from my Foot, up to my Head,
I had not one unwetted Thread,
My Clothes were changing, when old John,
Cry'd, 'Speak or else by G-d we're gone,
'Pray look, *nay 'tis no laughing matter,*
'Her very Sails are under water';⁸⁵

Hervey's poem is emotionally charged with cheerful hilarity. While his servant, old John, pleaded with him to turn the boat to shore, he laughed at the danger and his predicament. Yet the emotional and physical fallout of this experience appeared fleetingly in the immediate aftermath. Upon reaching land:

Still giddy, jaded, & half dead
For want of Rest, we hast to Bed;
Nor wanted rocking, for we soon
Slept, & nier [*sic*] wak'd 'till next Day noon.⁸⁶

⁸³ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 128.

⁸⁴ M. Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester, 2009).

⁸⁵ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 51345, poem written in 1729 by John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth, to his wife Mary. My emphasis.

⁸⁶ Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 51345, poem written in 1729 by John Hervey, 2nd Baron Hervey of Ickworth, to his wife Mary.

A similar pattern appears in George Legge, Viscount Lewisham's 1777 account of climbing the highest mountain in the Canton of Appenzell, as discussed in chapter 4. Lewisham's account was characterized by cheerfulness and emotional restraint, yet his concluding words described how the party's return to safety resulted in 'some hours of profound sleep' which 'buried all our cares, dangers & fatigues into oblivion'.⁸⁷ Brief commentaries like these can potentially be read as moments in which the carefully constructed narratives of danger faltered or as spaces in which uncomfortable emotional responses could be safely stated and confined. These moments of disjuncture are not only evidence of the tension between the ideals and lived reality of the Grand Tour; they also hint at the ways in which experiences and performances of masculinity were internalized by elite young men engaged in continental travel.

Accessing the raw, unmediated emotions experienced by eighteenth-century Grand Tourists ultimately remains beyond the reach of historians. This said, it is important to note the efforts travellers made to construct retrospective travel narratives which, in offering socially acceptable emotional and physical responses to hazard, served to construct and assert a young man's masculine identity. This act of representation was itself an extension of the experience as the mind and body consciously or subconsciously processed the event; but it was also a careful *reconstituting* of experience that was central to making the Tour a success through its careful presentation to others. Circulated among family, friends and influential circles, these narratives were closely scrutinized in order to see how the next generation of elite leaders had fared during an important rite of passage in an often perilous continental setting. Whether they aligned themselves with a hardy masculinity, or with that of the fashionable man of feeling, or the literary wit, individual Tourists were required to place themselves within a wider elite discourse centred on power, command, emotional hierarchies, emotional self-control and authority. Even as these young men sought seemingly polarized masculine identities and virtues, the experiences and representations of danger proved a dominant and unifying theme for achieving this goal on the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.

⁸⁷ SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, later 3rd earl of Dartmouth, Geneva, to William Legge, 2nd earl of Dartmouth, 9 Sept. 1777.

Conclusion

The eighteenth-century Grand Tour was a major educational and cultural experience shared between the generations of young men who constituted Britain's aristocracy and gentry.¹ Its principal purpose was to maintain the power and privilege of Britain's elite by educating, forming and testing these individuals. Elite families and society achieved this through treating the Tour as a rite of initiation and coming-of-age process in which a variety of itineraries, curricula, places, practices, performances and narratives were used to instil the requisite knowledge, virtues, behaviours and identities of an elite man. This area of travel history is therefore closely related to the study of eighteenth-century masculinity, as having an understanding of the Grand Tour is connected to an awareness of the sort of man it was meant to produce.

Until recently, the Grand Tour has been viewed as a process of masculine refinement in which French academies were used to form polite, elegant manners while the time spent among Italy's art and classical ruins was intended to develop aesthetic taste and a sense of the British elite as the rightful inheritors of classical civic virtue. This interpretation of the ideal elite man produced through the Tour has reinforced a hegemonic reading of eighteenth-century masculinity that fixates on polite, refined manhood. It has also placed considerable emphasis on the Grand Tour's published discourses and taken a selective geographical approach by prioritizing the itineraries of France and Italy.

This book has aimed to investigate the relationship between the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and masculinity more thoroughly, and achieve a fuller understanding of how aristocratic and gentry communities rationalized and comprehended it, through focusing on their writings drawn from archives covering more than thirty Tours undertaken between 1700–80. Even the most cursory reading of these archival sources affirms two important points: scholars of the Grand Tour have been absolutely right in identifying the significance of the ideal of the polite refined man to its purpose; but they have been wrong to presume that this importance equates to a hegemonic dominance. The archival records and private

¹ M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), p. 130.

'Conclusion', in S. Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London, 2020), pp. 209–220. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

exchanges within elite society show that the scope and ambition of the Grand Tour was much more complex, varied and extensive than existing interpretations allow. In terms of itineraries, it is important to remember that Grand Tourists routinely devoted substantial time to destinations outside France and Italy, particularly the Low Countries, the German principalities, Austria and Switzerland. Less commonly, excursions to Hungary, Poland, Russia, Scandinavia and destinations around the Mediterranean were also made. During their travels, Grand Tourists did spend time in academies and among classical ruins but they also sojourned for lengthy periods at universities, prized their successful social interactions with the continental elite, avidly pursued healthy lifestyles and wrote about the trials, dangers and discomforts of travel. They recorded and prioritized numerous social and pleasurable pastimes and demonstrated interests in a wide array of areas: diplomacy, war, law and justice, science and industry, theatre, music and literature, and botany and geology as well as art and antiquity.

All these elements (and more) are repeatedly present in archival records relating to the Grand Tour, yet they have received little serious scholarly attention. This is a significant oversight since the rich diversity of Tour itineraries and activities gives rise to questions that deserve careful consideration. What purpose did these aspects of the Grand Tour serve? How did they function alongside or even against the Tour's focus on refinement? To what extent does acknowledgement of their importance require a re-evaluation of the Grand Tour's rationales and agendas? Does this in turn challenge perceptions of the Tour as an institution exclusively dedicated to the formation of the polite man? If the Grand Tour did have room for other expressions of elite masculinity, how does this lead to a re-evaluation of the hegemonic model of masculinity and to an overall understanding of what it meant to be an elite man in the eighteenth century?

This book has started to explore answers to these questions by focusing on the set of itineraries, activities, agendas and identities that coalesced around travellers' encounters with danger, hazard and hardship. Continental travel comprised hours, days and months invested in physical exercises, hunting, playing sports, attending military sites, jolting in carriages, inching alongside precipices, scrambling around glaciers and mountains, and arduously ascending Vesuvius: activities that were all united by a frisson of danger. Rather than avoiding this danger, the culture of the eighteenth-century British elite was to proactively embrace and use it as a tool in the formation of elite masculinity. This response to danger was rooted in Tourists' ongoing conceptualization of themselves as a military service elite. The Grand Tour was important for the perpetuation of this identity as it enabled elite young men to benefit from encountering continental military training, activities

and culture. Grand Tourists actively sought to form themselves as martial leaders through touring past and present military sites, receiving a military education at academies and, at times, by observing and participating in live conflict.

The enduring ideal of the military service elite also shaped aristocratic and gentry concepts of honour as something that had to be proven, affirmed and defended through displays of courage, prowess and leadership. In this context, danger operated as a challenge to an elite man's honour and masculine virtue and therefore had to be confronted, rather than retreated from. This understanding of honour and danger had its origins in the battlefield, but it also influenced and underpinned the rationale behind other Grand Tour activities, particularly sporting activities like hunting, the trials and tribulations of rough travelling conditions, and the growing practice of physically exploring natural phenomena such as glaciers, mountains and volcanoes. Each of these activities provided the traveller with the opportunity to honourably and courageously confront a physical peril. As such, they were an accepted part of elite culture and education and had two important functions: as a means of preparing for war or, alternatively, as a substitute for its dangers in which the same masculine qualities could be developed and proven.

Throughout the period, Grand Tourists and their family, friends and acquaintances documented these encounters in their private exchanges, writings and, less frequently, in the more public domain of commissioned art and printed texts. In these accounts, Tourists steadily – if often somewhat fleetingly – articulated a mentality that conceptualized danger and hardship as formative challenges *and* as transformative, purifying forces which tested, refined and affirmed the eighteenth-century traveller's manhood. Danger was a *jeux de société*: a game to be cheerfully chanced, gambled with and even enjoyed. By chancing and confronting danger on battlefields, hunting runs, perilous roads, Alpine glaciers and the slopes of Vesuvius, Tourists partook in a gamble that could elevate or destroy their physical health, their Britishness and their reputations as men of honour, courage and virtue who were capable of leadership and worthy of admiration.

At the centre of this lay the ideal of the hardy, martial elite man. Historians of masculinity have typically argued that this ideal only emerged in the late eighteenth century and grew stronger in the nineteenth century via the rise of muscular Christianity, the heroic mountaineer and the soldier-explorer-heroes of the British empire. In demonstrating that plentiful evidence exists of earlier iterations throughout the early modern period, this book has shown how the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ideal of hardy masculinity was inherited from earlier masculine cultures.

The martial, hardy man was stoic, courageous, relentlessly curious, fearless of danger, vigorously active, indefatigable, carelessly cheerful of hardship, impatient of ease, and always in command of himself and others. As such, he was every bit as much an unrealistic ideal as the civil perfections of those other eighteenth-century cultural archetypes, the polite man and the man of feeling. Nevertheless, young elite men across the period responded enthusiastically to opportunities to identify with this masculine ideal by presenting themselves as flourishing during encounters with continental dangers, hazards and hardships.² Examples include William Bentinck's 1727 description of travelling on poor roads as a means to 'use one's self to hardness'; William Windham's celebration of the Common Room club's fearless resolution and curiosity during their 1741 glacier expedition; John Holroyd's self-described 'military madness' in 1763; and George Herbert's numerous hardy heroics during his 1775–80 Grand Tour.

These were real men struggling to attain an ideal. Studying them therefore brings an element of 'real-life' complexity to the celebration of aspirant elite masculinity. Many of these young men undoubtedly did undertake acts of genuine and rather foolhardy bravery during their travels, but they were in all likelihood not the paragons of courage, honour and self-control they wished themselves to be. In such times of defeat or failure, they used written narratives, commissioned artwork and their self-presentation therein to gloss over these limitations, and presented in their place idealized depictions of themselves engaging more appropriately with danger. These numerous representations demonstrate that successful eighteenth-century masculinity was indeed a matter of providing 'a fairly convincing' corporate and individual display of the ideal.³ At the same time, there is evidence that these attempts, failures and even successes caused individual men to experience discomfort and distress, thus providing some insight into the cost of achieving the markers of successful masculinity.

In seeking to form men who could flourish in, or at very least endure, rough and dangerous conditions, the Grand Tour was, at certain times and in certain places, being used to produce a masculine ideal completely opposite to polite refinement. Crucially, though, it should be emphasized that while hardy, martial masculinity was an enduringly important part of eighteenth-century elite men's conception of themselves, it was not the hegemonic ideal. Ultimately, a successful elite male was a man of many parts. This diversity was the foundation of any Grand Tour as individual men

² Brit. Libr., Egerton MS. 1711, William Bentinck, 1st Count Bentinck, Prague, to Elizabeth Bentinck, countess dowager of Portland, 18 Jan. 1727; Add. MS. 34887, fos. 122–3, John Holroyd, later 1st earl of Sheffield, St Quintin, to Revd Dr Baker, 9 May 1763.

³ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 77.

continually moved between multiple masculine identities and behaviours. Tourists were expected to, and did, present a range of elite masculinities which included the polite, refined man of taste and the hardy, stoic man, and extended to the sensitive man of feeling, the enlightened man of science, the patriotic military leader, the convivial man of homosocial cheer, the libertine and others. Each of these facets of elite masculine identity were *situationally* bound and therefore only required in certain scenarios, spaces and contexts. For example, claims to and performances of a hardy masculinity occurred during long stints of rough travel, when viewing an active military camp, during a hunt or on a mountainside. They were neither necessary nor appropriate within the context of a ballroom, a *conversazione* or among Rome's ruins. In these scenarios, Grand Tourists switched to other masculine performances: those of the elegant dancer, polite, erudite man or the connoisseur of the classical past. These very different facets of eighteenth-century elite manhood therefore complemented, rather than competed, with one another.

Even situationally bound performances of masculinity were complex and rarely involved a straightforward identification with one masculine ideal. For example, men's demonstrations of hardy courage and endurance on the Alpine glaciers and mountains, or on the flanks of Vesuvius, were often combined with efforts to present themselves as enlightened men of science, adventurous explorers, admirers of the sublime or, as the century progressed, men of feeling who were sensitive to, but not overcome by, fear and danger. Moreover, while it is clear that elite society commonly expected their young men to meet danger with a degree of stoic courage, there was also evidently some scope to reject a hardy, martial masculinity and undertake an alternative performance without being considered a failure. The two case studies explored in chapter 5 – Horace Walpole and George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham and later 2nd Earl Harcourt – are examples of this. Both young men openly communicated their dislike of harsh terrains and mountain precipices and their fears of bodily harm. Yet Walpole and Nuneham were not simply recording fright and fear. Instead, they deliberately used these admissions to construct other masculine identities that were more unusual in this situational context. In Walpole's case, it was that of the literary wit who deliberately and provocatively renounced the core masculine traits of command. In Nuneham's case, it was the sensitive man of feeling and dedicated man of fashion.

It is important to note that Walpole's and Nuneham's families and friends accepted and affirmed these masculinities. The social world of the eighteenth-century British elite was not a large one and this relatively small pool of peers created a fascinating environment in which men who may

have held completely different political or moral viewpoints, or who chose to express their masculine identity in a range of ways, were closely associated with one another. At times these differences could result in expressions of scorn, dislike, exasperation and jealousy, but in these case studies, this did not happen. Walpole's cousin, Henry Seymour Conway, was busily preparing himself for a military career and yet he delighted in Walpole's vivid descriptions of shrieking on the edge of a precipice. Nuneham's father, the 1st Earl Harcourt, was unperturbed by his heir's distaste for blood and war, despite opting to watch a battle during his own Grand Tour. Walpole and Nuneham, in turn, took pride and pleasure in the martial identities of their cousin and father despite their own reluctance to embrace that element of elite masculinity. These instances of affection and affirmation between men whose ways of expressing their masculinity sometimes varied raises the question of what made such differing masculine performances acceptable to family and friends?

Ultimately, the defining feature of elite masculinity was not politeness, chivalry, hardiness or sensibility. Rather, it hinged upon the core values and virtues of what it meant to be part of the aristocracy and gentry. This involved a profound and shared sense of hierarchy and social superiority, which was based on economic capital, claims to sociopolitical exclusivity and a shared cultural understanding of wider social concepts like attitudes towards danger and risk. It also rested, as Henry French and Mark Rothery observed, on a 'fundamental and remarkably tenacious' set of ordering principles; ideas of honour, virtue, reputation, autonomy, self-control, stoicism, courage, a command of others, morality, prudence, industry, cosmopolitanism and patriotism.⁴ Each of the different expressions of masculinity found on the Grand Tour were united in being performed by young men from the same sociopolitical and economic group. They were also united in reinforcing the same underlying principles and a sense of exclusivity and elevated status, although they achieved this in a variety of ways. For example, Grand Tourists who chose to perform hardy, martial masculinity in the context of encountering danger reinforced the elite claim to the right to command others by juxtaposing their superior performances and self-control against non-elite servants and locals who were unable to cope with the dangers and hardships of travel. This ability to maintain a physical and emotional command of themselves and others is markedly absent from Nuneham's and Walpole's performances. Yet while they lacked the quality of self-control in relation to danger, their sophisticated

⁴ H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 11–15, 37.

command of language and narrative was in itself a subtle claim to another type of superior aristocratic autonomy and self-determination, and strongly indicated that their performance was a *deliberate* (and therefore controlled, rather than involuntary) renunciation of hardy, martial traits. Through this, they reinforced claims to elite exclusivity and elevated status by demonstrating how their rarefied emotional, literary and sartorial capacities made them far superior to those around them. Alongside demonstrating a different sort of exclusivity and command that centred on literary skills and wit, Nuneham and Walpole also carefully demonstrated an ongoing respect for the principles of honour, self-control, stoicism, courage and command as they manifested in the martial masculine ideal, by upholding the importance of military service elsewhere in their Grand Tour writings. Such constructions of masculinity were accepted by elite society because even in their difference they championed the same core principles of elite manhood and affirmed other elite expressions of masculinity.

While the varied expressions of elite masculinity were anchored to deep-seated and homogenous principles, it is evident that the performance and construction of this masculinity was anything but homogenous: it was highly fluid and contingent on far more than conformity with a set of cultural ideas. This, combined with French and Rothery's observation that masculine identities were predominately shaped by 'everyday experiences' and 'familial cultures of masculinity', suggests that historians of eighteenth-century masculinity need to carefully investigate the social circumstances in which individual masculinities were performed and constructed.⁵ More thought also needs to be given to how individuals and families tailored the cultural institutions used to shape individual masculinities (like the Grand Tour) to reflect their proclivities, ambitions and financial resources. Investigating how different subsets of elite groups influenced and authenticated varied combinations and presentations of elite masculinity is a distinctive practice from identifying the cultural trends and manifestations of a masculine ideal. Chapter 2 has shown how certain families had a particularly martial bent which was passed down the generations. What other nuances to elite masculinity were inherited within families and augmented by differences of denomination, political persuasion or education? The family of Philip Yorke, later 3rd earl of Hardwicke, for example, was known for its leading contribution to Whig intellectual, legal and political life. While Yorke's Grand Tour correspondence of 1777–9 revealed a remarkable commitment to presenting himself as martial and hardy, intellectual study also dominated his correspondence in a manner that markedly echoed familial preferences.

⁵ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 16, 18–19, 105–7.

Age is another important factor. This study has focused chiefly on the figure of the young man of superior social standing but what of older elite men who also travelled? Did maturity mean that there was less need to confront hazard? At least one set of accounts surrounding an older elite male traveller indicates that performances of hardy, martial masculinity did not diminish in importance. In March 1766, at the age of thirty-six, the highly erratic Frederick Augustus Hervey, earl-bishop of Bristol and Derry, climbed Vesuvius with Sir William Hamilton and several other companions. On this occasion, the volcano was extremely active and giving off signs of imminent eruption. In a letter to his young daughter, Mary, Hervey described how the group climbed into the crater, where the mouth of Vesuvius was shooting out:

two or three hundred red hot stones some as big as your head, and some considerably larger; one of these struck me on the right arm, and without giving me much pain at the time made a wound about 2 inches deep, tore my coat all to shreds, & by a great effusion (of) blood alarm'd my companions more than myself.⁶

Hervey made this seem like a random accident, but the exasperated William Hamilton wrote that the bishop had been 'very much wounded in the arm' because 'he approached too near' in what was essentially a competitive show of bravado.⁷ As Michael Roper and John Tosh observed, 'Masculinity is never fully possessed, but must be perpetually achieved, asserted and renegotiated' throughout a man's life.⁸ Evidently, confrontations of danger remained important to older men as well as youthful Grand Tourists, but not enough is yet known about the culture and practices of this subgroup of elite travellers to suggest whether the rationale and approach towards hardy masculinity was completely unchanged or if age and maturity brought some alteration.

Nuancing the intersection between elite and male is important but thought also needs to be given to whether certain values, traits and behaviours were specifically masculine or aristocratic. The eighteenth century was a

⁶ Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry, Naples, to Lady Mary Hervey, 15 Apr. 1766, in *The Earl Bishop: the Life of Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, Earl of Bristol*, ed. W. S. Childe-Pemberton (London, 1924), pp. 75–6, Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, Naples, to Lady Mary Hervey, 15 Apr. 1766.

⁷ Sir W. Hamilton, *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and Other Volcanos: in a Series of Letters, Addressed to the Royal Society* (London, 1772), p. 8.

⁸ M. Roper and J. Tosh, 'Introduction: historians and the politics of masculinity', in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Roper and Tosh (London, 1991), p. 18. See also H. Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New York, 2015), chapter 5.

period in which more women and non-aristocratic social groups began to travel, raising the question of how they reacted to their encounters with danger and hardship. Did they also value the virtues of courage, endurance and stoicism? If they did, was this valuation adapted from elite masculine ways of thinking or did women of superior social standing, and men and women from the 'middling sorts', have their own traditions and cultures that shaped their attitudes and their performances? As explored in chapter 5, elite female travellers like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu evidently relished juxtaposing their superior courage against the fears of servants and fellow travellers in a manner that closely matches elite male narratives of danger. Furthermore, Rosemary Sweet has shown that by the end of the century, Vesuvius was the site of numerous female, as well as male, acts of physical courage and endurance, as women, including those from a middling sort background, undertook a 'distinctly unfeminine level of physical activity without incurring disapproval'.⁹ Similar acts also took place in the Alps. In 1788, Ann Flaxman, the wife of the artist, John Flaxman, climbed Vesuvius aided by 'an additional draught of strong Beer' and some 'gallant' singing.¹⁰ When her travelling party sheltered from the rain in a cave at the bottom of Mount Cenis, one of her male travelling companions 'scrambled down over some large loose stones to examine the Interior parts of caverns'. As 'my presumption told me I could do the same', she scrambled after him, only to fall and sprain her wrist.¹¹

Flaxman's accounts of Vesuvius and the cave contain confessions of doubts, fears and physical mistakes. She also characterized her determination not to retreat as 'womanlike' and was highly conscious of her perceived failure when, having 'mounted [Vesuvius] Heroically alone with the help of a Club', she was eventually 'forc'd to submit to lay hold of the Guides Girdle and let him lug me up'.¹² Elite male Grand Tour narratives of danger almost never included such vulnerabilities and they certainly would never have presented the routine assistance of guides as evidence of failure. Nevertheless, Flaxman's and other women's accounts also share some key commonalities with elite male narratives: a certain physicality, curiosity, determination, *sang froid* in the face of discomfort and danger, and a belief that these traits were evidence of superiority. Travelling a few years earlier and visiting Naples in 1785–6, Hester Thrale Piozzi commented on 'the

⁹ See R. Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 55–6.

¹⁰ Brit. Lib., Add. MS. 39787, fos. 70v–72r, Ann Flaxman's journal.

¹¹ Brit. Lib., Add. MS. 39780, fo. 165, Flaxman to her father, 8 Nov. 1787. My thanks to Rosemary Sweet for sharing these Flaxman examples with me.

¹² Brit. Lib., Add. MS. 39787, fos. 70v–72r, Flaxman's journal.

exploits of rash Britons who look into the crater [of Vesuvius] and carry their wives and children up to the top'.¹³ Piozzi deliberately gendered 'the exploits' as being undertaken by British men, but by incorporating the admittedly more passive wives and children, she strongly indicated that the virtues of courage, hardiness and intrepidity were shared evidence of a *British* national character.

Danger and hardship also featured in the writings of male middling sort travellers. One such example is the Scottish physician and writer, Tobias Smollett, who travelled with his wife in order to recover their health after the death of their daughter. His *Travels through France and Italy* (1766) includes several highly charged confrontations with danger and/or the possibility of it. Yet again, though, some important differences merit further investigation. Smollett's encounters were often pointedly presented as patriotically British confrontations of hazards that were the embodiment of continental vice and corruption and veered away from any celebration of the cosmopolitanism often present in aristocratic accounts.

In contrast to this, another set of male middling sort travellers was closely related to aristocratic and gentry cultures of travel and masculinity. These, of course, were the Grand Tour tutors, many of whom came from military, clerical or academic professions. The often-close relationship between Tourists and tutors is an example of the cross-pollination between men from different social strata in relation to perception of masculinity and experiences of travel. The Grand Tourist, William Windham, for example, was profoundly shaped by his relationship with Benjamin Stillingfleet, who had been his tutor since he was a small boy. Stillingfleet not only instilled in Windham a love of science and mathematics but being 'inured to bodily exercises, and attracted by the wonders of nature', he was also influential in shaping his pupil's interest in physical activity, hardship and exploration.¹⁴

Stillingfleet did not just influence his elite charge and the rest of the young Grand Tourists who formed the Common Room club in the 1730s and 1740s. He was also deeply admired by another tutor, Revd William Coxe, who produced a biography of Stillingfleet in 1811. Coxe and his fellow tutor, Captain John Floyd, who both enjoyed physical encounters with nature and desired to be 'hardy' men, in turn greatly influenced their own Grand Tourist, George Herbert, later 11th earl of Pembroke, in the 1770s. Yet tutors did not just influence their charges. They in turn were shaped by aristocrat and gentry culture and ideals. Stillingfleet, Coxe and

¹³ H. Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London, 1789), p. 535.

¹⁴ W. Coxe, *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet* (3 vols., London, 1811), i. 80–1.

Floyd, for example, were each in the service of the Windhams and the earls of Pembroke respectively for many years before accompanying their sons on Grand Tours, and continued to receive the patronage and friendship of these families for the rest of their careers. Much the same can be said for Joseph Spence, William Whitehead and David Stevenson and their relationships with the earls of Lincoln, Jersey, Harcourt and Dartmouth.

Expanding this study of elite male travellers' encounters with risk and danger to include a wider comparison with elite female and older male travellers, and with men and women from middling backgrounds, has the potential to give a deeper insight into the profound distinctions that separated men, women and different social strata. Furthermore, identifying when, why and how these different genders and social groups influenced one another and whether such moments had a lasting effect upon the range of cultures and behaviours will expose the interactions and relationships between diverse elements of eighteenth-century society. Ultimately, this will enable scholars to attain a clearer sense of whether and how a shared culture of eighteenth-century Britishness existed. As well-documented microcosms of eighteenth-century life, the Grand Tour and other cultures and travel practices provide a valuable lens through which scholars can examine how the wider changes and continuities of Hanoverian Britain played out among individuals and communities.

Finally, it is essential to recognize that the Grand Tour and other cultures of travel must be contextualized within wider shifts and trends in eighteenth-century British culture and society. This book has explored some of these: the powerful sway of non-natural health regimes; the elaboration of climatic theory; the rise of cultures of science and exploration; and Britain's involvement with military conflict. Grand Tourists' experiences, reflections and writings were also substantially shaped by a distinct post-1750s discursive shift in literature and culture, in which the advent of sensibility and Methodism resulted in the increasingly conventional practice of recording and reflecting on one's emotions and experiences in diaries, letters and publications. This in turn led to a more articulated sense of self, and had a substantial impact on the genre and practice of travel writing.¹⁵ The writings of Grand Tourists are no exception to this, a development that is therefore important when considering their interactions with and writings about danger.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the major theatres of war shifted beyond Europe. This resulted in a decline in Grand Tourists' actual engagement with warfare itself and an increase in the practice of using encounters with mountains and glaciers as a substitute. Despite this, Tourists became far more adept in making the most of the limited military

experiences available to them and in clearly articulating how these and other encounters with danger were significant to their elite and masculine identities. In part, this was achieved by undertaking more substantial reflections on the physical impressions and exhilarating emotions of each encounter. This intensification of articulation was therefore not just a response to late eighteenth-century military activity and the calls for a more martial, chivalric masculinity. It was also directly shaped by the concurrent developments in the literary culture of reflection and selfhood. Thus, while the Grand Tour may have taken place beyond Britain, it was always situated within the context of British society and culture. Reconnecting the study of travel history to wider surveys of the eighteenth century is therefore an endeavour of benefit to both.

Appendix to Figure 2.1. Map and key of sites where Grand Tourists engaged with military activity, c.1730–80.

The following database lists the individual visits to military sites that comprise the map Figure 2.1. It draws on the itineraries of Grand Tourists and tutors, plus a number of older travellers, including Richard Milles, Andrew Mitchell, Richard Pococke, Sir P. Francis, William Ellis and Lady Spencer.

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

Location	Date	Tourist/tutor, activity and reference
Alexandriai	1740	Spence and Lincoln viewed the citadel – J. Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , ed. S. Klima (Montréal, 1975), p. 312.
	1779	Herbert viewed the citadel, regiments and a parade – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 10 December 1779, Herbert's journal.
Amsterdam	1736	Pococke attended the military reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, 30 July 1736, Richard Pococke, Amsterdam, to his mother.
	1737	Spence and Trevor attempted to access the arsenal – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 173.
Ancona	1734	Milles visited the fortress – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 15763, Jeremiah Milles' travel journal, fo. 49.
Antwerp	1777	Yorke toured the citadel and dined with the commander, General Plunkett, with Herbert and Floyd – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 56, 20 June 1777, Yorke, Brussels, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 36258, 18 June 1777, Yorke's journal.
Baden-Baden	1764	Gibbon toured the citadel and attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34883, fo. 69, 16 May 1764, Edward Gibbons, Boromeans Islands, to Leger.
Basle	1763	Holroyd toured the regiment and fortifications, escorted by a sergeant – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 61979, A, 14 October 1763, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal.
Basle	1778	Yorke toured a 1444 battlefield and visited the Swiss guards – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 212, 4 July 1778, Yorke, Basle, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 36259, 2 July 1778, Yorke's journal.
Battle of Dettingen	1743	Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's son participated in this battle – Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, <i>The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu</i> , ed. R. Halsband (2 vols., Oxford, 1966), ii. 273. George Townshend participated in the battle – National Army Museum (NAM), MS. 6806-41-1-2, George Townshend's Autobiographical Account of his Life, fos. 1, 5.
Battle of Parma	1734	Pococke described how Simon Harcourt watched from the ramparts – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22987, fo. 87, 12 June 1734, Richard Pococke, Milan, to Mrs Pococke.

Appendix

Battlefield of Aix la Chapelle	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield and site of the peace treaty – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 69, 9 July 1777, Yorke, Cologne, to Hardwicke.
Battlefield of Campo Santo	1779	Yorke toured the battlefield – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 2 May 1779, Yorke's journal.
Battlefield of Lowositz	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 9 September 1777, 25 October 1777, Yorke's journal.
Battlefield of Luccerne	1778	Yorke discussed Luccerne's military history and battles – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 20 June 1779, Yorke's journal.
Battlefield of Minden	1765	Holroyd toured the battlefield – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 187, 10 January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Holroyd.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles toured the battlefield – SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30 July 1776, Charles Gounter Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3rd earl of Dartmouth.
Battlefield of Morgarten	1778	Yorke toured the battlefield and recounted its story – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 19, 22 June 1779, Yorke's journal.
Battlefield of Pirna	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 24 October 1777, Yorke's journal.
Battlefield of Prague	1777	Yorke toured the battlefield and the military magazine at the Observatory of Tycho Brake – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 27 October 1777, Yorke's journal.
Bavaria	1778	Francis Basset visited the Prussian army in the field and engaged in skirmish action – J. Farington, <i>The Diary of Joseph Farington</i> , x (July 1809–December 1810), ed. K. Cave (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1982), p. 3753.

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

Berlin	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] October 1736, Richard Pococke, Berlin, to his mother.
	1752	Pembroke attended the review – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32730, fo. 116–17, Pembroke, Leipzig, to Newcastle.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham visit the arsenal – LMA, Acc. 510/254, George Bussy Villiers, later 4th earl of Jersey's Grand Tour journal, fo. 39.
	1765	Holroyd views the military parades and discipline – Brit. Libr., Add. MS 34887, fo. 181, 7 November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson; Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 185, 23 December 1765, Holroyd, Hanover, to Baker.
	1777	Yorke views the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 101, 23 October 1777, Yorke, Dresden, to Hardwicke.
Berne	1743–4	Richard Aldworth Neville and friends visit the arsenal – BRO, MS. D/EN/F.54–5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour journal, 1743–4.
	1779	Yorke toured the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 3 June 1779, Yorke's journal.
Bergen-Op-Zoom	1752	Ellis observed and reported on all the Austrian and French frontiers and defences – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32727, fo. 196, 16 May 1752, W. Ellis, Calais, to Newcastle; Add. MS. 32728, fos. 41–2, 30 June 1752, Ellis, The Hague, to Newcastle.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles view the fortifications – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27 June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth.
Besancon	1744	Townshend views the fortress – NAM, MS. 6806-41-1-2, George Townsend's Autobiographical Account of his Life.
	1763	Holroyd toured the fortifications – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 145, 23 February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Holroyd.
	1763	Lady Spencer visited the citadel – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (née Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared travel journal, fo. 7.

Appendix

Breda	1737	Spence and Trevor viewed the prince of Orange's army – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 180.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles view the fortifications – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 27 June 1776, Lewisham, The Hague, to Dartmouth.
Brunswick	1777	Yorke views the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 9 September 1778, Yorke's journal.
Brussels	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [no date] July 1736, Richard Pococke, Amsterdam, to his mother.
	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the arsenal – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 181.
	1777	Yorke toured the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 25 June 1777, Yorke's journal.
Buckeborug	1765	Holroyd views troops – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 187, 10 January 1766, Holroyd, The Hague, to Mrs Holroyd.
Calais	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , pp. 29–30.
	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] 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 4th earl of Jersey's Grand Tour journal, fo. 1.
	1775	Lewisham and William attend a review – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 20 July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.
Cambrai	1731/32	Mitchell visited the citadel and garrison – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 58314, Andrew Mitchell's travel journal, fo. 5.
The Camp of Kaltenherber – War of Austrian Succession	1743	Richard Aldworth Neville and friends attend a live camp – BRO, MS. D/EN/E54–5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour journal, 1743–4.
Camp, Kollin	1754	Richmond visited the military camp of Kollin – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32736, fos. 219–22, 12 August 1754, Abraham Trembley, Kollin, to Newcastle.

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

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 – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 38507, 18 July 1707, Dr James Hay, Rotterdam, to the earl of Northampton; 27 July 1707, Dr James Hay, the Moldar Camps, to the earl of Northampton; 15 August 1707, Dr James Hay, Brussels, to the earl of Northampton; 7 August 1707, Dr James Hay, Brussels, to the earl of Northampton; 15 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 – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22987, 12 June 1734, Pococke, Milan, to his mother; 21 June 1734, Pococke, Milan, to his mother; 15 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 – NAM, MS. 6806-41-1-2, George Townshend's Autobiographical Account of his Life.
Camp, Utrecht countryside – The duke of Cumberland's Army, 1744 or 1748[?]		Pultney and Douglas visited the duke of Cumberland's army – Brit. Libr., Egerton 2181, John Douglas's Short Autobiography, 1776–96.
Chanoise	1778	Yorke toured the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 27 June 1778, Yorke's journal.
Dole	1763	Holroyd toured the barracks – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 145, 23 February 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Mrs Holroyd.
Doneschinhen	1763	Holroyd viewed the prince of Furstenberg's troops – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 132, 10 November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Baker.
Donay	1775	Lewisham and William visited the arsenal – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 31 July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

Appendix

Dresden	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] November 1736, Richard Pococke, Dresden, to his mother.
	1765	Holroyd viewed the siege damage – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, 7 November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
	1777	Yorke viewed the arsenal and siege damage – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 10, 16, 17 October 1777, Yorke's journal.
Dunkirk	1754	Nuneham and Villiers tour a fortification – LMA, Acc. 510/254, 5 June 1754, Villiers's Tour journal.
	1763	Holroyd watched English and French armies demolishing the defences – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 124, 29 July 1763, Holroyd, Paris, to Revd Dr Baker.
Eisenstatt	1778	Yorke toured the fortifications and garrison – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 183, 2 May 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke.
Florence	1732/3	Spence and Middlesex viewed the troops exercising – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 134.
	1764	Holroyd viewed a fortress – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 61979, A, 3 October 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal.
	1779	Herbert viewed the regiment – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 9 November 1779, Herbert's journal.
Frankfurt	1736	Pococke saw the army exercise – Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] October 1736, Richard Pococke, Frankfurt, to his mother.
Fribourg	1743–4	Richard Aldworth Neville and friends viewed the citadel – BRO, MS. D/EN/F.54–5, Richard Aldworth Neville's Grand Tour journal, 1743–4.
	1763	Holroyd viewed the regiment – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 132, 10 November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker.

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

'French Flanders'	1753/4	Richmond saw fortifications, mines and other military sites – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32734, fo. 81, 25 January 1754, Charles Lennox, 3rd duke of Richmond and Lennox, Leyden, to Newcastle.
	1762	Holroyd attended reviews and fortifications across this region – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fos. 122–13, 9 May 1763, Holroyd, St Quintin, to Baker.
Geneva	1731	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications and garrison – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 70.
	1739	Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole took note of the Genevean's militia – T. Gray, <i>Correspondence of Thomas Gray</i> , ed. P. J. Toynbee, L. Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford, 1971), pp. 123–5.
	1779	Yorke toured the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 20 May 1779, Yorke's journal.
Genoa	1764	Holroyd visited the defence gate and naval port, and reported siege and war stories – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 61979 A, 10 August 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal.
	1764	Gibbon observed the marks of siege and sites of action – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34874, C, c. 1789–90, Edward Gibbon's memoirs, fo. 29.
	1778	Yorke views Lucca as a maritime power – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 238, 22 September 1778, Yorke, Lucca, to Hardwicke.
	1779	Herbert viewed the fortifications – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 8 December 1779, Herbert's journal.
'Germany'	1776	Lewisham and Charles viewed historical battlefield – SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30 July 1776, Charles Gounter Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3rd earl of Dartmouth.
Graveline	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 30.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham toured a fortifications – LMA, Acc. 510/254, 5 June 1754, Villiers's Tour journal.
Hanau	1776	Lewisham and Charles viewed some 'imaginative fortifications' – SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 30 July 1776, Charles Gounter Legge, Hanover, to William Legge, 3rd earl of Dartmouth.

Appendix

The Hague	1777	Yorke viewed the exercises, reviews, sham fights and manoeuvres – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 43, 16 May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 45, 25 May 1777, Yorke, The Hague, to Hardwicke.
Hanover	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] July 1736, Richard Pococke, Hanover, to his mother.
Konigetaisa Fortress	1777	Yorke visits battlefield – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 24 October 1777, Yorke's journal.
La Fere	1754	Villiers and Nuneham attempted to see the famous school of artillery – LMA, Acc. 510/254, 9 June 1754, Villiers's Tour journal.
Leghorn	1764	Holroyd toured the fortifications and watched troops – Brit. Libr., Add. MS 34887, fo. 158, 2 October 1764, Holroyd, Florence, to Mrs Atkinson; Add. MS. 61979 A, 2, 6 September 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal.
	1779	Herbert viewed the armed ships and arsenal – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 25 November 1779, Herbert's journal.
Lausanne	1763	Holroyd discussed the militia – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 130, 20 October 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker.
	1763	Gibbon discussed the militia and attended reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34883, fo. 49, 31 May 1763, Edward Gibbons, Lausanne, to Edward Gibbon.
Leipzig	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] November 1736, Richard Pococke, Leipzig, to his mother.
Lille	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the citadel, and viewed the regiment and siege marks – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , pp. 181–2.
	1775	Lewisham and William viewed the fortress and regiment – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 31 July 1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

Lisel	1754	Villiers and Nuneham toured the citadel and compared French and Dutch troops – LMA, Acc. 510/254, 6, 7 June 1754, Villiers's Tour journal.
	1763	Holroyd viewed the fortifications – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fos. 122–13, 9 May 1763, Holroyd, St Quintin, to Baker.
	1763	Lady Spencer visited the citadel and fortifications – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (née Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared travel journal, fo. 1.
Lucca	1732	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications, arsenal and viewed the regiments – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 123.
	1764	Holroyd toured the ramparts – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 61979 A, 12 September 1764, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal.
Lunéville	1772	Francis viewed the troops – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 40759, fo. 2, 22 July 1772, Sir P. Francis's travel journal.
Luxembourg	1763/67	Lady Spencer visited the fortifications, and her brother visited the fortifications and attended reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry and Poyntz's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (née Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared travel journal, fo. 3.
Marseilles	1733	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortress – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 157.
	1780	Herbert viewed the fortifications, regiments and barracks, and dined with the officers – WSHC, MS. 2057/ F5/6, 30 March–1 April 1780, Herbert's journal.
Menen	1730/31	Mitchell visited the citadel and magazine – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 58313, Andrew Mitchell's travel journal, fo. 16.
	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 181.
Montfoort	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 172.
Munster	1751	Dartmouth and North viewed the fortifications, citadel, and regiment – SRO, D(W)1778/V/1108, 4 July 1751, Dartmouth's Grand Tour journal

Appendix

Namur	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications and garrison – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 30.
	1754	Villiers and Nuneham toured the fortifications, but noted the guards were so strict that they were not allowed to look too closely – LMA, Acc. 510/254, 2 September 1754, Villiers's Tour journal; Acc. 510/237, 23 June 1754, Villiers, Rheims, to Lady Jersey.
Nancy	1767	Poyntz attended regiment and cavalry reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 75744, Lady Spencer's entry in Lady Margaret Spencer (née Poyntz) and William Poyntz's shared travel journal, fo. 5.
	1772	Francis viewed the fortifications and was shown around by an officer – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 40759, fo. 2, 19 July 1772, Sir P. Francis's travel journal.
Naples	1779	Herbert viewed the arsenal and attended military reviews, mock forts and sieges – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 26 August, 8, 15 September 1779, Herbert's journal.
New Brandenburg	1776	Lewisham and Charles viewed the troops and fortifications – SRO, D(W)1778/V/890, 14 August 1776, Charles Legge, New Brandenburg, to Dartmouth.
Nieuport [Nieuwpoort]	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 30.
North Holland	1737	Spence and Trevor toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 173.
Ostend	1730	Spence and Middlesex toured the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 30.
	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] June 1736, Richard Pococke, Ostend, to his mother.
Paris	1763	Holroyd tried to see the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 61979 A, 11 July 1763, Holroyd's Grand Tour journal.
	1780	Herbert attended the reviews – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 8 May 1780, Herbert's journal.

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

Poleurre	1741	Tate and Dampier observed the fortifications and troops – NRO, WKC 7/46/13–4. 17 March 1741, Benjamin Tate and Thomas Dampier, Strasbourg, to the Common Room club.
Potsdam	1754	Richmond attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32736, fo. 219–222, 12 August 1754, Abraham Trembley, Kollin, to Newcastle.
	1754	Dartmouth and North attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32730, fos. 163–64, 12 July 1752, North, Dresden, to Newcastle.
	1765	Holroyd attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, 7 November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles attended the reviews – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 11 August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/874, 4 September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/885, 18 August 1776, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/885, 19 September 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/840, 19 September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.
Prague	1737	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] January 1737, Richard Pococke, Prague, to his mother.
	1754	Richmond attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32736, fo. 219–222, 12 August 1754, Abraham Trembley, Kollin, to Newcastle.
	1765	Holroyd attended the reviews and examined the siege damage – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 178, 3 October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, 7 November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
	1776	Lewisham and Charles attended the reviews – SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 11 August 1776, Lewisham, Berlin, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/874, 4 September 1776, Lewisham, Dresden, to Lady Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/885, 18 August 1776, Stevenson, Berlin, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/885, 19 September 1776, Stevenson, Vienna, to Dartmouth; D(W)1778/V/840, 19 September 1776, Charles Legge, Vienna, to Lady Dartmouth.

Appendix

Role	1778	Yorke attended the militia reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36258, 28 May 1778, Yorke’s journal.
Rotterdam	1736	Pococke attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] June 1736, Richard Pococke, Rotterdam, to his mother.
Strasbourg	1775–6	Herbert attended Strasbourg’s military academy – see WSHC, Acc. 2057/F4/27–8 for correspondence and memorandum relating to this period.
Susa	1779	Yorke toured the fortress – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 13 May 1779, Yorke’s journal.
Switzerland	1764	Holroyd wrote a ‘Military dissertation’ on Switzerland’s wars, military and defence – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 147, 15 March 1764, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker.
Tortona	1778	Yorke toured the battlefield, fortification and garrison – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 9 September 1778, Yorke’s journal.
Toulon	1733	Spence and Middlesex toured the defences, war port and saw the men-of-war ships – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 157.
	1741	Spence and Lincoln were guided around the fort, war port, and men-of-war ships – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 401.
	1751–4	Richmond visited the fortifications – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 32734, fo. 81, 25 January 1754, Charles Lennox, 3rd duke of Richmond and Lennox, Leyden, to Newcastle.
Tournay	1737	Spence and Trevor visited the citadel and mines – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 182.

Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

Turin	1707	Compton and Hay attended the reviews – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 38507, 3 April 1709, Dr James Hay, Turin, to the earl of Northampton.
	1732	Mitchell visited the fortifications – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 58315, Andrew Mitchell's travel journal, fo. 8.
	1734	Pococke visited the fortifications, citadel, underground mines and the armoury – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 22987, 15 June 1734, Pococke, Turin, to his mother.
	1739/40	Spence and Lincoln visited the citadel, mines, sites of battle and marks of bombardment – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , pp. 227–8, 275, 277, 278.
	1764	Holroyd toured the citadel and mines – Brit. Libr., Add MS 34887, fo. 156, 4 September 1764, Holroyd, Leghorn, to Mrs Holroyd.
	1764	Gibbon toured the citadel and was accompanied by a Sardinian officer during the mountain crossing – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34883, fo. 69, 16 May 1764, Edward Gibbons, Boromeans Islands, to Leger.
	1772	Francis visited the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 40759, fo. 2, 13–14 November 1772, Sir P. Francis's travel journal.
	1779	Yorke toured the arsenal, citadel, and viewed regiments – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 36259, 12 May 1779, Yorke's journal.
	1780	Herbert toured the fortifications – WSHC, MS. 2057/F5/7, 23 January 1780, Herbert's journal.
Venice	1731	Spence and Middlesex visited the arsenal – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 86.
	1772	Francis visited the arsenal – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 40759, fo. 2, 13 August 1772, Sir P. Francis's travel journal.
	1778	Yorke viewed the arsenal and attended a naval review – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378 fo. 192, 22 May 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 35378, fo. 204, 3 June 1778, Yorke, Venice, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 36259, 21 May 1778, Yorke's journal.
Vienna	1737	Pococke watched a live mobilization of the army – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 19939, [n.d.] March 1737, Richard Pococke, Vienna, to his mother.

Appendix

Vienna	1777–8	Yorke viewed the arsenal, regiments and preparations for war – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 35378, fo. 163, 31 March 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 35378 fo. 156, 18 March 1778, Yorke, Vienna, to Hardwicke; Add. MS. 36258, 1, 12 January, 28 February, 11, 14, 24, 25, 30, 31 March 1778, Yorke's journal.
Vienna-Dresden	1765	Holroyd visited various battlefields and camps between these sites – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 178, 3 October 1765, Holroyd, Vienna, to Mrs Holroyd; Add. MS. 34887, fo. 181, 7 November 1765, Holroyd, Berlin, to Mrs Atkinson.
Waarden, near Utrecht	1737	Spence and Trevor visited the fortifications – Spence, <i>Letters from the Grand Tour</i> , p. 172.
Zurich	1763	Holroyd visited the armoury – Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 34887, fo. 132, 10 November 1763, Holroyd, Lausanne, to Revd Dr Baker.

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Index

- academies, 7, 10, 11, 19, 34, 70, 82, 86–92, 93, 95, 107, 115, 118–19, 121, 124, 177, 209, 210, 211
- accidents, 25, 37, 113, 122, 132, 187, 201, 205, 216, 217
- Adam, Robert (architect), 198
- Addison, Joseph, 134
Remarks on Italy, 6, 29
- Aiken, John
Critical essay on Somerville's poem of the chase, 127
- Aldworth Neville, Richard, 33, 38, 38n6, 92–3, 108, 138–9, 146, 165, 224, 225, 227
- Alps, 3, 12, 24, 38, 39, 129, 132, 135–8, 139, 141–50, 163–4, 165–6, 171, 174, 183–4, 192, 201, 205, 211; *see also* glaciers, Hannibal, mountaineering
climate theory, 14, 120–1, 144, 174–5, 177–9
scientific exploration, 168, 172, 213
women tourists, 217
- America, 77, 95, 102
- Anglicanism, *see under* religion
- Apperley, Thomas (companion-tutor), 106 fig. 2.3, 106–7
- Aretino, Pietro, 96
- art collecting and connoisseurship, 4, 5, 7, 8, 14, 18, 20, 107, 111–13, 151, 158–9, 160, 165, 210, 211, 212
- Ashley-Cooper, Anthony, 3rd earl of Shaftesbury, 134
- Austria, *see under* Hapsburg Empire
- Banks, Joseph (naturalist), 172, 173
- Barrow, William (educationalist), 132
- Basset, Sir Francis, 75, 78–9, 92, 95, 104, 223
- Batoni, Pompeo (artist), 106 fig. 2.3, 106–7, 111 fig. 3.1, 112, 204
- battles and battlefield tours, 75, 79, 80–2, 84–6, 92–3, 103, 144, 163, 183, 188, 222–35 *passim*
- Aix la Chapelle, 81, 223
- Dettingen, 94, 100, 222
- Kolin, 80, 225
- Lake Trasimene, 141n2
- Lobositz, 81, 223
- Minden, 81, 82, 84, 223
- Parma, 92, 222
- Prague, 80, 81, 85, 86, 223
- Le Bègue de Presle, Achille (doctor)
Le conservateur de la sante, 117
- Bentinck, Hans Willem, 1st earl of Portland, 33, 94, 104
- Bentinck, Henry, Lord Woodstock, 1st duke of Portland, 33, 94, 104, 108
- Bentinck, William, 1st count Bentinck, 33, 119, 126, 134–5, 137, 151, 160, 212
- Bernege, Moses (tutor), 33, 134–5
- Bland, Humphrey
Treatise of military discipline, 129
- boat trips, 67, 190, 191, 192–3, 194, 207
- Boswell, James, 18, 54, 176
- Breval, John (writer), 142
- Britain, 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 18, 22, 24, 41, 46, 50–3 *passim*, 57, 77, 78, 86–7,

- 90, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 108, 114,
125, 164, 175, 209, 210, 213, 219,
220
British identity, 4, 13–14, 29, 78,
107, 142, 145, 174, 177, 180,
182–3, 186, 209, 211, 218, 219
Brydone, Patrick (scientist and tutor),
182
Burke, Edmund, 143, 145
Butler, Charles, earl of Arran, 133
- Catholicism, *see under Religion*
Chapman, George (writer), 131–2
Chetwynd, Walter (former tutor), 146
Churchill, John, 1st duke of
Marlborough, 83, 92, 105
classical antiquity and classicism, 2,
5–6, 8, 14, 20, 77, 78, 81, 107,
111–12, 131, 141–2, 166, 171,
173, 175–6, 202–3, 209, 210, 213
Clerks of Penicuik, 67–8
climate theory, 13, 14, 51, 52, 71, 114,
115–16, 117, 120–1, 142, 144–5,
174–82, 184, 195, 219
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 190
Common Room Club, 33, 37, 38, 39,
57, 127–9, 138–9, 146, 147, 150,
163–9, 183, 188, 212, 218
Compton, James, 5th earl of
Northampton, 38, 83, 92, 93, 105,
108, 226, 234
conduct literature, 27, 28, 31, 95,
96–7, 106, 133
Conway, Sir Henry Seymour, 34, 40,
101, 145, 202–3, 214
Coxe, Revd William (tutor), 19, 22–3,
31, 34, 39, 45, 52, 61, 136–9, 148,
167, 178, 190, 192–3, 196, 206,
218–19
*Sketches of the natural, civil, and
political state of Swisserland*, 31,
192, 196
Travels in Switzerland, 31
- Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden,
and Denmark*, 31, 137, 192–3
crime, 25, 41, 45–8, 62, 176
- Dampier, Thomas (tutor), 33, 127–8,
232
danger, 2, 3–4, 12, 21, 24–8, 31, 41–4,
47, 54, 59, 61–3, 67–71, 73, 113,
129–30, 131, 135–8, 177, 210–11,
212, 213, 214, 217–18, 219, 220;
see also accidents, crime, death,
hazards and hardships of travel,
illness and injuries, morality and
moral corruption, risk and risk
theory, war and warfare
associated with the landscape, 139,
143–50 *passim*, 162–3, 164,
169–72, 183
martial, 13, 79–80, 93, 102, 105,
108
narratives of, 13, 14, 23–4, 27,
32, 40, 169, 172, 184, 185–7,
188–92, 196, 198, 199–202,
203–4, 205, 208
sport-related, 13, 126–7
death, 25, 37, 39, 50, 145–6, 148, 149,
191, 201–3, 204–6
Denmark, 19, 31, 178
diplomacy and diplomats, 1, 4, 9,
20, 23, 29, 30, 89–90, 91, 101,
170, 194, 195, 210; *see also* Sir W.
Hamilton and Sir R. Murray Keith
dogs, 4, 113, 166, 187, 197–8, 201–7
Douglas, John, bishop of Carlisle and
Salisbury, 225
duelling, 16, 26, 27, 71–2, 104, 108
- education; *see also* academies, conduct
literature, military education, tutors
and tutoring
during Grand Tour, 1, 10–11, 30,
82, 87, 89, 102
pedagogy (early modern and

- Renaissance), 1, 10, 27–8, 92,
95–7, 130–1
- pedagogy (eighteenth century), 1–2,
3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 18, 27–8, 31,
113, 115, 130, 131–2, 133
- Ellis, William, 221, 224
- emotions; *see also* travel, emotional
responses to
history of, 41, 44, 185–6, 189–190
- Enlightenment thought, 12, 65, 99,
166, 169, 172, 174, 183
- Evelyn, John, 93–4
- exercise and exercise regimes (inc.
dancing, fencing, gymnastics,
riding), 3, 12, 88–9, 90–1, 97, 109,
113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121,
122–5, 130, 131, 132, 133, 139,
178, 182, 210; *see also sport*
- Eyre, Thomas, 206
- Fabris, Pietro (artist), 125, 125 fig. 3.3,
157 fig. 4.10, 158, 159, 162
- Finch, Daniel, 2nd earl of Nottingham,
53n78, 70–1
- Finch, George, 9th earl of Winchilsea,
46–7, 160, 167
- Flaxman, Ann, 217
- Floyd, John (tutor), 19, 22, 23, 34,
45, 52, 60, 89, 104, 137–8, 148,
192–3, 197, 206, 218–19, 222
- Fortuna*, 64–5, 68
- Fox, Charles James, 57
- Fox, Henry, 57
- Fox, Stephen, 1st earl of Ilchester,
37n3, 195
- France, 2, 5, 7, 82, 84, 93, 98–9, 102,
121, 144, 150, 209, 210, 222–35
passim
Besançon, 95, 224
Loire Valley, academy in, 7, 89
Marseille, 39, 102, 230
Paris, 57, 59, 61, 69, 168, 231
academies in, 7, 89, 91, 95,
96–7, 119
Strasbourg, academy in, 19, 39, 54,
87–9, 90, 118, 177, 233
Tours, academies in, 7, 91, 119
- Francis, Sir Philip, 151, 221, 230, 231,
234
- Gailhard, John
The compleat gentleman, 97
- gambling, 16, 19, 25, 54, 55, 62–5, 67,
68–9
- German states, 2, 81, 82, 87, 94, 98,
144, 150, 200, 210, 222–35 *passim*;
Prussia
military culture, 14, 75, 80–1,
84, 85, 86, 98, 165
Potsdam review, 82, 85
Saxony, 75, 80, 98, 194
Wolfenbüttel academy, 70, 89
- Gibbon, Edward (politician and
writer), 3, 4, 40, 120, 222, 228,
229, 234
- glaciers, 12, 14, 19, 20, 28, 71, 142,
143, 144, 145, 149, 163, 179, 183,
184, 210, 211, 213, 219
Mer de Glace (Chamonix, Savoy),
33, 143, 146–8, 150, 163–5,
188, 196, 197, 212
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang van, 176
- Gordan, Alexander, 4th duke of
Gordon, 111 fig. 3.1, 112–13
- Grand Tour, 1–4
criticism of, 26, 29, 54–5
families, role of, 4, 9–10, 11–13,
16, 21–3, 25–8 *passim*, 30, 41,
44, 49–50, 53–4, 57–8, 59–62,
67–8, 69–70, 79, 87–8, 94, 95,
99, 100–1, 105, 117–19, 121–
2, 134, 177–80, 188, 191, 199,
206, 208, 209, 213–14, 215
friendships, role of, 1, 30, 39–40,
49–51, 53, 69, 79, 138–9, 191,
199, 208, 211, 213–14

- historiography of the, 2, 5, 8, 9,
 18–19, 24, 27, 42, 43, 209–10
 sexual conduct on the, 19, 34,
 54–55, 57–62, 180
 Gray, Thomas, 34, 48, 50, 145–6, 148,
 151, 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207,
 228
 guides, 47, 136, 149, 151, 158, 159,
 162, 164, 170, 172, 217
 Gulf of Bothnia, 19, 192

 Hackert, Jakob Philipp (artist), 155 figs
 4.5, 4.6, 158, 159, 160, 162
 Hamilton Baillie, George, 33, 146
 Hamilton, Capt Edward (companion-
 tutor), 106 fig 2.3, 106–7
 Hamilton, Sir William (diplomat and
 scientist), 23, 157 fig 4.10, 158,
 167, 170–3, 216
 Hamilton, Thomas, 7th earl of
 Haddington, 33, 146
 Hannibal (Carthaginian general and
 statesman), 141–2, 144, 148, 179–
 80, 181, 184
 Hapsburg Empire
 Austria, 2, 45, 81, 150, 210, 227
 military culture, 14, 75, 80, 81,
 82, 84, 85, 86, 92, 94, 98,
 107, 144, 165
 Vienna, 8, 20, 81, 107, 178,
 234, 235
 Bohemia, 9, 75, 98, 194
 Dresden, 80–1, 134, 227, 232, 235
 Hungary, 52, 166, 194, 210
 Prague, 80, 81, 134
 reviews, 82, 85–6, 232
 Harcourt, George Simon, viscount
 Nuneham, 2nd earl Harcourt, 8–9,
 37n2, 38, 39, 100–1, 121, 198–
 200, 203, 204–5, 207, 213, 214,
 215, 219, 224–31 *passim*
 Harcourt, Simon, 1st earl Harcourt, 92,
 101, 108, 214, 219, 222

 Hay, James (tutor), 38, 83, 92, 105,
 226, 234
 health and health regimes, 3, 12, 13,
 113–14, 115–22, 219; *see also*
 illness and injuries
 spa towns, 114, 116
 Herbert, Elizabeth, countess of
 Pembroke, 22–3, 47–8, 54, 60–1,
 62, 87–8, 88 fig. 2.2, 177–8, 197,
 206
 Herbert, George, 11th earl of
 Pembroke, 19, 22–3, 31, 34, 35,
 37n2 & 3, 39, 45, 47, 50, 52–4,
 60, 61, 62, 84, 87–89, 88 fig. 2.2,
 90, 91, 97, 100, 102–3, 104, 118,
 119, 126, 136, 137–8, 148, 151,
 162, 167, 177–8, 180, 181, 190,
 192–3, 195–6, 197–8, 205, 206,
 207, 212, 218, 222–34 *passim*
 Herbert, Henry, 10th earl of Pembroke,
 22–3, 35, 39, 53, 60–1, 62, 87–8,
 88 fig. 2.2, 91, 100, 104, 180, 206,
 224
 Hervey, Frederick Augustus, earl-bishop
 of Bristol and Derry, 216
 Hervey, John, 2nd baron Hervey of
 Ickworth, 37n3, 38, 207
 Hippisley, J.C. (art dealer), 166
 Holroyd, John, 1st earl of Sheffield, 7,
 26, 34, 37n2 & 3, 38, 46–7, 50,
 58–60, 80, 81, 84, 86, 97, 118–19,
 120, 121, 126, 127, 141, 148, 167,
 191, 205–6, 207, 212, 222–35
passim
 Howell, James
*Instructions and directions for forren
 travel*, 96–7
 Hume, David, 63, 65
 Hurd, Richard
Dialogues on the use of foreign travel,
 134

- illness and injuries, 25, 31, 37,
39–40, 41, 48–54, 62, 70, 121;
see also accidents, medical care and
treatment
ague, 37n3, 39, 52, 54, 118
jaundice, 37n3, 49, 52, 54
leprosy, 53
malaria, 37n3, 39, 48, 53, 116,
120, 175
plague, 53, 70, 137
quinsy, 37n3, 48
sexual disease, 25, 57, 58, 180
smallpox, 53, 70
tuberculosis, 25
- insurance, 64, 65, 67, 69
- Italy, 2, 5–6, 7, 8, 38, 58, 81, 111–12,
141–2, 150–1, 182, 201, 207,
209, 210; *see also* Mount Vesuvius,
Savoy/Piedmont
climate and environment, 13, 14,
175, 177–81
crime, 45–7
Florence, 39, 50–1, 195, 201, 227
military culture, 92, 94, 105, 222–
35 *passim*
Naples, 14, 40, 58, 141, 143, 151,
158–9, 162, 166, 170, 173,
176, 181–2, 201, 231
crime in, 46–7, 48
sickness in, 39, 40
Reggio, 40, 48–9, 50–1
Rome, 6, 7, 57, 58, 181, 201, 205
crime in, 45, 48
sickness in, 39, 53, 116, 120,
175
sickness in, 48–9
Venice, 45–6, 48, 53, 181, 234
- Jacobitism and Jacobite Rebellion, 25,
100
- Jenkins, Thomas (art dealer), 197
jeux de société, 28, 41, 68, 69, 71, 211
- Johnson, Samuel, 62, 129
- Keith, Sir Robert Murray (diplomat),
23, 60, 69, 180
- Lassels, Richard
The voyage of Italy, 133, 134, 141–2
- Legge, Charles (younger son of 2nd
earl of Dartmouth), 10, 34, 37n3,
49, 52, 54, 81, 82, 85, 86, 91, 194,
223–32 *passim*
- Legge, Francis Catherine, countess of
Dartmouth, 7–8, 54, 59, 70
- Legge, George, viscount Lewisham, 3rd
earl of Dartmouth, 7–8, 10, 30,
34, 35, 37n4, 39, 50, 59, 69–70,
82, 84, 86, 91, 97, 119, 135, 137,
148–50, 172, 173, 177, 178–80,
191, 194, 208, 219, 223–32 *passim*
- Legge, William, 2nd earl of Dartmouth,
7–8, 10, 35, 39, 49–50, 54, 59–60,
69, 70, 172, 173, 179–80, 230, 232
- Legge, William (younger son of 2nd
earl of Dartmouth), 10, 34, 82,
135, 225, 226, 229
- Lennox, Charles, 2nd duke of
Richmond, 100
- Lennox, Charles, 3rd duke of
Richmond, Lennox & Aubigny,
34, 35, 37n5, 84, 91, 95, 100, 225,
228, 232, 233
- Lennox, George (younger son of 2nd
duke of Richmond), 34
- Lesage, Alain-René
*The adventures of Gil Blas of
Santillane*, 45, 47
- Lipsius, Justus, 96
- Locke, John
Some thoughts concerning education,
130–1, 134
- lotteries, 64, 65, 67
- Lorraine, Dutchy of
- Lunéville, 230
academies in, 89, 119
- Lydall, Sir Henry, 92, 226

- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 65
- Mackenzie, Kenneth, Lord Fortrose, 125, 125 fig. 3.3, 158, 182
- Martel, Peter, 31, 146–7, 167, 168
- martial culture and identity, 3–4, 12, 13, 16, 20, 23, 73, 75, 77–80, 90–1, 96–109 *passim*, 113, 128–30, 131, 163, 170, 183, 188, 211–16 *passim*, 220; *see also* battles and battlefield tours, war and warfare, New Militia movement, and entries under country/state
- military education, 3, 11, 12, 13, 20, 75, 79, 82, 85–93, 95–7, 101, 103, 107, 108, 113, 210–11; *see also* academies
- military observations, 11, 82–6, 92–3, 97, 105, 210–11, 213, 222–35 *passim*
- military service elite, 19, 77, 79, 210–11
- military volunteering, 11, 93–5, 105, 108, 164–5, 211
- mountains and glaciers as opportunities for military training, 163–6
- masculine identity and forms of masculinities, 2, 3–4, 6–7, 11–12, 13–14, 19–20, 21, 23–4, 26, 27, 28, 32, 78, 79, 97, 99, 104, 105, 107, 108, 113, 115, 122, 126, 129, 131–2, 133, 137–8, 142, 143–4, 163, 164, 169–70, 173–7, 183–4, 185–7, 188–9, 193, 197, 198–202, 204, 205–6, 208, 210, 211–17, 220; *see also* sentimentalism and sensibility, martial culture and identity
- civility and civic-mindedness, 2, 6, 7, 16, 26, 27, 29, 68, 72, 78, 106, 134, 209, 212
- chivalry, 16, 19, 24, 77, 78, 79, 86, 89, 107, 124, 169, 214, 220
- courage, 3, 12–14, 19, 21, 24, 27, 55, 71–2, 79, 80, 97, 98, 100, 105, 108, 109, 113, 126–32 *passim*, 145, 149, 163, 164, 166, 171–4 *passim*, 179, 187, 189, 191, 195–8, 200, 204, 211–18 *passim*
- explorer/adventurer, 168–74, 211–13
- hardiness, 3–4, 12, 13, 14, 19–20, 23, 113, 131, 134, 137–8, 144, 163, 170, 174, 177, 180–1, 182, 185, 187, 188, 200, 201, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213, 216, 218
- historiography of masculinity, 2, 4, 14–19, 21, 209, 210, 211, 215
- honour, 13, 20–1, 27, 28, 41, 55, 71–3, 79–80, 93, 99–100, 102, 103, 104, 105–6, 108, 109, 122, 124, 126, 127–9, 145, 183, 189, 211, 212, 214, 215
- libertinism, 16, 23, 56–62, 176, 213
- man of science, 23, 145, 166–74, 213
- man of feeling, 12, 20, 198–200, 213
- politeness, 2, 4, 5, 6–7, 8, 15, 18, 20, 26, 87, 89, 90, 97, 113, 198, 209, 212, 213, 214
- medical care and treatment, 49, 50–4; *see also* health regimes
- Methodism, *see under* religion
- Milles, Richard, 221, 222
- Mission, Maximilien (tutor) *A new voyage to Italy*, 27, 133
- Mitchell, Andrew, 221, 225, 230, 234
- Montagu, Elizabeth, 199
- Moore, Charles (moralist), 129–30
- morality and moral corruption, 14, 21, 25, 27, 39, 41, 54–62, 63, 65, 68–71, 78, 96, 174, 177–8, 214

- Moryson, Fynes (travel writer), 98, 141
 mountaineering, 12, 14, 24, 145, 146–51, 158–60, 162–5, 182, 183–4, 196, 208, 210, 211, 212
 Mount Vesuvius, 3, 12, 14, 20, 28, 31, 71, 137, 139, 142–5, 146, 163, 166–7, 170–1, 172–4, 176, 182–4, 210, 211, 213, 216, 217–18
 representations of, 151–160, 162
- Nelson, James (educationalist), 131
 Netherlands, Low Countries and Belgium, 2, 81, 210,
 Bergen-Op-Zoom, 82, 224
 Brussels, 49, 50, 52, 54, 225
 military culture, 14, 82, 84, 93, 94, 96, 97, 144, 222–35 *passim*
 Spa, 51, 52, 53, 116
 The Hague, 84, 229
- networks and communities, 1, 21–22
 familial, 22, 23, 30
 sociopolitical, 8–9, 23, 41, 42, 48, 50, 84, 121
- New Militia movement, 78, 95, 108, 139, 164
noblesse d'épée, 96, 98–9, 100
- North, Frederick, Lord North, 2nd earl of Guildford, 10, 35, 60, 230, 232
- Nugent, Thomas (travel writer), 134
- Peacham, Henry, 130
- Pelham-Clinton, Henry Fiennes, 9th earl of Lincoln, 34, 37n3, 4 & 5, 38, 48–9, 51, 53, 90, 91–2, 94, 97, 105, 108, 118, 119, 121–2, 124, 126, 219, 222, 233, 234
- Pelham-Holles, Thomas, 1st duke of Newcastle, 10, 34, 38, 51, 53, 91–2, 94, 95, 100, 105, 121–2
- Perceval, John, 1st earl of Egmont, 10, 116
- Pliny the Elder, 171
- Pococke, Richard, bishop of Ossory and Meath, 57, 101, 146, 163, 174, 221–34 *passim*
- Poland, 31, 45, 137, 210
- Poyntz, William (politician), 231
- Presbyterianism, *see under* religion
- Price, Robert, of Foxley, 33, 39, 128–9, 138–9, 146, 147
- providence, 41, 65–8
- Prussia, *see under* Germany States
- Pulteney, William, viscount Pulteney, 226
- de Rapin de Thoyras, Paul (tutor), 33, 94
- religion, 14, 16, 25, 59, 61, 62, 66–8, 177, 178
 Anglicanism, 68
 Catholicism, 25, 46, 175, 176, 202
 Methodism, 59, 67, 219
 Presbyterianism, 67, 68
 Quakers, 67
- risk and risk theory, 3, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 40–4, 46, 54, 62–6, 68–70, 79, 92, 130, 169
- Rosa, Salvator (artist), 47
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
Nouvelle Héloïse, 29
- Royal Society, 146, 166, 167, 170, 171
- Russia, 19, 31, 45, 178, 210
- Quakers, *see under* Religion
- Sackville, Charles, Lord Middlesex, 159, 225–34 *passim*
- Salzmann, Christian
Gymnastics for youth, 122, 123 fig. 3.2
- Sandys, Revd William (tutor), 75
- Savoy/Piedmont, 90, 92, 124, 146
 Chamonix, 33, 143, 146–8, 150, 163–5, 188, 196, 197, 212; *see also* glacier

- Turin, 7, 52, 105, 124, 126, 138, 201, 234
 Accademia Reale, 10, 19, 34, 89–90, 91, 118, 119, 121, 124
 de Saussure, César (traveller), 115
 de Saussure, Horace-Bénédict (explorer), 129, 150
 Schaumburg-Lippe, William, count of, 33, 127–9
 Schaumburg-Lippe, George, 33, 127–8
 scientific interests and pursuits, 3, 12, 23, 33, 66, 88, 139, 145, 147, 166–74, 191, 198, 210, 213, 218, 219
 sentimentalism and sensibility, 1, 54, 185, 187, 188–9, 191, 196, 198, 199, 204, 206, 214, 219
 servants, 1, 4, 29, 37n2 & 3, 45, 49, 54, 121, 135, 138, 187, 191–8, 201, 206, 207, 214, 217; *see also* guides
 Sheffield, Edmund, 2nd duke of Buckingham, 25
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 24
 Smith, John ‘Warwick’ (artist), 151, 156 fig. 4.8, 158, 160
 Smithson, Sir Hugh, 92, 226
 Smollett, Tobias
 The expedition of Humphrey Clinker, 196–7
 Travels through France and Italy, 218
 Society of Dilettanti, 8, 56
 Southwell, Edward, 116
 Spence, Joseph (tutor), 34, 48–9, 51, 90, 91–2, 121–2, 159–60, 219, 222–35 *passim*
 Spencer, Lady, 221, 224, 230
 sport, 3, 12, 13, 16, 19, 33, 26, 27, 28, 71, 109, 112–13, 114–15, 122–9, 130, 138–9, 144, 163, 164, 183, 210, 211; *see also* exercise regimes
 boxing, 21, 77, 114, 115, 127, 128, 139, 165
 cricket, 113, 114, 115, 127
 hunting, 20, 26, 50, 61, 72, 112–13, 114, 115, 125–7, 129, 130, 131, 138n115, 163, 183, 203, 210, 211, 213
 swimming, 89, 113, 125, 182
 tennis, 89, 113, 114, 118, 119, 127, 128, 129, 139
 Stanhope, Philip, 4th earl of Chesterfield, 57
 Sterne, Laurence
 A sentimental journey, 29
 Stevenson, David (tutor), 10, 34, 39, 49–50, 59, 69–70, 82, 84–5, 119, 121, 135, 148–50, 172, 178–9, 219
 Stillingfleet, Benjamin (tutor), 33, 139, 146, 167, 148, 218–19
 Stuart, John, Lord Mount Stuart, 171
 sublime theory, 1, 12, 27, 139, 143, 144, 145–8, 151, 159, 183, 203, 213
 Sweden, 19, 31, 178
 Switzerland, 2, 19, 31, 58, 95, 116, 120, 121, 138, 144, 149–50, 175, 178
 Basle, 135, 191, 222
 Geneva, 33, 146, 167, 228
 academies in, 70, 91, 119
 Lausanne, 58, 118, 120, 229
 Limmar River, 39, 190
 military culture and battlefields, 82, 85, 95, 222–35 *passim*
 Rhine Falls, 191
 Tate, Benjamin, 33, 127–8, 232
 Thompson, Charles (writer), 142
 Thrale, Hester Piozzi, 182–3, 194, 217–18
 tourists and tourism, 1, 3, 5, 76–7, 84
 middle class, 10, 29, 33, 217, 218–19
 older male, 216, 219
 women, 217–18, 219

- Townshend, George, 1st marquis
 Townshend, 94–5, 108, 164–5,
 222, 224, 226
- travel
 emotional responses to (inc.
 cheerfulness, elation/
 exhilaration, fear, homesickness,
 lack of), 11–12, 14, 24, 40, 47,
 134–5, 137, 163, 179, 186–95,
 201, 205–8, 212, 217, 220
- hazards and hardships of, 3, 12, 13,
 24–6, 27, 28, 31, 37–41, 42, 70,
 76, 109, 113, 132–8, 139, 144–5,
 149, 159, 169–70, 177, 178, 180–
 1, 183, 184, 188, 189, 199–201,
 203, 210, 211, 212, 214, 218;
see also accidents, crime, danger,
 death, illness and injuries, moral
 corruption, risk and risk theory, war
 and warfare
- history of, 5, 24, 209, 220
- narratives, 1, 4, 14, 20, 23–4, 27,
 66, 67, 121, 138, 159, 162,
 169, 171, 172, 176, 184, 185–
 98, 200–8, 211, 212, 215, 219
- published accounts, 6, 28–30,
 31, 79, 134, 143–4
- unpublished, 18, 30–1, 32–3,
 79, 134, 184
- Trembley, Abraham (tutor), 34
- Tresham, Henry (artist), 157 fig. 4.9,
 158, 160
- Trevor, John Morley, 222–33 *passim*
- tutors and tutoring, 1, 4, 23, 24, 29,
 33, 49–50, 54–5, 88, 101, 103,
 105, 106, 117, 121, 137, 138, 159,
 177, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 198,
 206, 218–19
- Vergerio, Pierpaolo
*On noble customs and liberal studies
 of youth*, 95–6
- Villiers, George Busy, 4th earl of Jersey,
 8–9, 38, 121, 198–9, 219, 224–31
passim
- Volaire, Pierre-Jacques (artist), 153 fig.
 4.3, 154 fig. 4.4, 158, 159, 160,
 162
- Walpole, Horace, 33–4, 37n3, 39–40,
 48–9, 50, 51, 101, 145, 146, 151,
 200–3, 204, 207, 213, 214, 215,
 228
- Walpole, Robert, 33, 51, 115
- Waring, Samuel (travel-companion),
 133
- wars and warfare, 3, 12, 13, 14, 26, 28,
 42, 71, 75, 76–7, 80, 91, 95, 96,
 97, 98, 104, 107, 108, 112, 113,
 126, 127, 130, 131, 139, 210, 211,
 219; *see also* battles and battlefield
 tours, martial culture and identity
- American War of Independence, 77,
 78, 103, 189
- Seven Years' War, 34, 77, 78, 80,
 84, 100, 103, 108
- War of Austrian Succession, 33, 34,
 38, 77, 81, 92, 94, 105, 225
- War of Bavarian Succession, 75,
 107
- War of Polish Succession, 92, 226
- War of Spanish Succession, 33, 38,
 48, 70, 81n24, 83, 4, 103, 104,
 226
- West, Richard, 201, 202
- Wettstein, Colonel (tutor), 34, 37n4,
 50, 81, 135–6
- Whig ideology, 5–6
- Whitbread, Samuel (tourist), 136
- Whitehead, William (tutor), 8–9, 38,
 120–1, 18, 219
- Wilkes, John (British radical), 56, 58
- Williamson, Revd John (tutor), 33,
 167, 168, 174
- Williams-Wynn, Sir Walkin, 106 fig.
 2.3, 106–7

- Windham, William, 33, 38, 94, 108, 138–9, 146–8, 161 fig. 4.11, 164–6, 167–9, 173–4, 183, 188, 212, 218, 219
An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy, 31, 146–8, 165, 167, 168
Plan of discipline, 164–5
- Wortley Montagu, Lady Mary, 94, 194, 217, 222
- Wrey, Sir Bouchier, 128–9
- Wright, Joseph, of Derby (artist), 151, 152 fig. 4.1, 158
- Wutky, Michael (artist), 152 fig. 4.2, 156 fig. 4.7, 158, 159, 160, 162
- Yorke, Charles (father of 3rd earl of Hardwicke), 171
- Yorke, Philip, 3rd earl of Hardwicke, 8, 20–1, 30, 34, 35, 37n3, 50, 53, 68–9, 80–2, 84, 85, 97–9, 103, 107–8, 116, 135–6, 137, 148, 215, 222–35 *passim*
- Yorke, Philip, 2nd earl of Hardwicke, 21, 68, 69, 103
- Yorke, Sir Joseph (brother of 2nd earl of Hardwicke), 21, 68



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The Grand Tour was a journey to continental Europe undertaken by British nobility and wealthy landed gentry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a rite of passage, the Tour also played an important role in the formation of contemporary notions of elite masculinity.

Examining letters, diaries and other records left by Grand Tourists, tutors and their families, this book demonstrates how the Tour was used to educate elite young men in a wide variety of skills, virtues and masculine behaviours that extended well beyond polite society. Sarah Goldsmith argues that dangerous experiences, in particular, were far more central to the Tour as a means of constructing Britain's next generation of leaders than has previously been acknowledged. Influenced by aristocratic concepts of honour and cultures of military leadership, elites viewed experiences of danger and hardship as powerfully transformative and therefore as central to the process of constructing masculinity.

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Dr Sarah Goldsmith is a lecturer in urban and material culture history at the University of Edinburgh, having previously held a Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellowship at the University of Leicester.

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