ABSTRACT


During the eighteenth century, many British young men of wealth and standing traveled to the Continent as a means of completing their education. As part of that experience they were introduced to many of the courts of Europe along with some of the highest achievements in art, architecture and music. It was expected that these men would return home with the refinement and connoisseurship expected of a gentleman ready to enter into adult society. In both the experience of the Grand Tour as lived by participants and the perception of the Tour at home it is possible to see the echoes of larger issues in eighteenth-century British society, particularly those of national identity, consumption, luxury and masculinity. This work proposes that the Grand Tour can add an important dimension to the study of the period when viewed alongside more traditional approaches to eighteenth-century history.
The Grand Tour and the Expansion of the British Mind: Cultural Imperatives in the
Eighteenth Century

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The author wishes to thank her parents for their encouragement, sarcasm and house room.
BIOGRAPHY

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CHAPTER 1
Introduction

“The most remarkable thing I have observed since I came abroad, is, that there are no people so obviously mad as the English.”

During the eighteenth century, many British young men of wealth and standing traveled to the Continent as a means of completing their education. As part of that experience they were introduced to the courts of Europe along with some of the highest achievements in art, architecture and music. It was expected that these men would return home with the refinement and connoisseurship expected of a gentleman ready to enter into adult society. In both the experience of the Grand Tour as lived by participants and the perception of the Tour at home it is possible to see the echoes of larger issues in eighteenth-century British society, particularly those of national identity, consumption, luxury and masculinity. This work proposes that the Grand Tour can add an important dimension to the study of the period when viewed alongside more traditional approaches to eighteenth-century history. Because the Grand Tour was used as an educational tool for the next generation of the political and social elite, it was constructed with an eye towards the qualities considered most valuable by the current generation. The prevailing ideas of experience, republican virtue and connoisseurship are all present in the basic skeleton of the Tour.

Jason Kelly describes eighteenth-century Britain as “a realm of unparalleled economic growth, imperial expansion and cultural ferment.” It was also a country habitually at war and beset by fears – both real and imagined – of invasion and Catholicism. The height of the Grand Tour occurred at a time when Britain as a whole was defining itself by what it was not. Ideas of what it meant to be British were created in opposition to a foreign 'Other.' Linda Colley suggests that Britons saw themselves as “Protestants struggling for survival against the world's foremost Catholic power,” and it was this shared sense of Otherness that contributed to a sense of unified Britishness out of three separate identities. However, that 'foremost Catholic power' was the very country that served as a staring point for the Grand Tour. Despite being a focus of 'Otherness,' France was still perceived as a center of taste and fashion, especially in contrast to the staid courts of the early Hanoverians.

There was a perceived social danger in sending the young man abroad; a possibility that the Tourists could become too French, losing themselves to dissipation, effeminacy and popery. Theologist and author John Brown warned against the potential dangers of exposing young men to the Continent. The young were an unplowed field, easily led astray by new ideas and in such cases “every Foreign Folly, Effeminacy or Vice, meeting with a correspondent Soil, at once takes Root and flourish.” Brown and others of his ilk were particularly concerned about the debilitating effects of effeminacy upon the British nation.

“[W]hen a great Queen rode on Horseback to St. Paul’s, who should have foretold, that in

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less than two Centuries, no Man of Fashion would cross the Street to Dinner, without the effeminate Covering and Conveyance of an easy chair? In every aspect of modern life, Brown saw the degradation of British institutions and the ruination of the nation as he knew it.

Ten years prior to Brown's 1757 *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, Lord Chesterfield had written to his son reminding him of the importance of travel for the acquisition of knowledge and the necessity of moving about in foreign company without displaying the *mauvaise honte* (bashfulness) of his peers. The only way to develop an understanding of the wider world was in talking to the people that inhabit it. Chesterfield was convinced that in knowing the world better, the similarities between nations became more apparent, an insight that those who made a more superficial inquiry might not learn. In the example of Brown and Chesterfield we see representatives from two different classes both looking to create strong young men, but with vastly different ideas of how that should be done.

For the aristocracy, the Tour was about instilling both grace and virtue. The ancient Roman Republic was idealized as the source of wisdom and merit and the use of Italy as the final stop on the tour played into “the propensity of the English aristocracy and gentry to image themselves as virtuous Romans in the century following the Revolution settlement of 1688-9.”

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rediscovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum only fueled the fashion for the ancient and travel to Italy.

This work begins with a grounding in the fundamentals the Grand Tour experience along with a review of existing literature on the subject. What were the realities of the Tour experience and what were the goals of such an undertaking? Also under consideration will be some of the possible holes in the historiography of the Tour and how the present work may fill those gaps. Has scholarly work previously connected the Tour to larger issues, or is it examined in a historical vacuum? From there we will look at some of the political and social aspects of eighteenth-century Britain that impacted the ways in which the Grand Tour was carried out. The intent of this section is to highlight the inconsistencies between political/social views and the reality of the tour. Particularly of interest are ideas of insularity and British superiority contrasted with a *de rigueur* foreign education and a veneration of ancient Rome and Renaissance Venice. Next, the concept of 'Britishness' is examined, both as it was experienced in Britain and as it was reflected in the mentality of Grand Tourists. What was the ideal of national pride and upper class behavior? How was this carried out on the Tour and what was the middle class response? What does the quantity of literature tell us about the perceived importance of the Grand Tour to ideas of class and nationalism? Next, we will look at some of the traits the Tour was supposed to impart on young elite men and the popular debate on *virtù*, luxury, connoisseurship and masculinity as it was expressed in relation to the tour. How were these traits theoretically acquired and how were they lived once the tourist returned home? Specific issues include the gendered aspects of connoisseurship and virtu along with the contested expression of masculinity between the
upper and middle classes. Following that, the themes of the work will be examined through the lens of material culture, reading the various souvenirs of the Tour to see how they express ideas of luxury, class and masculinity. We will look at the actual objects brought home from the Tour along with the modifications made to country estates. From these disparate pieces, I believe we will see the objectives envisioned by the upper class for the Tour expressed in tangible form. The piece will conclude by summarizing the conclusions drawn throughout and explore possible avenues for further investigation.
CHAPTER 2

“If a new batch of Lords appears
After a Tour of halfe six years
With Foreign Airs to grace the Nation
(The Maids of Honor's admiration),
Whose bright Improvements give Surprise
To their own Lady Mother's Eyes.
Improvements! Such as Colts might show,
Were Mares so mad to let them go.”

Although pilgrimages, trade and battle had taken generations of Britons to the Continent, “travel for mere knowledge and pleasure had been uncommon before the eighteenth century.” It was the new philosophy of the Enlightenment that made educational travel more desirable. Enlightenment thinkers turned away from a traditional Christian narrative that man was permanently flawed and corrupted by Original Sin and embraced instead an idea of man as malleable and capable of improvement. Alexander Pope suggested that the bettering of humanity, or at least the self, was the most productive use of one's brief time on earth. “Know then thyself, presume not God to scan; The proper study of mankind is man.” John Locke perceived of humans as blank slates, in need of information and their character defined by the information received:

9 Lady Mary to Lord Hervey, 30 October 1734. Grundy, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 223.
All ideas come from sensation or reflection. Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas: – How comes it to be furnished? ...To this I answer, in one word, from EXPERIENCE.\textsuperscript{13}

If improvement and experience were the key to making better men, what better place to fill up the white paper of the mind than at the feet of the ancients? Though Athens and Rome were equally admired as seats of learning, Greece remained under Ottoman control through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, making travel to Athens far more of a dangerous undertaking. By default Italy became the locus for classical inspiration.

Eric Leed suggests that the concept of the tour emerged out of the combination of two earlier forms of travel. One was the chivalric expedition of a young knight who had recently completed his training. The nobleman was expected to visit various courts and show his skill in tournaments and entertainments. Through this journey the knight transitioned to adulthood and established himself as a member of a chivalric order. The second type of trip was the peregrinato academica, in which a young scholar near the end of his studies would visit centers of learning like Paris or Bologna.\textsuperscript{14} The concepts of a courtly tour and an educational tour both are present in the Grand Tour as it was understood in the eighteenth century. Additionally, the Tour did serve as a kind of Humanist pilgrimage to the shrines of classical knowledge, while also enriching the taste and gentility of the subject. In some respects it also served as a stand in for other earlier forms of travel. “It functioned, alongside travel for empire, as a replacement for pilgrimage and crusade, and it implied an interest in cultural

diversity and comparison.” Implied perhaps, but in reading the works of Tobias Smollett, the comparisons were usually in favor of the English. His accounts are full of complaints about the service in inns, the absurdities of the people and the poor quality of medical personnel. Dennis Porter sums up the purpose of the tour thusly, “the idea was that one's moral, literary and aesthetic education would be completed at the same time that one's experience of the world would be substantially broadened.” The heyday of the Grand Tour lasted the better part of the eighteenth century, until the French Revolution and Napoleon's conquests made continental travel a near impossibility. Other continental conflicts might alter routes or delay return, but waves of young men journeying to mainland Europe continued throughout the century.

Travel was expected to convey some sense of continental polish. “An appearance of cosmopolitanism was valued...because of what it signified: leisure, education and wealth,” the gentlemanly virtues. The average tourist was between eighteen and twenty-two years of age. Some were freshly out of Oxford or Cambridge; others used the Tour in lieu of a university education. The aunt of Thomas Coke, the future agricultural reformer, offered him £300 towards his travels if he would not go to university, she regarding them as “schools of vice.” In the case of non-conformists who would not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles and therefore were barred from both Oxford and Cambridge, the Continent offered another option for study. Lady Holland wrote to her sister, Lady Kildaire, regarding the Earl of

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17 Colley, Britons, 166.
Ophaly's impending tour. “I..rejoice to hear that he is to be sent abroad, because I am convinced it is the least bad thing one can do with then at that age, not withstanding the inconveniences that attend it.”\(^\text{19}\) The young man was usually accompanied by a tutor or cicerone (guide) to help them find their way and supervise the educational aspect of their journey. Often an older man who had traveled previously, he was also known as a bear-leader. Many cicerone were learned men with interests and passions of their own. Before becoming a professor of modern history at Oxford, Joseph Spence served as companion to three different gentlemen in the 1730s, and the future diplomat Louis De Visme accompanied Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham on his 1757-59 tour. The extent of the cicerone's role was very much dependent on how much the tourist was prepared to bestir himself to learn and how much he wished to partake of the less salubrious aspects of travel, but generally the tutor's function was to “see to accommodations, introduce [the tourist] to the arts, books and learned men, and gauge his progress in the courtly and literary skills that were increasingly the legitimization of nobility.”\(^\text{20}\) While traveling on the Continent, Tourists and their guides made use of “an extensive range of informally organized services for information and advice and for transferring money around Europe.”\(^\text{21}\) Envoys, ambassadors, expatriates and bankers were all resources for securing accommodation and entrance into the both the British enclave and the homes of the local persons of note.

A tourist's itinerary could take many forms, owing to the time available, the political climate on the continent, and the adventurousness of the young man himself. Prior to

\(^{20}\) Leed. The Mind of the Traveler, 185.
\(^{21}\) Towner, An Historical Geography, 135.
departure there was much to organize, guide books to select, letters of introduction to secure and a suitable cicerone to find. Most chose to depart England from Dover, arriving in Calais after a hopefully uneventful crossing. The pace of travel was generally quite slow, owing to the state of the roads and the speeds capable of horse-drawn, heavy-laden conveyances. The roughly 180-mile journey from Calais to Paris could take seven days. After having acquired the latest fashions and supplies for travel in Paris, many went on to perfect their French at the academies along the Loire, where the diction was considered particularly pure. Travel continued through France, crossing over the Alps via the pass at Mont Cenis and down into Italy. Turin was home to a military academy and riding center, suitable for training young milordi, but the real delights of Italy lay yet ahead. The Uffizi and the Pitti Palace drew travelers to Florence, along with a sizable British community presided over by Horace Mann. Rome was undoubtedly the highlight of the trip, replete with ancient artifacts, paintings, statuary and entertainment. Some parents and pamphleteers feared that two of the other lures of Rome, the Holy See and the exiled Stuarts, might cause serious damage to the Tourist's moral character. When the Jacobite threat was particularly high, intolerance of Catholicism increased. “In times of danger or insecurity, Catholics...became scapegoats.” Even if not converted, Catholicism could have a lasting effect upon the tourist's imagination. The

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notorious rake Sir Francis Dashwood was rumored to have Jacobite leanings, and was certainly fond of creating elaborate rituals for the clubs he joined on his return home.26

Naples was another standard stop, particularly once the summer made Rome intolerable. Although there was nothing to do but “dance, drink, see shows and hunt for bargains,” it also boasted a large British presence, headed (in the latter half of the century) by Sir William Hamilton.27 From 1738 onwards, Naples also served as a launching point for trips to see Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii and Herculaneum. Venice generally served as the last major stop on the tour, and arrival there was usually timed to coincide with Carnival or another festival. Although out of the way with no ruins and a climate that was considered unhealthy, the Most Serene Republic was a mainstay of the tour. Not only was Venice tolerant of vice and a center of music, theatre and painting, but the myth of historical Venice stood out as a “model polity” for many Britons.28 The place of Venice in British thought will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three. Tours could vary in length, but were generally a year or two. The agricultural reformer Thomas Coke's great uncle (also Thomas), spent six years on the continent collecting antiquities for his estate at Holkham, earning him the title “the great collector” from his Dilettanti friends.29

Though sometimes out of fashion with tourists and other Britons abroad, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's wealth of letters provide a perspective on the Grand Tour beyond the reports from the tourists themselves. During her long stay in Italy, Lady Mary had a mixed

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29 Cust and Colvin, History, 20.
experience with the young men visiting from home. In early 1740 she wrote her friend Lady Pomfret that they are “the greatest blockheads in nature.” Later that year she reported to husband that “The English Travellers at Rome behave in general very discreetly. I have reason to speak well of them since they were all exceeding obliging to me.” By 1757 she reported to her daughter that another of the English expatriates, John Murray, continually attempted to lead the young travelers to debauchery.  

Even with the best of intentions, tourists may have been unable to escape having vice foist upon them. The experience of the young man abroad could often become a tightrope walk between the expectations of refinement and polish from his family and the potential to concede to baser nature expected by friends and critics back home.

In a letter to his guardian, James Harris, Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham details his usual day in Geneva as including riding lessons, fencing, arithmetic, French and geography, fiddling and dancing. William FitzGerald had a similar schedule in Naples: Italian lessons, fortification/drawing, riding and fencing. From Rome he warned his mother not to expect too much in the way of correspondence: “what with my masters and what with antiquity hunting, my morning will be a good deal taken up.” William had become Earl of Ophaly and heir to his father, the Duke of Leinster, after the death of his older brother. Once the second son had become the first, it was quickly decided that William needed a broader education of the sort the tour could provide. Like many of his fellow travelers, William was dependent upon his parents for the funding of his adventures, and was occasionally called

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32 FitzGerald, Lord Kildaire’s Grand Tour, 40.
upon to account for his spending. “You must consider one must have a carriage, coachmen and footman that knows the town...in short, my dear Mother, there are so many necessary articles that a young man wants at setting out in the world.” In addition to acquiring local assistance, William shipped home prints, books of antiquities and rocks from Vesuvius. His primary expenditure, however, seems to have been on clothing. Not only did one have to look the part among the courts of Europe, the world being what it was, a traveler needed a suit of mourning clothes at the ready to pay proper homage to any recently deceased significant member of the nobility either in their country of residence or their home nation.

The coming of the French Revolution put an effective end to continental travel, but even before the outbreak of violence, the popularity of the tour was on the wane. The usual ports of call were no longer an educational playground for young gentlemen, but a holiday spot for the entire family. “Fashionable men had moved on from Italy to Greece and Asia Minor.” Once Napoleon had been defeated and travel was again feasible, the moment of the Grand Tour had passed. Romanticism had brought in a new appreciation for scenery and the picturesque, but long years confined to Britain had given would-be tourists greater appreciation for the destinations closer at hand, such as Wordsworth's Tintern Abbey in Monmouthshire.

In her book, The Hell-Fire Clubs: Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies, Evelyn Lord comments that much of the Grand Tour literature follows the same model of detailing the minutia of travel in the eighteenth century. “Excellent as such books are, they do tend to

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33 FitzGerald, Lord Kildaire’s Grand Tour, 69.
34 Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination, 632.
dwell on the practical side of the Grand Tour.” The standard in this vein is William Mead's *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, first published in 1914 and still commonly cited by historians. Mead provides a comprehensive account of roads, carriages, inns and costs along the Tour. Christopher Hibbert's *The Grand Tour* is much in a similar style, with a continual nod to the annoyances of eighteenth-century travel and the benefit of glossy illustrations. In recent years there has also been a tendency to focus on the more salacious aspects of the Tour. For some, the Tour did serve as a landscape for rebellion and violation of societal norms. More modern travel history titles seem to encourage this fascination with transgressive behavior. For example, Dennis Porter's *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* and Chloe Chard's *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830*. As Jeremy Black observes, “Travel abroad provided a major opportunity for sexual adventure.” He does later acknowledge that, judging from Tourists' written evidence, “low vices were of less interest than accommodation and food, paintings and statuary.” Black has lead the way in more recent Grand Tour works with *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (1992), *Italy and the Grand Tour* (2003) and *France and the Grand Tour* (2003). His focus is on the personal experience of Tourists, their actual exploits as recorded in letters and diaries. He is careful to point out that the travel diaries and letters of Tourists must be treated with the same circumspection as any primary source document. In an age where such

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35 Lord, *The Hell-Fire Clubs* 221 n.2.  
36 Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 122.  
37 Ibid., 134.
material was rarely intended to be private, it is likely that some accounts were sanitized or made suitable for audiences by later generations.\(^{38}\)

John Eglin is equally frank about the problems that come with an academic study of the Grand Tour. He suggests that the Tour serves as “an archetype rather than an institution.”\(^{39}\) There was little consensus about the Tour at the time, though opinion was primarily divided along class lines. Eglin points out that the rigors and time required by the Tour make it an endeavor more appropriate to youth, regardless of the educational advantages. While he makes valid points about the narrow way in which many historians have defined this so-called archetype (as formalized, British and elite), it continues to have underused value in assessing British perspective during the eighteenth century. John Towner suggests that there is a “tendency to view episodes like the Grand Tour in isolation from other activities,” which naturally results in a lack of appropriate historical context.\(^{40}\)

In *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830*, Chloe Chard takes the Grand Tour in a different direction, using the travel accounts and related documents of the period to look at “changes in the formation of concepts of pleasure in writings about the Grand Tour, and in the desires and demands imposed upon the topography of the Tour in order to extract pleasure from it.”\(^{41}\) Chard looks at the oppositions created in travel writing by the foreign and the familiar, and the implied

\(^{38}\) Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, 122.

\(^{39}\) Eglin, *Venice Transfigured*, 75.


“choice between immediate charms and solid comforts.” While the work does trace a line between the accounts of Grand Tour writers and the later tourism of the Romantic period, it stays largely within the confines of travel writing, without making connections to wider social or political issues during the period.

Historians of the Grand Tour have a wealth of material to work with, beyond the travel journals and correspondence. They also have the benefit of the portraiture and other souvenirs brought back by young Tourists and the country estates they built or remodeled following their time on the continent. These materials have been used primarily only within the confines of discussion of the Tour itself, or in studies of consumption and luxury, but there is an (as yet underused) opportunity to look at the Grand Tour and its component pieces as they relate to the larger social and cultural outlook of Britain in the eighteenth century. The Grand Tour is entwined with the life of the gentry, regardless of whether we apply Eglin's caveats. An entire extended family could be involved in the planning and execution of a young man's Tour, and, as in the case of the Earl of Ophaly, a second son could become the first without warning. Being the heir apparent brought with it the responsibility of carrying on the family name and duties. Even if the Tourist saw no one but other Tourists, he was still making friends and connections among the upper levels of British society. These new relationships could prove useful in future endeavors like standing for parliament, philanthropic work or creating a new social club. It is the contention of this paper that the Grand Tour is a useful lens for examining and thinking about eighteenth-century Britain. Though not undertaken in the same way and with the same result by every young man, the

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idea of the Tour and its effects on the physical, cultural and social landscape should not be overlooked.
CHAPTER 3

Although the notion of British exceptionalism has fallen somewhat out of favor, Linda Colley acknowledges that “[i]n some ways the British were markedly different from and more fortunate than many of their Continental neighbors.”43 Their ‘divinely-ordained shape’ with its geographic isolation made for stable borders, necessary agricultural self-sufficiency and fewer widespread famines.44 While engaged in war throughout the century, very little organized combat occurred on the island itself. The comparative stability within their borders enabled increased prosperity and a focus on external and imperial matters. Paul Langford suggests that for Britain “every war during this period was in essence a commercial war...every peace was the continuation of war by economic means.”45

The principle target for this war and peace was France, Britain's Catholic opponent. Cartoons by artists like Hogarth satirize and caricature the French while at the same time drawing attention to the perceived threat. One example is The Invasion, from 1756. The illustration depicts French preparations for an invasion of Britain. In the foreground a monk is seen checking an axe in front of a rowboat laden with implements of torture and various Catholic pieces, including the plans for a monastery. Behind him, emaciated and disheveled soldiers wait while their commander roasts frogs on his saber. At the far back, new recruits are taken aboard ship at spear-point. The verses below the cartoon, written by the actor and

43 Colley, Britons, 36.
44 Colley, Britons, 17.
45 Langford, A Polite and Commercial People, 3.
playwright David Garrick, are full of braggadocio and confidence in the innate superiority of the British over the French. “...But soon we'll teach those bragging Foes/ That Beef & Beer give heavier Blows,/ Than Soup & Roasted Frogs.” To many of those who saw Hogarth's work it seemed incomprehensible that anyone would want to learn anything or spend any time among the French. The French were perceived as effeminate and the British as masculine. The Francophilia displayed by the aristocracy was cause for great concern among the other classes, who worried that the effeminacy might infect the land of roast beef and beer. “‘Effeminacy' denoted a degenerate moral, political and social state that opposed and subverted the vaunted 'manly' characteristics – courage, aggression, martial valor, discipline and strength – that constituted patriotic virtue.”46 The threat of France was a motivating factor in all aspects of British life. “Briton must command the arts as it commanded the seas, in both cases as a means of competing with the French.”47 Kathleen Wilson extends the pursuit of empire to a means of securing British self worth in the face of their enemies. “Empire was not an end in itself in this period, however, but was the means through which national potency could be nurtured and consolidated – the bulwark and emblem of British and particularly English superiority in culture and arms.”48 At the same time, Richard Hurd (in his Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel, a fictional conversation between Lord Shaftsbury and John Locke) was declaring France a land that “abounds in men of

47 Colley, Britons, 91.
48 Wilson, The Sense of the People, 202.
distinguished literature and politeness.” Voltaire (although not actually in France for most of the period) appeared on several Tourists' itineraries, including those of the Earl of Ophaly and Sir Wyndham.

Beyond the motivating threat and fear of the French, there was a great deal of Italian influence on the British political elite. Both Ancient Rome and Renaissance Venice struck a chord with the upper classes and were great sources of inspiration. Rome was a model for government and education, venerated to the point of idealization. As Voltaire wrote during his time in England, “The members of the English parliament are fond of comparing themselves, on all occasions, to the old Romans.” Much of British political and public life was devoted to portraying the essence of Roman culture as they understood it. “The British aristocracy of the eighteenth century proclaimed the classical principles of liberty and virtue in their demeanor, their speeches, their busts and statues, houses and gardens.” There was a sense of the elites dignifying or vindicating their position through association with republican virtue. Lord Chesterfield encouraged his son to study his Roman History carefully, for it shows “the regard and veneration that was always paid to great and virtuous men, in the times in which they lived, and the praise and glory with which their names are perpetuated and transmitted down to our times.” Furthermore, the physical association with the Roman republic – the remains of Roman civilization on British soil gave them a sense of increased

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49 Richard Hurd. Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel; Considered as Part of An English Gentleman’s Education: Between Lord Shaftsbury and Mr. Locke. London: W.B. for A. Millar, 1764 (Google ebooks edition), 49.
51 Ayres, Classical Culture, xiv.
52 Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield’s Letters to His Son and Godson, 13.
cultural authenticity over “continental absolutisms.” Because of its status as the source of civilization, Latin and the classical ideals held high by society, Rome was generally held to be the “single most important destination on the Grand Tour.”

The British also idealized Venice at the height of its power in the sixteenth century as a successful model of mixed government. The Most Serene Republic was seen as an earlier mirror to their own imperial aspirations, “a constitutional state and maritime power that was at once mercantile and aristocratic.” Many in the political establishment felt a strong connection with the city-state. “In effect the ruling class appropriated the Venetian Renaissance as the proper model for a truly national style.” Grand Tourists were expected to learn political lessons from the island republic to “help Great Britain to achieve stability at home and empire abroad.” Members of the elite considered Venice Christian but not Popish, unlike Rome. The city-state was seen as the “first bulwark of Christianity against the Turks.” Venice served as a stand in for everything the British Empire hoped to be, and Venice's continuing place of prominence on the Grand Tour was partially owed to the endurance of this metaphor. Linda Colley attributes the popularity of Canaletto's Venetian paintings to elites who saw the seamless mixture of trade, liberty and oligarchic rule as “fully compatible in their own island.” In fact, the British elite were some of Canaletto's best...

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53 Ayres, Classical Culture, xiv.
55 Eglin, Venice Transfigured, 3.
58 Eglin, Venice Transfigured, 85.
59 Eglin, Venice Transfigured, 7.
clients, and he followed them home to continue working for them. While in residence on the island, Canaletto turned his attention to portraying England in a similar fashion as he had done with Venice, translating his *veduta* style to the Thames and the English landscape. In comparing the 1738 painting *Grand Canal: Looking South-West from the Chiesa degli Scalzi to the Fondamenta della Croce, with San Simeone Piccolo* and 1747's *The Thames with Saint Paul's Cathedral*, there are some obvious similarities. First is the centrality of the water, be it canal or river. There is activity on the water, both business and pleasure one would assume, and the city nestled right against the edge, showing its connection to the wider world of trade and empire. Both paintings have a large domed church in a prominent spot, but still behind the activity and business on the water. Overall, the scene in London is more crowded and vibrant. The eighteenth-century capital did have a larger population than Renaissance Venice, but Canaletto may also be playing to the home crowd here, showing the London and the Thames bursting with color and activity as a way of indicating Britain's superiority to the city-state.

Beyond Venice and Rome, there were a variety of governments to be seen in Italy. Tourists were expected to pay attention to the different types seen in their travels and to return home valuing Parliament more because of the other governments they had been exposed to on the Continent. The Tour was ostensibly an educational venture. With the emphasis placed on the classics generally and Rome and Venice specifically, sending young men to Italy made educational sense. Middle class parents were not as convinced, ancient learning seemed less valuable than more practical skills. The internal conflict between practicality and aspiration in the middle class was expressed in education, where a well-
rounded curriculum would include mathematics, natural philosophy, classics and dancing, and in the pursuit (or denial) of luxury.\textsuperscript{61} The Tour did also have practical applications for certain professions. Architects like the Adam brothers and the younger Matthew Brettingham and painters like Ramsay and Reynolds all used the Tour as a way of completing their training in the styles that would sell at home.

For the young gentleman, his career and prestige could be developed in meeting with other likeminded citizens on the continent, or in the machinations of his superiors while he was away. In 1759 a seat in parliament opened in Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham's native Kent. Sir Wyndham was still away on his Tour but his name was put about as a possible candidate. In discussing his suitability Lord Hardwicke wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, “I know that when he went out of England he was as zealous for the king and his administration as a boy could be.”\textsuperscript{62}

The Grand Tour was not impervious to the political landscape of the eighteenth century. Much of its function was dictated by a British desire to embody the best qualities of the Ancient Romans, and to have in their eldest son a new Cicero. War on the Continent might delay travel or alter plans, but it did not eliminate the need to make a Tour. Visiting the courts of Europe, Tourists often provided first-hand accounts of political actors, or the realities of political maneuvering. In spite of a tendency to insularity and a mistrust of foreigners, particularly the French, traveling to the Continent was considered a vital part of a gentleman's education. France was still the arbiter of European taste and fashion. Tobias Smollett lamented the Englishman's thrall to the tailors of Paris, and wished for enough anti-

\textsuperscript{61} Langford, \textit{A Polite and Commercial People}, 81-82.
Gallican sentiment to establish an English standard of dress.\textsuperscript{63} The prominence of foreign travel in an age of burgeoning nationalism can be explained by the dominance of the classical motif in politics and education, along with the veneration of the achievements of Renaissance Venice. The relative stability and prosperity of their own country gave the British elite the luxury to explore the traditional centers of culture on the Continent with an eye to returning, if not well informed, than at least with a renewed appreciation for their country.

CHAPTER 4

Linda Colley suggests that the eighteenth century saw the rise of a unified British national identity against a backdrop of war and commercial expansion. This sense of 'Britishness' did not replace earlier constructions of Englishness, Scottishness or Welshness but loyalty to the invented nation was superimposed on top of other identities. How this new sense of self was manifested did vary according to class but in principle it revolved around the superiority of British institutions, British culture and the centrality of the Protestant faith. The two Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 had challenged these constants; their suppression allowed it to flourish.

The eighteenth century may have seen the rise of a notion of Britishness, but it does not mean that notion was universally applied across the country. 1712 saw the first appearance of John Bull, in John Arbuthnot's *Law is a Bottomless Pit*. An allegory for the War of Spanish Succession, Arbuthnot casts the various nations as characters in a ridiculous lawsuit (the legal battle over an estate standing in for the conflict over the fate of the Spanish throne). John Bull was “an honest, plain-dealing fellow, choleric, bold and of a very unconstant temper.” Initially intended as a figure of satire, John Bull came to typify the middle-class Briton. Bull and his opponent Philip Baboon (a play on Bourbon) are both elaborate caricatures of each nation's defining elements.

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In the discussion of the Grand Tour and its components, we see the some of the chief paradoxes of eighteenth-century Britain and the apparent schizophrenia of its people. A country whose xenophobia was remarked upon by many of those who traveled to its shores sent its young sons to complete their education on the continent. Paul Langford points out that “The same classes which maintained their commitment to the special status of all things English also displayed their dedication to foreign fripperies.” Jennifer Mori states that “the middle classes were ambivalent in their attitudes to the Grand Tour, combining a yearning to acquire the hallmarks of distinction with a deep suspicion of decadence in all its forms.”

These two statements seem to be slightly at odds with one another. Materialism and foreigners were certainly some of the major talking points of eighteenth-century British moralists. Speaking as John Locke, Richard Hurd considered studying and aping the ways of foreigners far less useful than understanding one's own countrymen. Paul Langford points out that “there was some skepticism about the value of an experience which involved young aristocrats disgracing themselves and their country in front of their hosts.” Certainly that was not the intended result of the Tour. For the gentleman, according to Lord Chesterfield, “the perfection of good breeding is, to be civil with ease, and in a gentlemanlike manner.”

Following the loss of the American War of Independence, which carried with it the loss of the colonies and eight long years fighting fellow Protestants, the nation as a whole felt as though it had come lose of its traditional virtuous moorings. The landed elite made a

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69 Hurd, *A Dialogue on the Uses of Foreign Travel*, 129.
conscious attempt at reforming their identity, both how they viewed themselves and how other classes viewed them. There was an increased focus on patriotic duty and a desire to be seen as “authentically and enthusiastically British.” They were not parasites on the expanding commercial empire, but leaders with a necessary role to play. Traditional aristocratic pastimes such as fox hunting were recast as masculine expressions of luxury that also served a useful purpose.

The implications of a Grand Tour were not lost on the middle class. While some decried the extravagance and indolence of the Tour, others looked eagerly for the new vagaries of taste and gawked at the houses and gardens of the rich. Essayists, painters and moralists all speculated on the nature of taste and the benefits of travel. Implicit in experiencing the foreign is a comparison with the familiar, as Chloe Chard points out. The fear from the public was that the foreign would be the more appealing, leading to a weakening of the state and the threat of foreign control. Men like Lord Chesterfield felt that understanding the foreign would only improve the familiar, a sentiment taken to extremes by Tobias Smollett, who found very little on the Continent superior to what might be had at home.

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72 Colley, Britons, 155.  
73 Colley, Britons, 172.  
74 Chard, Pleasure and Guilt, 45.
CHAPTER 5

“Dear sister, don’t leave him too long in Italy; except virtù, nothing is to be learnt from it.”

To be a British gentleman in the eighteenth century was to possess a certain standard of bearing and knowledge about the world. A number of elites attempted to set down their thoughts on the qualities needed to be a part of upper class society, among them Lord Chesterfield. “Chesterfield's formula was simple: a familiarity with the ancient authors and the inculcation of grace, propriety and moderation learned there, made for a classical gravitas which would then be softened by an easy elegance, charm and gentility best learned on the continent and especially from the French.” A classical education alone was not enough to create a gentleman; affability, refinement and a discerning eye were central to the idea of appropriate masculinity. Elite men were lauded for their interest in observing and collecting the world around them. The dilettanti sought art and antiques and desired to be seen as “arbiters of taste and culture in their native country”. A virtuoso added to this an interest in natural history, and might spend the Grand Tour looking for mineral samples, as did James Smithson. The rediscovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii spurred further interest in the classical, and both sites became staples of the Tour. At home, men like William Stukeley hoped to redirect this interest away from Italy, reminding the aristocracy that ancient Rome

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75 Lady Holland to Lady Kildaire, FitzGerald, *Lord Kildaire’s Grand Tour*, 52.  
76 Ayres *Classical Culture*, 53.  
77 Cust and Colvin *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, 5.
could be found in Britain as well. His Roman Knights and their Romano-British fieldwork provided a new rationale for the classical spirit in Britain by urging the recovery of its Roman past.\textsuperscript{78} Britain's physical inclusion in the Roman Empire was a point of pride for those who championed classical thought.

Eighteenth-century Britain was a place of massive commercial expansion. With more goods available to all classes and more ability to follow fashion, ideas of consumption and luxury became more prominent.\textsuperscript{79} In fact, “useless expenditure was a hallmark of gentility.”\textsuperscript{80} Connoisseurship went beyond acquisition for the sake of acquisition. Jonathan Richardson wrote in 1718 that “If Gentlemen were Lovers of Painting, and Connoisseurs This would help to Reform Them, as their Example, and Influence would have the like Effect upon the Common People.”\textsuperscript{81} An admiration for painting could improve men's characters, and if the characters of the upper class were improved, it would in turn improve the men of the other classes.

On his travels on the continent, Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham made note of his encounters with art, and his own opinions. At twenty years of age, he felt no compunction about dismissing a collection of the Prince of Orange with the note “some paintings of Rubens's, but no others very good.”\textsuperscript{82} Sir Wyndham was regarded by Lady Mary Wortley Montague to be a young man of merit who had managed to remain “modest and sober”

\textsuperscript{78} Ayres, Classical Culture, 92.
\textsuperscript{80} Langford, A Polite and Commercial People, 70.
\textsuperscript{81} Jonathan Richardson. An argument in behalf of the science of a connoisseur; wherein is shewn the dignity, certainty, pleasure, and advantage of it. London: W. Churchill, 1719 (Google ebooks edition), 44.
\textsuperscript{82} Wydham Knatchbull-Wyndham (6th Bt.). Mints of Sir WKW's Travells. [Personal Diary] 1757-59. (digitized copy of original) The author thanks the Centre for Kentish Studies for their assistance in creating an electronic copy.
despite inducements otherwise from fellow Tourists.\textsuperscript{83} Although more concerned with the people he met in his travels, the seventeen-year-old Earl of Ophaly had a similar experience at the Palace of Capodimonte in Naples, finding “...a great many fine pictures and more bad ones.”\textsuperscript{84} The evaluation of artwork was a gentleman's skill, and Tourists were expected to see the fine collections on the Continent and judge them appropriately – along with purchasing copies to display their taste and refinement at home.

There is much to intertwine the Grand Tour's pursuit of refinement and eighteenth-century conceptions of gender. Several scholars have recently drawn connections between the male drive for collecting objects and the pursuit of the fair sex.\textsuperscript{85} John Brewer puts it most succintly, “The very study of virtù was tainted with sex.”\textsuperscript{86} Young women learned to draw and paint, young men learned to judge drawing and painting. As Shawn Maurer points out, this gender difference establishes “women as the proper objects of visual as well as ethical scrutiny and men as their obligatory scrutinizers.”\textsuperscript{87} Women were taught the 'accomplishments' required for female refinement, men were sent on the Grand Tour. Once returned home, connoisseurs of the art world and experts in criticism, men could properly judge the art created by women while simultaneously judging the woman herself. “The collector's desired object and the beautiful woman are treated as one.”\textsuperscript{88} Like art, women became commodities to be judged and fetishized – symbols of power and prestige for the

\textsuperscript{83} Isobel Grundy, ed. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 467 n 7.
\textsuperscript{84} FitzGerald, Lord Kildaire's Grand Tour, 26.
\textsuperscript{85} See Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination; Kelly, The Society of Dilettanti; Maurer, Proposing Men.
\textsuperscript{86} Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination, 262.
\textsuperscript{88} Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination, 262.
man who possessed both. The mingled ideas of connoisseurship and lust are visible in some of the conversation piece paintings of the day, like Zoffany's *The Tribuna of the Uffizi*. In the Tribuna room of the Uffizi Palace in Florence, noted connoisseurs are all reverently observing works of art, including nude statuary. They are clustered in groups around different pieces, most intent on the object in front of them but some with a knowing outward look, showing their confidence in their ability to appraise all that surrounds them. In their posture and gaze, they convey a deep appreciation and knowledge of art, and perhaps a longing for possession as well.

While perfecting the arts of connoisseurship and refinement considered essential to the well-bred gentleman, young Tourists were opening themselves to potential criticism from other citizens of their homeland. Maurer's work focuses on eighteenth-century periodicals and she finds a continual portrayal of “consumption and display as practices inimical to the strength – psychological as well as physical – requisite to masculinity.” Excessive luxury, as might be seen in the new French fashions or the statuary and paintings brought home from the tour, was proof of effeminacy. Likewise, there is a class component to real masculinity – best expressed in the hard-working man of the middle class. Culture in the eighteenth century was highly sexualized, anything perceived to be effeminate was deemed not worthy of the true, masculine Englishman. The period was marked by constant worry that elite culture was becoming increasingly feminized, which would surely lead to the end of British

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civilization as the general public knew it. “The aristocracy's allegedly feckless pursuit of self-interest was held responsible for the chilling spectacle of the British nation's inexorable and, some feared, irreversible slide into 'effeminacy’. As the elites became feminized, their habits and activities would spread down the social order, corrupting the entire country. Essayist and cleric John Brown was convinced that the root of this effeminacy was in the poor education of young elites:

Instead of being initiated in books, where the Wisdom of Ages lies reposed, our untutored Youth are carried into the World; where the ruling objects that catch the Imagination, are the Sallies of Folly or of Vice...no Circumstance in Education can more surely tend to strengthen Effeminacy and Ignorance, than the present premature and indigested Travel.

Hogarth and Rowlandson continually satirized the connoisseur's excess and lust in occasionally explicit and usually suggestive drawings. The men were shown in thrall to sexualized antiquities, showing their loss of control and therefore loss of power, both as a sex and as a class. These prints often cast aspersions on the virility of the connoisseur, as in the case of Gillray's *A Cognocenti contemplating ye Beauties of ye Antique* (1801) and Rowlandson's *'Tis Not Art Alone Can Please the Eye* (1786). Both show men so intent on viewing their collections that they are oblivious to the world and its real beauties around them. Gillray particularly pokes fun at William Hamilton, casting Lady Hamilton as Cleopatra and Lord Nelson as Marc Antony in the pictures above him. He adds the horns of a bull on the table in front of the picture, a traditional reference to cuckolding. Satire was an

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93 Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, 186.
94 Brown, 31 and 34. (Google ebook edition, digitized 2008)
indispensable means of highlighting correct and incorrect notions of masculinity.\(^{96}\) For example, Phillip Dawe's illustration of *The Macaroni* shows an elaborately dressed young man with some of the items usually associated with women's fashion. He stands in front of a dressing table draped in fabric and has a cluster of flowers at his neck. His hair is elaborate and out of proportion, with a tricorn perched on top. In his posture he is more like a dancer, willowy rather than firm and masculine. The macaroni were the extreme of high fashion, regarded with ridicule among all of society, but the image had resonance beyond its absurdity. It was a reflection of the popular perception of the young men of fashion, and the figure of ridiculousness was seen as the result of too much attention to foreign airs and fashions.

CHAPTER 6

On the tour young men were developing their understanding and criticism of art and, as John Brewer puts it, they “acquired a good deal of cultural booty to support their views.” What they collected can inform our ideas of connoisseurship and the physical trappings required of a refined man of leisure, as well as the expectations held in common about a gentleman's bearing, knowledge and interests.

Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the portraits commissioned while on tour. “Portraits can reflect conventions of behavior or art practices that originate in the sitter's social and cultural milieu...portraits become less about like ness and more about the typical, the conventional, or the ideal.” Portraiture was ubiquitous in eighteenth-century Britain. Any occasion would serve as an excuse to have oneself painted, and any important moment in life could be commemorated that way. “In eighteenth-century Britain portraits fulfilled the moral and civic roles that academic theory envisioned for history painting.” Portraits could serve an aspirational function, a model for what good young Britons hoped to achieve in order to fulfill the promise of their family name and their place in a great nation. A young gentleman's Grand Tour was certainly an important moment worthy of a portrait. Though not the only choice in Italy or even in Rome, many British tourists looked to Pompeo Batoni to

commemorate their visit to the continent. It was his skill in creating likenesses and authentic human figures that made him so popular. “The polish of his canvases was a physical embodiment of the refinement that a year in Italy could instill.” Of his 225 known sitters, 175 were British. Batoni, like his contemporaries across Europe, tended to use a modified version of a pose Van Dyck popularized a century before.

The head turned just a touch to one side, the slight incline of the upper body, one arm bent to meet a vertical support, the fingers extended: this pattern had been invented to describe an aristocratic ideal of consummate ease and self-command, and had lost none of its power to convey this ethos by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Ease and grace were part of the manners of the true gentleman. Even in a foreign land, the young Tourist appeared confident and relaxed. Batoni's trademark was in highlighting the individual among classical structures or items from the sitter's personal collection. This inclusion of ancient material seems to have begun with the canvas of Robert Clements (1754), which features a bust of Homer. Observers in the know would recognize that particular bust of Homer from the Palazzo Farnese. Although also part of an earlier tradition of associating a sitter with classical virtue, it took Batoni time to fully realize the style for which he remains famous. Batoni made antiquities into props, “icons of status, wealth, cosmopolitanism and virtù.” To be successful, Batoni had to present something that was familiar to the sitter and would be recognized by the painting's observers back home. The classical-based Van Dyke posing was also in use in London by fashionable artists Allan

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103 Kelly, The Society of Dilettanti, 22.
Ramsay and Thomas Hudson. Although designed to please the English milordi, Batoni's portraits did have admirers among contemporary scholars. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the German art historian and critic, called the portrait of Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham “one of the best in the world.” At over seven feet tall, the full-length portrait is both visually striking at a distance and filled with minute detail upon close inspection. The portraits of Sir Wyndham and his fellow tourists are prime examples of what Andrew Wilton termed the 'swagger portrait,' the most extravagant end of the Grand Manner style of painting.

Jules David Prown tells us “works of art are conscious expressions of belief, fictions composed of a vocabulary of line and color, light and texture, enriched by tropes and metaphors.” As items of material culture, portraits can provide insight into the past as we translate that vocabulary. Batoni's portrait of Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham (1758-9) begins with a Van Dyke-style pose, alluding to the famous Apollo Belvedere statue, and adds a Van Dyck-appropriate style of dress, with lace collar and cuffs and a voluminous cloak over Sir Wyndham's arm. “Foreign travel, especially the Grand Tour, enabled men to indulge their taste for finery.” Fashion in France and Italy tended towards brighter colors than that of Britain, and Batoni captured the vibrant hues with his brush. The fabrics and colors have significance in establishing the wealth and taste of the young man, and Batoni was expected to capture them properly. The sitter's clothing conveyed information about

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status; his knowledge of what was stylish and his ability to afford it. Although almost one hundred years out of date, the Van Dyke look was popular for masquerade balls in Italy. In his casually outstretched left hand, Sir Wyndham conveys a sense of familiarity and ease with the classical landscape behind him. The use of the Temple of Vesta, the column, and the bust of Athena all serve to situate Sir Wyndham and make clear to any uninformed observer that this portrait was done while he was on his Grand Tour. The young man, only twenty-one when the painting was begun, is shown with the classical world almost literally at his feet. He has achieved mastery over it, as he has achieved mastery of the greyhound beside him.

It is not generally known how much input the sitter had in the specifics of his portrait by Batoni, but it is fairly evident Colonel William Gordon (painted in 1765) did have some suggestion in the matter of his dress. He wears the uniform of the Queen's Own Royal Highlanders, a short-lived regiment created in the midst of the Seven Years War. Although permitted in military uniform, the wearing of plaid in Britain was still prohibited under the Proscription Act of 1746. Christopher M. S. Johns suggests that the mixing of the signature red jacket of the British military with the tartan wrapped like a toga is indicative of the “political and cultural confusion that characterized eighteenth-century Scotland.”\(^\text{110}\) Certainly it is a powerful signifier of national identity and Batoni's ability to render textiles. Here again we see a variation on the traditional Van Dyck pose. The inclusion of the Highland basket-hilt broadsword, beyond further allusion to Gordon's military service, conveys an additional sense of force in the sitter's mastery of the classical backdrop behind him. Gordon gives off an air of supreme confidence in himself and his surroundings. Batoni has carefully rendered

\(^{110}\) Christopher M. S. Johns. "Portraiture and the Making of Cultural Identity: Pompeo Batoni’s The Honorable Colonel William Gordon (1765-66) In Italy and North Britain" in Art History Vol. 27, No. 3 (June 2004), 382-411, 383.
the muscles and tendons to exude masculinity and power. Gordon stands among classical ruins, with his leg resting upon a plinth as a conqueror of Rome, if not always an equal among the English at home.

Batoni's 1758 portrait of Charles Compton, 7th Earl of Northampton, does not include a vista of Rome in the background, like those of Sir Wyndham and Colonel Gordon, but features other aspects of the Grand Tour and the ideal of an aristocratic young man. The Earl is pictured in a textbook rendition of the Van-Dyck pose mentioned earlier. The rich textures and colors of his lynx-edged red velvet cloak speak to station and wealth. On the table beside him is a stack of books, a quill pen and a bust of Minerva, Roman goddess of wisdom. We see here the picture of a refined and educated man, who has taken advantage of his Tour to improve himself. The Earl is not so lost in ancient texts as to be removed from more active aristocratic pursuits, as seen from the dog at his side.

Why did Sir Wyndham, Colonel Gordon, the Earl of Northampton and their fellow travelers have their portraits painted by Batoni, or one of the other artists on the continent? Certainly some of it goes back to the fashion for portraiture previously mentioned. It also plays into the notion that Britain was the rightful heir of ancient Rome. Using the familiar monuments of the ancients as backdrop or prop places the young man in front and ahead of the classical, taking it on as a heritage and inspiration. One of the accepted facts of British socio-political life was that the Roman Empire had sunk into luxury and decay and then fallen. It was a continual lament by pamphleteers that the self same thing would happen (or was already happening) to Britain. Linda Colley considers it no accident that Edward Gibbon began writing *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* a year after the Treaty of Paris handed
the spoils of the Seven Years War to the British. After the loss of the American colonies many felt the comparison was even more apt. There is a sense of trying to capture lightning in a bottle with these portraits; both for the individuals, preserving youth and virility, and for the nation, preserving a moment of 'standing on the shoulders of giants' for an empire that could not last.

Once the young man had returned home, it was time to integrate himself and his Grand Tour experience into polite society; to show off the polish he had been at such pains to acquire. Souvenirs have meaning as tokens from travel, but they can convey additional meaning: “home décor, monetary value, or class or status marker.” Though many souvenirs of the Grand Tour were bought for private enjoyment among a small group of friends and relations, some tourists opened their homes to the public, allowing a wider society to connect new meaning to these objects. In the display of their collections, former tourists were choosing the way in which they wished the objects and themselves to be portrayed. Dedicating specific space for Grand Tour collections indicates both the importance of the objects and the status of the owner in his ability to create a new space for a non-essential purpose.

Horace Walpole wrote to a friend in 1740, “How I like the inanimate part of Rome you will soon perceive at my arrival in England; I am far gone in medals, lamps, idols, prints etc. and all the small commodities to the purchase of which I can obtain. I would buy the

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111 Colley, Britons, 1021
Although a portrait by Batoni was often the largest souvenir the young men acquired on their travels, it was not their only material objective in Italy. “[O]ne of the attractions of including Venice, or Florence or Rome in the Grand Tour was to see the art in those cities and preferably to buy some of it.”

With their relentless interest in antiquities and sculpture, tourists had an influence on the Italian market. Sculptors began producing “smaller, transportable works, collectors' pieces and Grand Tour 'souvenirs,' often copies and reproductions of classical or famous works.” Whether out of actual interest or because that was all that was available, Italian collectors also developed a taste for pieces commissioned by the British. Other would-be entrepreneurs “burrowed like wombats into the ashes of Pompeii or the graveyards of the Campania to secure objects for sale.” The rediscovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum opened up new revenue streams for Italians dealing in both authentic archaeological finds and in forgeries. The ancient pieces acquired by tourists tended to be from imperial residences, generally from the second century. Bignamini and Hornsby suggest that collectors identified themselves with the people who they purchased in statue or bust form. The passion for the 'real thing' led to the development of a network of dealers and excavators, both English and Italian, committed to providing antiquities to tourists, even after the *milordi* had returned home. Dealers could also serve as *cicerone*, shepherding tourists to excavation sites and existing collections with pieces for

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115 Colley, *Britons*, 166.
Once returned to his native land, Sir Wyndham contracted with noted architect Robert Adam to build and decorate his house at Mersham in Kent. Adam had taken his own tour to Italy and executed many commissions for Tour veterans in Palladian or classical styles. It was with an eye to his career that Adam made his trip to the continent. With time in Italy and his own collection of classical pieces under his belt, he hoped to gain an advantage over architects in London. The elder Thomas Coke envisioned his house at Holkham as a “temple to the arts,” furnished with material from his Grand Tour. The house itself was designed to resemble a Roman villa, with two atria and underfloor heating similar to the Roman hypocaust. Being exposed to these treasures influenced his great nephew's own collecting on the continent. By 1773, Holkham could be visited “any day of the week, except Sunday, by noblemen and foreigners, but on Tuesdays only by other people.” The notion of opening great houses to the public was common enough by the end of the century to serve as a replacement vacation plan for Eliza Bennett and her aunt and uncle in Pride and Prejudice. When the trip to the Lake District proved impractical, the trio instead made a shorter journey that included touring Blenheim (seat of the Duke of Marlborough) and Mr. Darcy's Pemberley. It was not enough to own great collections of art or elaborate houses, they should be shared with the nation. Although other countries opened public museums

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120 Bignamini and Hornsby, Digging and Dealing, 224.
121 Ayres, Classical Culture, 126.
122 Martins, Coke of Norfolk, 19. (Opening information from The Norfolk Tour, or a Traveler's Pocket Companion.)
before Britain, they were unique in that “only in Great Britain did it prove possible to float the idea that aristocratic property was in some magical and strictly intangible way the people's property also.”\textsuperscript{123} Henry Blundell's collection of sculpture numbered five hundred pieces at the time of his death in 1810. Prior to that event, he had two illustrated folios published so that the public might be able to view the works and have its taste improved.\textsuperscript{124}

“A selective aping and acquiring of what was foreign...was one of the ways in which Britain's elite proclaimed its cultural and economic superiority at home.”\textsuperscript{125} Tourists were immersed in the world of the ancients and taught to revere them. “[T]he classical heritage became a vital force in their lives, influencing the houses they built, the shape of the urns with which they adorned their terraces, and the colours they used to paint their walls.”\textsuperscript{126}

While it is true that some tourists left their acquisitions in crates or hung them on back staircases, many returned home eager to unveil and display their souvenirs.\textsuperscript{127} Holkham Hall began construction in 1734 with plans in place for a purpose-built gallery to display Coke the Elder’s collection of statuary, and Felbrigg Hall included custom-made cabinets for the display of smaller Grand Tour pictures. William Windham, master of Felbrigg Hall, was actively involved in the design of the cabinets alongside his architect, James Paine. The design plans include exact placement for each of his fifty pictures, and the construction of the cabinets required blocking in two windows to have sufficient wall space. The close attention Windham paid to this process, begun in 1751 – ten years after he returned home – indicates

\textsuperscript{123} Colley, Britons, 177.
\textsuperscript{125} Colley, Britons, 166.
\textsuperscript{126} Plumb, Georgian Delights, 23.
\textsuperscript{127} Brewer, Pleasures of the Imagination, 221.
the continuing devotion some tourists had to their souvenirs and experiences on the continent, along with the effort some were willing to take to display their collection properly.\textsuperscript{128} Lord Bristol thought of his new house, Ickworth (begun in 1795), as exhibition space for his artwork, and spoke of hanging pictures to present “an historical progress of the art of Painting.”\textsuperscript{129} Italian landscapes were among the preferred subjects for display in country houses, along with grand mythological subjects. “It was important that landscape paintings should convey an awareness of classical mythology, of a visit to Italy, but also a sense of possession. The 'portrait' of the estate needed to be recorded because it was an image of the source of political power and social prestige.”\textsuperscript{130}

For some, the physical objects of the tour were only the first step in commemorating their experiences on the continent:

“[I]n the year 1734 some gentlemen who had travelled in Italy, desirous of encouraging at home a taste for those objects which had contributed so much to their entertainment abroad, formed themselves into a society under the name of the Dilettanti.”\textsuperscript{131}

Although, the Society of the Dilettanti bore a distinct similarity to a modern fraternity brotherhood (early motions included injunctions that “no business be transacted till after dinner” and “no one be so disrespectfull as to go away before the bill is called for”), they were also committed to the pursuit of virtù and broadening the knowledge of those around them.\textsuperscript{132} Members of the society included “some of the most notorious rakes and topers of

\textsuperscript{128} Moore, \textit{Norfolk and the Grand Tour}, 124.
\textsuperscript{129} Cited in Christie, \textit{The British Country House}, 181.
\textsuperscript{130} Cristie, \textit{The British Country House}, 201.
\textsuperscript{131} Cust and Colvin, \textit{History}, 4.
\textsuperscript{132} Cust and Colvin, \textit{History}, 24.
the day.” As Horace Walpole remarked in a letter to Horace Mann, “the nominal qualification is having been in Italy, and the real one, being drunk.” However, they also sponsored artists to travel to Italy, financed an expedition to the ancient region of Ionia in Greece and published a scholarly text on the worship of Priapus. It was the scholarly approach to the subject and a selective distribution list that prevented more of a public outcry at *Discourse on the Worship of Priapus*. “The respectability associated with Enlightenment natural philosophy in the public context served as a mask for the private, licentious, and pleasurable readings of the Priapeia.” There was no doubt that the work was phallocentric, and phallic iconography certainly appeared in souvenirs brought home from the Grand Tour. Society member William Hamilton had a vast collection of vases with such imagery, prompting no end of schoolboy puns and double entendres in his letters to fellow Dilettanti. Here we see the sexualization of artifacts in masculine form, nude statues and phallic objects as indications of strength and virility when viewed in a more academic light, evoking juvenile humor and aspersions on sexual prowess in less serious contexts. Despite their occasional public scrapes, and their delight in *seria ludo* (serious matters in a playful vein), the knowledge and work of the Society maintained the “central place of the Grand Tour in the making of a connoisseur.”

From the facade of Houghton Hall to the cabinets and statue galleries of Felbrigg and Newbury, tourists shaped their footprint on the countryside to match the classical ideals and physical objects they brought home from their travels. The scale of the art collections

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135 Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti*, 245
scattered across Britain's manor homes caused the painter Joshua Reynolds to lament the lack of art in the capitol to impress visiting foreigners.\textsuperscript{138} Even today “there is not a region in England that could not mount a fascinating exhibition from its country houses of paintings and objects acquired on the Grand Tour.”\textsuperscript{139} The purchase and display of Italian art reinforced the identity of the young man as an educated connoisseur among his peers.

\textsuperscript{138} Brewer, \textit{Pleasures of the Imagination}, 221.
\textsuperscript{139} Plumb, \textit{Georgian Delights}, 139.
CHAPTER 7
Conclusion

“It seldom happens nowadays that a young man coming from his travels has much else to recommend him besides French clothes, a high toupee, perfumes, snuff boxes, toys and trinkets, awkward French airs, nonsense and so forth.”

The preceding pages have illustrated the ways in which the Grand Tour encapsulated eighteenth century British society and culture within its boundaries. Our understanding of masculinity, Britishness, class identity and ideas of education can be enhanced by including the experiences of the Tour in our analysis. In the correspondence of and surrounding the Tour we can find insight into British social and political life, beyond the trenchant observations of Horace Walpole or Lady Mary. The web of letters many tourists left behind reveals much about the interconnectedness of the upper classes. Doing the Grand Tour properly required letters of introduction to local notables and expatriates, along with lines of credit with foreign banks. In travel, Tourists were participating in the expanding global commercial economy – even driving it in the demand for conveyance, translation and classical knock-offs.

This work seeks to make an intervention in traditional approaches to both the eighteenth century and the Grand Tour. We see the Grand Tour as a social construction, a product of the socio-cultural atmosphere in which it arose. The fascination with Rome and

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140 Count Bentinck to Lady Kildaire, 1769. FitzGerald, Lord Kildaire’s Grand Tour, 143.
the fashion for classical learning had a clear impact on the structure of the Tour and the landscape of those who went on the Tour. “Even if the modern British villa were not deliberately Roman in form, objects within or around it could provide the requisite associations with the Roman world.”¹⁴¹ The connections between the Tour and eighteenth-century notions of education are perhaps obvious, but those to the interlinked networks of patronage and privilege of the upper classes may not be as readily apparent. In the literature surrounding the Tour divisions of opinion on the efficacy of the institution arise not just among classes but also within them. Middle-class artisans on the make used travel to the Continent to launch their own careers, and members of the gentry (as quoted at the beginning of this chapter) questioned what young men were really learning while abroad. These discussions had their roots in the larger debates on luxury and consumption. The Tour is a product of its time and should be studied in the context of that time.

From a broader perspective, this paper also offers an interrogation of the impact of leisure conventions on society and vice versa. While leisure and ideas of travel can inform and shape identity, they are themselves informed and shaped by socio-cultural conditions. Beyond the details of the mechanisms of travel or the countries and routes that were hospitable to travelers, it is also the expectations held for the results of travel that are shaped by the social, political and cultural nature of the time. Studying leisure and travel is more often done in a modern context, but looking at patterns of travel historically can provide additional insight into the push and pull of societal forces during a given period. As the Enlightenment gave way to Romanticism, the nature of travel changed as well. Educational tourism in particular can illustrate the standards of behavior in a given society. The reach of

¹⁴¹ Ayres, Classical Culture, 127.
ideas of travel and leisure extent beyond the disposable income and free time of a group of people.

Michèle Cohen says that “the Grand Tour was...treated as a test, and its results meant to be displayed.” In an era of new consumer goods and conspicuous consumption, this is hardly surprising. The spoils of the Grand Tour are still littered across Britain, an integral part of the visual style associated with the eighteenth century. Echoes of the Grand Tour appear throughout the history of this period, and it is hoped that more scholarly efforts will be made to utilize the Grand Tour in looking at the eighteenth century, in areas beyond cultural or art history. The Tour still offers historical puzzles to solve, as in the case of the Ashmolean Museum's current exhibition on the capture of an English vessel laden with Grand Tour souvenirs by the Spanish. In tracing the original inventory of the ship, historians have connected the spoils of travel to the spoils of war. The exhibition not only illustrates the various passions of Tourists, but the mechanics (and dangers) of shipping and the potential hazards of the high seas. There are still additional ways of problemetizing traditional responses to the eighteenth century in light of the Grand Tour, and expanding the horizons of travel and leisure history beyond current parameters. Beyond the first scratches of this work may be a treasure trove of potential historical investigation.

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APPENDICES
Appendix A – Referenced Artwork

Hogarth, The Invasion, 1756
Canaletto, *Grand Canal: Looking South-West from the Chiesa degli Scalzi to the Fondamenta della Croce, with San Simeone Piccolo*, 1738.
Canaletto, *The Thames with Saint Paul's Cathedral*, 1747
Johann Zoffany, *Tribuna of the Uffizi*, 1772-8
James Gillray, *A Cognocenti Contemplating ye Beauties of ye Antique*, 1801
Thomas Rowlandson, 'Tis Not Antiques Alone Can Please the Eye, 1786
Philip Dawe, *The Macaroni*, 1775
Antony Van Dyck, *Self Portrait*, 1625
Pompeo Batoni, *Robert Clements*, 1754
Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham*, 1758-9
Pompeo Batoni, *Colonel William Gordon*, 1765
Pompeo Batoni, *Charles Compton, 7th Earl of Northampton*, 1758