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ASPECTS IN CREATING A GENTLEMAN: EDUCATION AND THE GRAND TOUR IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

A Thesis Presented

by

LISA C. MANGIAFICO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

February, 1992

History
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With deep gratitude, I would like to acknowledge all the direction and assistance I have received from my advisor, Franklin Wickwire. I especially appreciate his help in getting all the extra "leg work" involved in finishing this degree completed on the Massachusetts end of the line. The academic work I have done under his guidance not only opened new areas to me, but enlarged my knowledge and understanding in areas which I had previously studied as an undergraduate. Thanks also go to my committee members, Robert Jones and Barry Levy, for their comments and critique, and for some exceptional classroom experiences as well.

I would also like to acknowledge the outstanding help I received at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. where I conducted the vast majority of my research. The staff has been very accommodating in granting and extending my reading privileges, and answered my many questions without delay.

My colleagues (past and present) and friends at the General Federation of Women's Clubs headquarters, especially Laurie Cooper, Sherry Kuhn, and Denise Muir, have listened to my many horror stories over the
past two years; they are owed more than just a mere thank you, but heartfelt appreciation for keeping me sane. The same is true for my supervisor, Cynthia Swanson, who has never failed to provide encouraging words, and has put up with my many bad moods with humor and patience. An extra thank you to Cindy for allowing me to "flex" my work schedule to accommodate my research. Thanks also to Judith Maggrett, my housemate and co-worker, whose help and understanding during the past two years extend far beyond the editorial comments she has provided for this paper.

To my friends and members of my extended family, who have wondered where I disappeared to when I remained out of contact with them for rather extended periods of time, thanks for not giving up on me. A special word of appreciation to Beth Callahan, my childhood friend and fellow alumnus of James Madison University, who was working on her graduate degree at the same time I was: thanks for all the conversations, commiseration, and the much-needed library books from the University of Maryland.

The majority of this thesis was researched and written after I had finished my classwork at UMASS and returned to Maryland to find employment. My parents welcomed me (and my computer) back home for several months as I found a job and housing. In all the time it has taken to finish my degree, they have been very understanding and when I needed them to stop asking questions, they did. Thanks for everything, Mom and Dad; I could not have done this without you.
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V. IN CONCLUSION: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF THE BRITISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BIBLIOGRAPHY
A note on the definitions and uses of several terms inherent to this study is necessary. *Aristocracy* will most often be used in its general form, referring to the upper classes and hereditary nobility. The term *gentry* broadens the circle to include others at the lower end of the upper class spectrum, and mostly denotes those who lived in the country and provided the backbone of county life outside of London. Throughout this paper, aristocracy and gentry will be interchanged with the terms *nobility* and *elites*. When the pinnacle of the aristocracy—the Peers of the Realm—are discussed *peerage* will conform to its more specific definition.

Another term requires some definition for the purposes of this study. The *Grand Tour* most often refers to the travel experiences of a young gentleman after completing his formal book-oriented education. However, this definition is not exclusive to the term, and to follow this convention would do an injustice to older gentlemen travellers (as well as women travellers of this period, who are not included in this study.) These older men, who ranged in age from their mid-twenties to their retirement years, certainly benefitted from foreign travel, and had ample opportunities to see
and learn about new things, and to meet new people. To disregard the travels of these men as beyond the pale of education would be, in the present age which endorses the acquisition of education at any age, a truly reprehensible act. Therefore, for the purposes of this study Grand Tour will encompass the travel experiences of all gentlemen who embarked on Continental travel, no matter their age.

When the first draft of a seminar paper, from which this thesis has evolved, circulated among my fellow students, one of the best comments addressed to me concerned my (over) use of tourist, by which I meant one who takes a Grand Tour. For the final draft of that paper, I proceeded to eradicate as many instances of use for that term as possible. While I concede the need to be more judicious in the use of the term, in this study I stand by my original instinct and have on occasion reinserted the term, regardless of its more pejorative connotation in this day and age.
INTRODUCTION

Caught between the turbulent seventeenth century, with its political turmoil, and the nineteenth century, with the rising influence of industrialism and its inherent social changes, stands often overlooked eighteenth-century Britain. The hands-off attitude toward this century, as compared to the other two, is unfortunate, for it has much to offer scholars. It certainly provides the study of extremes, with relative peace at home, while abroad Britannia embroiled itself in numerous military campaigns, and the elegance of homes built or renovated in the classical style compared to the modest homes of the average freeholder or tenant, eeking out a season-to-season existence on lots becoming smaller and less profitable through enclosure.

In the midst of this century stood the nation’s privileged class, the aristocracy, in its broadest sense. This group was bound together by common cultural experiences, especially in the educational field. Education in the eighteenth century has provoked more than a passing interest in educational theorists and historians alike. When studying such cultural landmarks as the Grand Tour and education, one becomes aware of how much the two subjects are intertwined. It is therefore striking and amazing
to find that the standard texts on either of these subjects barely mention the other.

Examining the educational practices of eighteenth century aristocrats in Britain exposes the deficiencies and merits of the system. Many educational reformers and theorists wrote extensive tracts on the problems in British education during this period, and offered innumerable solutions. Since the Grand Tour was, and continues to be, most often thought of as an educational capstone for elite young gentlemen in the eighteenth century, the merits and demerits of the Tour are of considerable interest. Philosophers and theorists from the period and contemporary historians have placed considerable emphasis on the educational and Grand Tour experiences of the younger travellers. For those who travelled on the Continent after finishing their formal studies, the Grand Tour often served as their educational capstone, especially for those in their late teens or early twenties. For these young men, not only the Grand Tour, but the entire formal educational experience preceding it, had questionable value in the eyes of those who studied the subject in the eighteenth century and continue to study these subjects today.

However, the mature eighteenth-century tourist could benefit a great deal educationally and socially from a Grand Tour. Even if the gentleman was of relatively advanced years, most men who had the financial means to embark on a Grand Tour later in life had the same basic educational background as the younger Tourist, and had already travelled in some of
the social circles to which the younger Grand Tourist (and his family) aspired. Additionally, a Continental Tour could also remove a politically active gentleman from political intrigues at home, and it served as a means of training public servants, especially diplomats. Today, the importance of education is felt and seen at all age levels. High schools and colleges are welcoming the "non-traditional" student back into the classroom. As a result, the mature Grand Tourist is certainly worthy of consideration. Furthermore, it seems the older gentleman taking the Grand Tour most often took the time to reflect on his experiences in letters and journals, for the accessible primary sources on the subject come mostly from the older men. The majority of young men, despite or perhaps because of their youthful energy, rarely spent their time in contemplative exercises, and if they did, such exercises are rarely accessible outside of family archives.

The lack of linkage between the formal educational process and the educational capstone, or Grand Tour, is a most grievous oversight on the part of those who study the subject. Although both subjects are exhaustive in and of themselves, a study of them as interrelated topics seems fitting. It is the purpose of this study to examine the educational system most men belonging to the British upper-classes had at their disposal, including the Grand Tour, and therefore the incorporation of the mature Tourist's experiences, while taking a back seat to the revels of the young, are of some interest. In the end, this study hopes to incorporate the formal schooling
and the Grand Tour together as equally important components in the overall education of British aristocrats.
ELITE SOCIETY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

The number of contradictions that marked English society during the eighteenth century makes generalizations regarding its character difficult. The coarse nature of society sustained itself from the Crown to the most humble pauper. Most people gambled, watched bawdy entertainments, ogled the insane at asylums or indulged in some other seamy (to us of the late 20th century) diversion. These entertainments starkly contrasted with the elegance of Wedgwood china, the furniture of Chippendale, or the rise in England of choral music. Social standing, now known as "class", also displayed contrasts. During this period, the English delineated their society in terms of degrees, orders, or ranks.¹

These distinctions provided England with a framework from which it derived a social order. Each Englishman in that order knew his "place", knew what he should and should not do, and could govern his or her life accordingly.² The laboring poor and the "middling sort" comprised the bulk of the society. Theirs was a life of long hours, little income, and virtually

no legal representation. If one had been fortunate enough to receive more than the most basic of educations, or any at all, one might find greater opportunities than one’s neighbor for careers that might raise one above the subsistence existence so many endured. Not only did the poor lead a mostly hand to mouth existence, but over the course of the eighteenth century, their numbers grew dramatically. In 1690, Gregory King estimated approximately 1,300,000 families classified as laborers or those of the middle ranks. These families accounted for 5.5 million people, including 200,000 transients. Patrick Colquhoun examined society and income in 1801 and determined 1,905,823 families consisting of 9,343,561 individuals were employed in the lower sectors of society. In 1690, family size averaged 4.2 people, with a total income of 32 pounds per family, or 7 pounds 6 shillings per person. In 1801, these numbers had changed to an average family size of 4.9 people, earning 116 pounds per family, and 23 pounds per person.3

Located in the upper echelons of society were the gentry, the lesser nobility, and the aristocracy. The members of this overall class, comprised mostly of landowners, possessed acreage but not always a great deal of capital.4 At the bottom stood the gentry; those with connections to the

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4The terms dealing with the upper-most classes of British society during this period have technical delineations; an aristocrat, in the purest terms, meant a member of the House of Lords, or most simply put, a Peer of the Realm. For the purposes of this study, the broader and more interchangeable meanings of the terms associated with this class will be
nobility who either owned and occupied smaller holdings or who chose to be absentee owners, collecting rents on their properties through agents. This group provided the backbone of county life, and actively participated in the goings-on of their local communities. Above them came the nobility, more exclusive and less diverse than the gentry. They derived much of their income from rents, mortgages, and investments. The nobility supplemented these earnings with the incomes from offices or professions, allowing them to live as gentlemen, comfortable, with great amounts of leisure time. The last group consisted of the peers of the Realm. At the middle of the eighteenth century they numbered between 160 and 170, but by the end of the century had reached closer to 300. This basically homogeneous and exclusive elite derived its wealth mostly from the revenues of large country estates, that drew on the varied commod- ities that could be produced off the land, as well as below it. Historians tend to refer to these gradations collectively as the nobility or aristocracy.

The English nobility played an immensely important role in the politics of the age, either directly by holding some office or sitting in Parliament, or indirectly through the act of patronage. The Hanoverian era had a number of characteristics that provided a measure of stability to the whole society including a high degree of religious toleration. The Act of Union in 1707

used. For the justification of this practice, see the introduction in The English Aristocracy by M.L. Bush.

funneled English energies into areas other than constantly feuding with Scotland. The role of the monarchy evolved in such a way that the English no longer feared another civil war. Stability existed upon a carefully contrived system of balance of power between the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons. Each branch exercised influence over agreed areas and functions, being careful not to overstep the boundaries that separated them. The doctrine of a "mixed and balanced" constitution gained increasing acceptance as the century progressed until events during the reign of King George III challenged some of its assumptions.

During the reigns of the first two Georges, however, the traditional struggles between the Crown and the aristocracy were muted. Whig landholders dominated government and the Tories who did not take on the mantle of Whiggery found themselves out of power and labelled Jacobites as well. As the Whigs held political control between 1714 and 1760, anyone with aspirations to an office declared himself a Whig. Even though their enemies charged the Whigs with parliamentary corruption, a number of gifted Whigs entered the political arena. This group as a whole professed enthusiasm for political liberty, individual rights, and the rights of property, although in practice the last usually won out over the first two.

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In the wake of George III's accession, the broad-based Pitt-Newcastle coalition, in place since 1757, slowly began to show signs of weakening, and the struggles between Crown and aristocracy reemerged to a limited extent. The ideology developed by George III and his tutor, the Earl of Bute, directly impacted this disintegration and began during the last years of George II's reign. Traditionally, Hanoverian monarchs situated themselves as supporters of the government currently in power, since that government ruled only through the consent of the King; Hanoverian heirs to the throne then set themselves up as the figure to which those in opposition flocked. This phenomenon, called a "reversionary resource", provided the young Prince George with the catalyst to begin formulating his own political ideology. In concert with Bute, young George hoped to rid the government of corruption, by removing his grandfather's ministers when he came to the throne, especially the position of head of the treasury, the traditional fountain of political patronage. The first ten years of George III's reign were turbulent; cabinets changed frequently and political groups constantly realigned.

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For the politically active noble, this period might prove precarious. The capricious wind of politics could mean many reputations and careers made and then lost within a short amount of time. However, in the House of Commons, there was a prevailing sense of cohesiveness, and from this feeling sprang a set of common values and a confidence which bound the aristocracy together and averted any possibility of ripping the group apart completely.\(^\text{10}\)

The cohesion binding the nobility together meant it was difficult to enter its ranks from below, but it was by no means a completely closed social class.\(^\text{11}\) Anyone who could acquire the symbols of success and stability, the most common and important being land, might eventually enter. Owning land, regardless of whether acquired from the profits of industry, trade, or a profession, was the prime objective of anyone hoping to be associated with the ruling class. Yet formidable barriers stood in the way of social advancement through land purchase. As G.E. Mingay notes, to enter the ranks of the middling gentry required an outlay of approximately 30,000 pounds for a comfortable residence and an estate which would bring in about 1,000 pounds per annum. To enter the ranks of the great landowners, with an estate of 10,000 acres and a larger residence, the capital outlay would greatly exceed 100,000 pounds, a sum which

\(^\text{10}\)Cannon, p. 114.

\(^\text{11}\)The openness of the aristocratic classes is certainly supported by the explosive growth in the number of Peers during the eighteenth century.
very few men could amass in their lifetime. Few estates, furthermore, especially choice estates, changed hands. When they did, it was usually by means other than outright purchase.

The best way to the top, however, according to the prevailing tradition for those bent on attaining higher distinction, began when one generation entered the gentry by purchasing a country seat. Ensuing generations would garner a baronetcy, an Irish peerage, and, finally, an English peerage. Some people managed to reach the aristocracy in this fashion, but very few. Rather, it seemed the surest way for a family eventually to reach that eminence. The grandson of the individual who first purchased his estate and secured his coat of arms might find himself among the nobility and accepted as equal.

Buying one’s way into the ruling class by purchasing an estate and waiting for higher honors to come, however, was not the only avenue available to the aspirant for higher social status. A second, and much used practice, involved marriage. Such unions, carefully thought out by the parties involved, could prove of great importance when a family or individual sought to consolidate or increase a fortune or political standing. In choosing prospective mates for their children, professional-class families paid careful attention as to whether the prospective bride or groom possessed a family connection with the nobility. It mattered little how

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13 Cannon, p. 128.
tenuous the connection, for any connection they saw as an asset and contained the possibility of greater things to come. One such union, for example, involved Hugh Smithson, the grandson of a Yorkshire baronet. Smithson paid court to Elizabeth, daughter of the 7th Duke of Somerset, whose own mother had been the last of the Percy line and was the heiress of the last Earl of Northumberland. A year after her marriage to Smithson, Elizabeth became Somerset's sole heir with the death of her brother. Somerset was created Earl of Northumberland in 1749, when a special remainder was given to Smithson, who inherited the title a year later. At this time, Smithson changed his name to Percy, was given the Garter, and in 1766 created Duke of Northumberland of the third creation.\textsuperscript{14} With one advantageous match, this branch of the Smithsons grew from a rather obscure family into one of Britain's most powerful.

In another case, Sir Josiah Child, an officer in the East India Company and extremely wealthy merchant, sought to marry one of his granddaughters into one of England’s most noble families. The prospective groom was Wriothesley Russell, Lord Tavistock.\textsuperscript{15} The Russell family, especially the groom’s mother Lady Rachel, also coveted the match between the Child

\textsuperscript{14}Cannon, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{15}Tavistock was the son of the late Lord William Russell, executed for his part in the Rye House plot and the son of the earl of Bedford; Tavistock’s mother was Lady Rachel Wriothesley Vaughn Russell, a highly pious woman with a keen mind for business and politics. Tavistock was the presumed heir of his grandfather William Russell, 5th Earl of Bedford (created 1st Duke of Bedford in 1694.)
heiress and Tavistock, since it would bring a large sum to the Russell family coffers. Child’s granddaughter, Elizabeth Howland, brought a dowry of 50,000 pounds to the marriage in 1695, and thereby united one of England’s wealthiest families with one of England’s most noble. The scenarios of the Percy and Russell families provide excellent examples of how monied and noble families formed alliances with other families in order to consolidate fortune and prestige.

For most of Britain’s growing population during the eighteenth century, these tactics and the world of the upper classes lay far beyond their reach. Some families, however, especially those in the emerging "middle class" of professions--especially commerce, had distinct possibilities to enter into the world of the socially elite. The initial step toward acceptance as one of Britain’s privileged elite usually began with one generation, not fully to develop for several more. Few were the cases in which the rise from obscurity to social prominence occurred within a single generation; they were the exception. To be fully accepted within the circle of the nobility and aristocracy, one had to acquire not only titles, but a set of common experiences, one of the most important being education.

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16Lois Schwoerer, Lady Rachel Russell "One of the Best of Women" (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. 161-163, 201-207. The 50,000 pound dowry paid by the Child and Howland families to the Russells was extremely important to the financial well-being of the Russells, since Lady Russell and the Earl of Bedford had paid dowries of 25,000 pounds each for Lady Russell’s daughters, Rachel, who married William Cavendish, son and heir of the 4th Earl of Devonshire in 1688, and Katherine, who married John Lord Roos, the son and heir of John Manners, 9th Earl of Rutland in 1693.
Attributes of Education

The education by one generation of the next is a serious business in any era, and the British aristocrats and monied classes of the eighteenth century took it seriously. Viewed through the societal biases of educational thought today, the schooling of any child in the eighteenth century appears rather haphazard. In its most fundamental form education, supposedly, is the on-going process by which society preserves and transmits its culture from generation to generation. This definition certainly holds true for the British gentry in the eighteenth century, when many sons received the same educations, in the same manner, as had their fathers, or they set educational traditions that their descendants followed for generations.¹ The overall appearance of the importance of education provides a paradox. The scholarly education of daughters, for the most part, did not rank high on the list of parental priorities, but given the expense of dowry provisions, this relative neglect should not be surprising. The education of first sons, who would inherit land and/or title, differed vastly from the educations of younger sons, who had to make their own way in the world.

¹Cannon, p. 50. Tables 12 and 13 show that throughout the century Christ Church, Oxford, Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge received the overwhelming matriculations of peers or sons of peers.
The components of education in the eighteenth century did not merely include intellectual accomplishments, although they did receive attention. One eighteenth-century educational philosopher stated: "... the Business of Education is twofold, to rectify the Will, and enlighten the understanding. ..."² In many cases, critics and educational philosophers of the period cited the acquisition of virtue, or moral qualities, as the primary purpose of education.³ Just what characteristics constituted "virtue", however, defies specific listing, for the commendable qualities commonly associated with virtue supposedly fitted into the other components of the gentleman's education.

The inculcation of a public spirit ranked high among these components. The theory of public spirit extended from national service, whether diplomatic, governmental, or military, to private philanthropy. The gentleman of sufficient means during the eighteenth century had the responsibility to show generosity to his community and nation. In practice, he could fulfill this duty by founding or funding charitable institutions, or simply by treating the poor, servants, and tenants with humanity.⁴ The

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⁴Brauer, pp. 36-39.
views of Thomas Sheridan (1719-1788) on the purposes of education deal to a large extent with public spirit:

In all well-regulated states, the two principal points in view in the education of youth, ought to be, first, to make them good men, good members of the universal society of mankind; and in the next place to frame their minds in such a manner, as to make them most useful to that society to which they more immediately belong; and to shape their talents, in such a way, as will render them most serviceable to the support of the government, under which they were born, and on the strength and vigour of which, the well-being of every individual, in some manner depends.5

The attainment of social grace and polish also figured importantly in the overall educational experience of the gentleman. Termed variously as "good breeding" and "worldly experience", grace and polish came to the young gentleman who learned the art of good manners and civility. The Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, in a letter to his son, then a student at school, gave this advice and observed the following:

Though I need not tell one of your age, experience, and knowledge of the world, how necessary good-breeding is, to recommend one to mankind; yet, as your various occupations of Greek and cricket, Latin and pitch-farthing, may possibly divert your attention from this object, I take the liberty of reminding you of it, and desiring you to be very well-bred at Lord Orrery's. It is good-breeding alone that can prepossess people in your favor at first sight: more time being necessary to discover greater talents. This good-breeding, you know, does not consist in low bows and formal ceremony, but in an easy, civil, respectful behavior.6


6Charles Strachey, ed., The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield to his Son, Vol. I (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), pp. 127-128. This letter is undated, but judging from the chronology of the others, it probably was written between July 1742 and June 1743. This source hereafter cited as
Good breeding showed when an individual conducted himself in such a fashion as to bring pleasure to others; respect for women, respect especially for one's elders, and by using proper forms of address. Worldly experience fed directly from and to good breeding. Exposure to civil company led the young gentleman to converse in an easy manner with others, and to gain information from his conversations. The more exposure to such company, the less self-conscious one became.

The acquisition of scholastic aptitude, usually considered today the main component of any education, did not enjoy such eminence in the eighteenth century. The critics and educational theorists of the period produced various views on the subject and introduced many accusations. Most students of education agreed that the average Englishmen of rank during this period were "abysmally ignorant" and that these men squandered their time in the most frivolous manner. The "thick headed" country gentleman, brought up to inherit the family manor was sometimes illiterate, and even if not, spent his time drinking and hunting. The "fine" gentleman idled away the hours in London, religiously following fashion, gaming, and pursuing amorous relationships. He did not read works of

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Chesterfield.


8Brauer, p. 115.
great literature, but instead tomes on racing and card games, and worst of all, French novels.\(^9\)

Most critics and reformers agreed that the gentleman’s education should be "useful", and these commentators believed in the necessity of more education, while the gentlemen themselves inclined to disagree. An air of aversion toward scholarly endeavors permeated aristocratic society, along with the theory that one could not be a scholar and a gentleman. Added to this bias was the gentlemen’s loathing of pedantry. In their eyes, scholarly education merely filled a well of useless information from which youth could haul up and recite obscure and ostentatious facts.\(^10\)

Scholarly education for upper-class boys in eighteenth-century Britain centered on a study of the Classics. The main objectives of this curriculum, the reading and writing of Latin, and to a lesser extent Greek, combined with the more traditional subjects of History, Rhetoric, and Geography. Mastery of these subjects, in theory but not always in reality, supposedly provided the young gentleman with enough skills to further his education in later years by examining his interests in depth.

**Dissenters and Catholics**

Two groups found themselves excluded from the mainstream educational opportunities available to other young men of some social

\(^9\)Brauer, pp. 52-55.

\(^{10}\)Brauer, pp. 59-66, and 102.
standing: the Dissenters and Catholic members of the gentry and aristocracy. Their religion denied them service in the House of Commons, among the judiciary, or in the military. Instead, they spent their lives in other pursuits as country gentlemen, tending to their estates and studying art and architecture, literature, and science for their own edification or as artisans or merchants building their business to pass to the next generation.

The rise of dissenting education began with the Restoration in 1660, when dissenters found their choice of religious education severely hampered by the Clarendon Codes. Parents who wished their children to be taught in the tradition of dissent sent the youngsters to ejected ministers and schoolmasters for their schooling. Furthermore, Parliament exempted the Dissenting schools from the harsh strictures of the Schism Act of 1714, drawn to curb the Dissenting academies, if they taught skills relating to the strength of the nation, mainly mathematics relating to navigation or mechanical sciences.\(^\text{11}\) Dissenting education received a large boost after the accession of the House of Hanover. Parliament repealed the Schism Act within a few years of George I's coming to the throne, and only moderately enforced the two acts dating from the 1660s.\(^\text{12}\)

The cause of dissenting education received additional aid from the growing scientific community, who increasingly found their subjects being


taught in the elementary schools and academies associated with the dissenters. Furthermore, as the century progressed, many middle-class parents, Anglican as well as dissenting, began to view the academies, which combined both upper secondary and college educations, as the only means for their sons to obtain a realistic education to prepare them for the world of commerce. The cost of educating a son at a dissenting academy amounted to considerably less than that at a grammar or public school, and many thought the education much sounder than by the other means available.\textsuperscript{13}

At first, dissenting education did not differ greatly from the education commonly associated with the public schools frequented by Anglicans. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as in the public schools, Latin served as the focus of the curriculum. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, English became the language of education in many of the Dissenting academies,\textsuperscript{14} and the curricula there became more modern and flexible. These schools did not forsake Latin, rather approached it in a fashion different from that at the public schools. Instead of having their students memorize the verses of Horace and the Roman satirists merely for the sake of memorization, the dissenting institutions taught their students to


analyze Lain verses considered worthy of study for the reflective and significant pearls of wisdom they offered. Logic, law, mathematics, natural science, modern languages, and rhetoric formed the core of most academy curriculums. Lecturing, the preferred method of instruction, could differ from academy to academy, since the factions and divisions within the dissenting education movement were numerous and the resources available at any one school often stretched to the limit. Many teachers repeated the lectures, found in manuscripts, of tutors at other academies, some of them in shorthand, which necessitated learning that skill. Dissenting academies also strengthened the study and instruction of history, philosophy, and the "science of politics".

Students attended the Dissenting academies for three to five years. In the early days of dissenting education, a "domestic" lifestyle predominated, with students living in their masters’ homes. The Five Mile Act of 1665,

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15 Horace especially, they looked upon as a writer of justness, a wise and humane man who lacked bitterness and instead viewed his world with humor. He was the prime advocate of moderation, which became a major tenet of the neo-Classical age in Britain. Robert Maxwell Ogilvie, Latin and Greek: A History of the Influence of Classics on English Life from 1600 to 1918 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 43.

16 Lincoln, p. 76, Hans, pp. 37-38, and McLachlan, pp. 22-23. The curriculums of many dissenting academies, with a greater emphasis in sciences, in many ways parallel the rise of technical and private academies during the eighteenth century. These academies based their curriculums around the study of mathematics and sciences, and often stressed the marine or military sciences as well. While these academies are of primary importance in the overall scheme of eighteenth century education in Britain, they were less important to the upper and aristocratic classes than the grammar/public schools and dissenting academies.
however, hampered this arrangement. The academies then outgrew the
domestic plan and came under the control of outside societies, trustees, and
subscribers. After completing studies at one of the academies, students
had become prepared to attend a university, although for dissenters, of
course, not Oxford or Cambridge.

For the first decades of the eighteenth century, the universities of the
Low Countries, especially Leyden and Utrecht, famous for the spirited
debates resulting from the tension between the modern and scholastic
theories of the time, attracted many people. As the century progressed, the
Dissenters turned to the Scottish universities for higher education. The
growth of the University of Edinburgh followed the emergence of the
Scottish literati, many of whom had attended it. The advent of the Scottish
Enlightenment in the middle and later decades of the eighteenth century
further enhanced the stature of the Scottish universities.

While Dissenters could at least practice occasional conformity and
enter some profession if they so chose, Catholics could not, unless they
renounced their faith (as some did during the eighteenth century). The
Catholic gentry and members of the Catholic aristocracy in England kept to
themselves. Though they married among themselves, their numbers had

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17 McLachlan, pp. 2-4.

18 Lincoln, pp. 71-73.

19 Nicholas Phillipson, "Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment," The
dwindled by the end of the century. As a proportion of the peerage, Catholics represented twelve percent at the beginning of the eighteenth century and only three percent at the end.20

Education for Catholics, therefore, could not become a means for forming future networks of patronage, as it did for Anglicans. Catholics most often sought education for its own sake, to provide them with the skills and basic understanding to make their lives bearable and even pleasurable.21 Getting that education proved a hard and expensive proposition for English Catholics. A few Catholic preparatory schools existed in England, but in perilous circumstances. These schools moved from location to location as conditions warranted, and it is no wonder that the students often received a disjointed preparatory education. After completing some elementary schooling, most Catholic students finished their education on the Continent at a Catholic College, which combined both secondary and university instruction.22 This procedure proved expensive for Catholic families. William Mawhood's father, a woolen draper, paid 25 pounds in February 1736/7 for one year of his son's education at St. Omer.23

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Added to the financial burden of tuition and board, the expense of travelling to the Continent and providing funds for travel during the school holiday, was the emotional hardship to very close families of not seeing a child for many years.

The experience of the Haggerstons, Northumberland Catholic gentry, illustrates the education of upper-class Catholics in England. Like most Catholic families, even those of relatively modest means, the Haggerston children received their educations abroad. The Society of Jesus at St. Omer instructed most Haggerston sons during the last half of the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, several sons also entered the religious life as Jesuits. During the eighteenth century, the Haggerston young men followed the mainstream of British upper classes and embarked on Grand Tours after completing their educations on the Continent. They thereby extended their prolonged absence from home.

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24 Mingay, p. 132.

25 The Jesuits founded their school at St. Omer in 1592 and remained there until the late eighteenth century. In 1762, the school moved to Bruges and moved again in 1773 to Liege. By 1794, events in France forced the school back to its native shores, and the school settled at Stonyhurst, where it remains. George Gruggen and Joseph Keating, Stonyhurst (London: Kegan Paul, Trend, Trubner and Company, Ltd., 1901.)

26 Joyce, pp. 177-179. It is interesting to note that daughters in the Haggerston family also received Continental educations in convents of several different orders. Some took religious vows and remained abroad upon completion of their educations.
The curriculum of the Catholic colleges abroad focused on Latin and Greek. It also included penmanship and fluency in French. History, geography, and the various branches of mathematics rounded the course of study. Students entered "classes" which corresponded with the "forms" of the public schools in England as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>figures, or little figures</td>
<td>1st form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otherwise great figures</td>
<td>2nd form</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rudiments</td>
<td>3rd form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar, or Lower Grammar</td>
<td>Lower 4th form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax, or Upper Grammar</td>
<td>Upper 4th form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry or Humanities</td>
<td>5th form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetoric</td>
<td>6th form</td>
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Compositions determined advancement into the next class, with up to nine compositions in one year. The colleges evaluated the students on their ability to elucidate on the themes of the various authors they studied, not on the style of the composition itself. This system followed the traditional Jesuit method of teaching.27

Public Schools and Universities

While their Catholic contemporaries left home and country to study abroad, many young Anglicans also left home to receive their educations. The grammar schools, some of which became known as public schools, fell under the domination of the clergy of the Church of England, and to a large extent the curricula at these schools aimed toward preparing a new

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27Gruggen and Keating, p. 11.
generation of Anglican clerics. Young boys, often about age seven or eight, began their formal lessons by first memorizing William Lily’s *Grammar*. This task, difficult in the best of circumstances, was rendered more difficult by the book’s confusing arrangement and superfluous information.\(^{28}\)

The average pupil at a public school spent considerable time with Latin verses, and hardly any at all with prose, in any language. Students read the major Latin works during the course of their years at school, translating each word separately into English, and then in many cases, re-reading the work later. They memorized Latin verse books, especially at Eton, and recited lessons of the previous day at the next class.\(^{29}\)

The basic exercise in this system concentrated on the composition of verses. In the lower forms, students took words from Terence and created "nonsense" verses to learn the basic structure of verse. Having mastered this exercise, the pupils moved on to re-creating verses from words of one of the Latin poets given out of metrical order, a practice that came to be known as "sense". By the time the young man reached the sixth form, he usually had to compose six lines of elegiac and six or seven stanzas of lyric verses each week.\(^{30}\)

\(^{28}\)Martin Lowther Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1959), pp. 50-51.

\(^{29}\)M.L. Clarke, pp. 53-55.

\(^{30}\)M.L. Clarke, pp. 55-56.
Only a few textbooks, such as Lily's Grammar, guided the young man. Rather, he focused on the writings of individual authors. The first works a student read included fables by Phaedrus, Cato, or Aesop, followed by Ovid. In the middle forms, students began the classical histories of Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos, and moved on to the verses of Terence. By the upper forms, students read Horace and Virgil. Prose by Caesar and Nepos, and the Scriptores Romani, occasionally found their way in the curriculum, but so rarely that most schools did not even introduce Cicero as required reading. At a point in the middle forms Greek joined the curriculum, although educational institutions stressed this language far less than they did Latin.³¹

³¹M.L. Clarke, p. 51.

³²Cannon, tables 12 and 13, pp. 50-51. Cannon has not determined the number of peers or their sons who actually took a degree at Oxford or Cambridge.

After completing a primary education, the choice, for the British gentleman, of what college and university to attend, and whether to take a degree, depended to a large extent on family history, future plans, and political alliances. In the eighteenth century, peers and their sons tended to congregate at Christ Church, Oxford, Trinity, and St. John's, Cambridge.³² However, family traditions, especially for sons of the gentry, had not
crystallized. Many young men might choose a university or college different from that their forbears had attended, especially if offered a scholarship.\textsuperscript{33}

While the grammar and public schools foundered in rigid Classical curriculums, the English universities had some problems as well. During this period Britain's universities found themselves bound by the political tides of the times. Oxford, long a refuge for the Stuart dynasty, developed a reputation as a Jacobite sanctuary, while Cambridge, under the Hanoverians, allied itself theoretically with the Georges as a Whig institution. In addition to these external forces separating the universities, internal forces within each university polarized the many colleges. The tutors at Cambridge and Oxford, with much of their time absorbed in these external and internal feuds, had little time to spend on the students.\textsuperscript{34} Students who possessed scholarly inclinations were unpopular with fellow students as well as the dons, who feared the possibilities of comeuppance by those supposedly their intellectual inferiors. In these circumstances, the young men often found it hard to get assistance with their lessons.\textsuperscript{35}

The Universities during the eighteenth century, plagued by these outside and extra-curricular influences and therefore lacking in focused

\textsuperscript{33}John Venn and J.A. Venn, compilers, \textit{Alumni Cantabrigienses} Part I Volume I (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922), p. xvii.


tutors and instructors, found a proportionally smaller group of elites attending them. Overall attendance dropped.\textsuperscript{36} A number of elements contributed to this falling enrollment. Many gentlemen sought only the most basic of general educations at the universities, and stayed only a year or two. Society also increasingly stressed social graces over intellectual abilities as qualities for the ideal gentleman. Acquiring these social graces occurred best outside of the university setting, as parents soon recognized.\textsuperscript{37} In spite of the often boring and repetitious academics, life at the universities for young gentlemen in the eighteenth century provided a spark of excitement, sometimes for the first times in their lives. Then, as today, going to a university marked a transition from a restricted environment to a basically unrestricted lifestyle. Since most upper-class students matriculated at the universities while in their middle teens—the majority only sixteen or seventeen\textsuperscript{38}—this unrestrained environment sometimes thrust too much responsibility upon them too soon.\textsuperscript{39} The facilities for boarding students never filled to capacity this period. Greater space available for each student made it possible for many pupils from the upper classes to set themselves up as if they had never left the family estate.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{36}Stone, "Composition and Size. . .", p. 47.

\textsuperscript{37}Stone, "Composition and Size. . .", p. 37 and 48-49.

\textsuperscript{38}Stone, "Composition and Size. . .", Graph 8, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{39}Mingay, p. 134.

\textsuperscript{40}Mansfield, p. 103.
University students with wealthy parents, for example, often lived "in state", and entertained liberally with little regard for expense. In one well documented case, John, Lord Carnarvon, the eldest son of James, the first Duke of Chandos, received an allowance of 400 pounds a year for college and personal expenses, excluding his tutor's salary. Yet with three horses and three servants, by the time this young lord left Balloil College, Oxford, he had accumulated debts of 330 pounds. This figure becomes even more significant when one considers that the young man attended the university for only eighteen months, from October 1719 to April 1721. Carnarvon appeared unable to manage his finances in any manner. Upon his death in 1727, at the tender age of 24 he had accumulated debts exceeding 3000 pounds, which still included some outstanding bills from his university days.41

The curricular emphasis at Oxford and Cambridge differed little from that at the public schools. These institutions of higher learning also emphasized Latin. The universities, however, often offered no final goal to the student. While in public school, he could always aim toward the university. What did the university student have to strive toward? For most students, the answer was precious little, unless one anticipated entering the clergy, an amenable and profitable profession.

The universities had no fixed period of enrollment. Courses, flexible and with little supervision, often consisted of individualized readings and tutorials. The universities did have a few requirements for graduation. At Cambridge, students wishing to take a degree dealt with the rigors of the Mathematics Tripos, a final examination administered by the university. However, most students left before completing a prescribed program of studies leading to a degree.\footnote{Mingay, p. 135.}

Why did public schools and the universities devote so much time to the reading and writing of Latin verses to the near exclusion of anything else? To a large extent, the reason seems quite simple. The Anglican clergy controlled the public schools, which aimed primarily to educate future clerics. Oxford and Cambridge provided the formal training grounds of the clergy. But what about the majority of those not destined for ordination? The unhappy truth is that education, as molded by the Anglicans in eighteenth-century Britain, did not prepare a vast majority of its pupils for life outside the academic or religious world.\footnote{Hans, p. 24.}

For students who wished to study medicine or science, the English universities, with their lax courses of study and preference for Classical scholarship, proved entirely inadequate. Students of these subjects preferred one of the Scottish or Dutch universities with their advanced scientific methods.\footnote{Mingay, p. 135.} Surprisingly, a large number of Catholics entered the medical
profession. Many Catholic medical students favored the medical school at Montpellier, while others served apprenticeships with practicing Catholic physicians.  

The legal profession benefitted more than many others from the Classical curriculum in the universities. By the 1760s, those who took a degree from university found their training at one of the Inns of Court cut from five to three years. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), a legal theorist and renowned jurist, encouraged a university degree for potential barristers. His views helped change the period of statutory study at the Inns for university graduates. Blackstone believed a barrister had to be a gentleman, and should therefore have the classical and liberal education of a gentleman.

The Inns of Court served as a finishing school for young gentlemen during the seventeenth century, with young aristocrats learning just enough law to help in the administration of their family estates and other businesses. In the century that followed the role of a finishing school diminished as the Grand Tour became more fashionable. For the first half

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44 Aveling, p. 268.

45 An excellent study of Blackstone’s views and influence on the American and British legal establishments is David A. Lockmiller’s Sir William Blackstone (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938).

of the eighteenth century, the number of aristocrats training at one of the Inns dropped off, and did not undergo a revival until after 1760. Some of this decline in enrollment owed to the time and money spent on Grand Tours, in addition to the inadequate amount of law learned by most members of the aristocracy. Catholics also read for the Bar, although in far fewer numbers than Anglicans since they were ineligible for admission until after 1791 and the implementation of the Relief Act. Most Catholics developed into fine conveyancers, and by drawing up deeds and titles put their knowledge to good use.

Theories of Education--Thomas Sheridan

The basic nature of the system of education produced numerous problems for many educational theorists during the eighteenth century. One of the most outspoken and prolific of these theorists was Thomas Sheridan. His views appear to have some merit, especially when seen through the obvious bias of the twentieth century. These opinions, however, may have cut a little too close to home for the eighteenth century gentry and

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48 Aveling, p. 269.
aristocracy. Sheridan was not a popular writer, despite a large corpus of work on this subject.\footnote{49}

Although the basic system of education in Britain came under Sheridan’s scrutiny, he concerned himself especially with the methods employed in educating the upper classes. As Sheridan saw it, the professions—law, medicine, and religion—benefitted most from the system of education. It provided these men with the "rudiments of science" to employ their minds in innocent amusements during their leisure hours, rendering them harmless, if useless, members of society. What of others? Sheridan fumed:

But gentlemen, born to be legislators, to be the bulwarks of our constitution, to fill up posts which require wisdom, conduct, and the most improved abilities, to animate and give motion to the whole body of the people, to be an example and model to all, the fountain of manners and source of principles; if their education be defective, or bad, the whole constitution is affected by it, the disease has attacked the vitals, and must either be removed, or inevitable dissolution must follow.\footnote{50}

Sheridan carefully used the word \textit{defective} to characterize the education of the British nobility. He described the problems of the system in the following manner:

The evils of our present mode of education do not so much arise from it’s [sic] faults, as from it’s defects; from what it does, as from what it leaves undone; from it’s imperfections so far as it goes, as from it’s stopping short at an improper time, when there is most occasion for it’s influence. The end seems to be forgot, and the means are made the end. The rudiments of the arts are taught, as if they were desireable only for their

\footnote{49}Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 52, pp. 87-88.

\footnote{50}Sheridan, pp. 24-25.
own sakes, but their uses for the purposes of life are never pointed out.\textsuperscript{51}

Sheridan most objected to the application of the education the gentry and aristocracy received:

Indeed there is nothing taught in our schools and universities either improper or unbecoming a gentleman to know; on the contrary, whatever he learns there, if it be properly applied, he will find both useful and ornamental to him in whatever situation of life he may afterwards be placed. That these instructions seldom or never answer this end, is owing partly to the manner in which they are given, and partly to an entire omission or neglect of some studies which are essentially necessary to render the others useful, as well as ornamental.\textsuperscript{52}

He compared the system of education in Britain during the eighteenth century with that of the ancient Athenian and Roman states in their "corrupt" period. Education then concentrated solely on the study of philosophy, resulting in a contemplative life filled with disputes on trifling matters. Sheridan espoused turning to the system of the ancient states during their "flourishing" period. It united oratory and philosophy and trained students to become active in their society. While Sheridan viewed philosophy as an important matter worthy of study, he believed the subject introduced at too early an age, "when the judgement has least power, [and] they are left to themselves to adopt what opinions they please, and to stick by such as are most agreeable to them."\textsuperscript{53} Lack of study of the English

\textsuperscript{51} Sheridan, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{52} Sheridan, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{53} Sheridan, pp. 529-530 and 526-527.
language provided Sheridan with another point of contention. By the eighteenth century, Sheridan argued, the great authors of ancient times had been translated into English. "Modern wisdom" also was accessible to those who read English.\(^{54}\) Obviously, Sheridan’s voice did not cry in the wilderness, since the Dissenting academies also stressed formal education in the vernacular. Sheridan spent little time on the basic question of where the child should acquire his learning. Two options only lay open to eighteenth-century parents and students: schooling with other students in a setting away from home, or home education. Each had merits and demerits.

**Home Education**

Theorists during the eighteenth century, including John Locke, favored home education. Many apparent justifications existed for home education, the most compelling one that parents had great direct authority over their child rather than turning him over to control by an unable and uncaring school master, a situation certainly beneath their aristocratic dignity. Virtue and good breeding, those main components of gentlemanly education, young men could better acquire at home then away. The boys could watch their parents and guests and learn from their examples.\(^{55}\)

The "scholastic" results of home education theorists also thought greater than those at schools, where everyone, regardless of his abilities, was

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\(^{54}\) Sheridan, pp. 217-218.

\(^{55}\) Brauer, pp. 196-198, and p. 205.
taught at the same rate, and those slower to learn than their peers suffered. Private home schooling could regulate the course of study according to the abilities of the student. The corporal punishments at the public schools, furthermore, were usually harsher than milder punishments at home. Corporal punishments tended to do the opposite of instilling virtue. Instead, the students grew hardened to correction and became vicious and shameless. Corporal punishment broke the free and independent spirit of young gentlemen, and rendered them cowed and servile to their masters.\

One anonymous philosopher during the eighteenth century directly correlated the decline in "taste" during the period with the rise of boarding schools controlled by masters:

Various are the causes of the present Depravity of Taste which prevails almost over all England; . . . one of the greatest in the Education of Youth. The Encrease of Boarding-Schools for Boys is an Evil of worse Consequence, I fear, than most Persons are Apprehensive of: the unwary among the wealthy Citizens, and indeed, among our Families of Birth and Fortune, are tempted to send their Children to such Places by the vain Promises of the illiterate and tasteless Teachers, who undertake to instruct them in every Part of Literature with more Expedition than is used in great Schools; the Consequence of which is, that ninety-nine in one hundred are sent more awkward Blockheads into the World than Nature made them; they are rendered knowing scarcely in one Branch of Learning, tho awhile under the Pretence of being instructed in all. If Parents would enquire into the Qualifications of Masters of such Schools as I am here speaking of, they would find them insufficient to answer their Expectations. These presumptuous Undertakers (for no better Appellation do they deserve) consist chiefly of Clergymen, whose wants are not only confined to the Goods of Life, of

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56 Brauer, pp. 201-203.
ignorant dissenting Ministers, and of hungry *Scotchmen*, who are ready to undertake whatever is proposed to them. . .\(^{57}\)

Of course, no one could guarantee that a private tutor was any better equipped than a school master to handle young boys.

Aristocratic parents also wished to keep their children at home in order to prevent their sons from mixing with students of different backgrounds. Farmers and tradesmen's sons might win scholarships to the public schools. Or these "lesser breeds" might finance their sons' educations at great family expense or find patrons willing to bear the costs. To avoid increasing contacts with members of the lower orders, as many as two-fifths of the squires during the eighteenth century did not send their sons to school or university.\(^{58}\)

**Education Away From Home**

Yet some aristocrats viewed as meritorious their sons' mixing with students of less than aristocratic ranking. Attendance at a public school should provide students with skills commensurate with their roles as leaders of government and society. If the father intended the son to enter the house of Commons, then that son needed spunk, wide experience, and sometimes knowledge of the lower classes who comprised the electorate.


\(^{58}\)Mingay, pp. 133-134.
Thus some parents did not frown upon mixing their children with the lower orders, so long as the boys remained virtuous:

You cannot be too careful in the choice of your company, for much every way depends upon it... let the modest, the virtuous, the studious, and above all, the religious, be your associates, without giving any preference [sic] to birth or fortune in the choice of them.59

The standardized curriculums of the public schools provided the upper classes with a common attitude and sense of purpose, and established acquaintanceships (the "old boy networks" of the next century) that reinforced the ties of families and patrons. The almost exclusive domination of the upper classes in higher education allowed this group to validate their claims to rule.60

The system of education for the upper classes of British society provided many options to parents, with the exception of Catholics. Male children could be educated in the home, or at numerous schools emphasizing different curriculums. Many young gentleman merely went through the motions of education and did not overly benefit from book learning. However, most of them profited from absorbing the more abstract components of gentlemanly education, the stress on virtue, good breeding, and proper presentation.


60Cannon, pp. 34-35.
When to Take the Tour: Educators' Perspectives

Upon completion of his "book learning", the young aristocratic gentleman during the eighteenth century often embarked on a Grand Tour to put his new knowledge and manners to the test. This educational capstone had four main objects, three of them practical: the acquisition of polished manners and proficiency in polite conversation, dancing, and fencing; fluency in the modern foreign languages; and learning new agricultural or industrial processes or techniques. The fourth seemed more theoretical: a broadened knowledge and experience of the world. Acquiring this knowledge and experience would enable the tourist to assess other nations' characteristics for himself.¹

The Grand Tour itself was steeped in history and tradition. Rome, one of the primary objectives of the Tour, had been the destination of travellers since the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity. The earliest travel to the city had predominantly religious overtones, and did not become more secular in purpose until the Reformation. The interests of earlier Grand Tourists helped form the activities which became the hallmark of the eighteenth-century Tour: the cult of ancient marvels; an interest in

¹Mingay, p. 139.
the ideal of good government; the studying of ancient monuments; and collecting rare art works.¹

Scholars who emphasize the social education inherent in a Grand Tour deemed necessary by the parents of young aristocratic (or so inclined) gentlemen largely overlook the experiences of those who travelled more for professional than social education. Artists and architects already practicing their trades went on a Tour to study the Classical antiquities and to draw inspiration from them and the Continental masters. Some older gentlemen travelled on a Grand Tour in relation to their jobs as diplomats. Whatever the circumstances, these men also enjoyed mingling with Continental society and experiencing the other delights of a Grand Tour.

In spite of the rather lofty expectations of what a Grand Tour should accomplish in the education of gentlemen, many educational theorists cast doubts on the suitability of such an enterprise. Given that most who embarked on a Grand Tour did so right after they left university, often at a rather tender age since they began their collegiate careers in their mid-teens and usually did not stay long enough to take a degree, the comments from the theorists bear some examination.

Thomas Sheridan decried the practice of sending young men out of the country to finish their educations. Such actions sometimes precipitated heinous results:

Is it not a fact, that after the age of twenty or thereabouts, a gentleman, tho' ever so desirous to finish his education, cannot find the means of doing it in England? And has not this reduced all parents who wish to see their sons accomplished, to the necessity of sending them either to foreign academies, or to travel? Both which have been attended with worst consequences. . . It is no wonder, when we reflect on the places where they pass the first parts of their rational life, and the tutors from whom they receive the first knowledge of things instead of words, that so many should return confirmed republicans. And so many others, captivated by the charms, and outward appearances of the courts abroad, should entertain too favourable notions of monarchy. Their religion indeed will be in no great danger of being changed, as there is not much temptation to it; but as they carried but little abroad with them, there is a great hazard of their losing that little, and returning without any.3

Pythagoras also felt foreign travel began at too early an age and the Tourist too little prepared to benefit from what he observed:

. . . too many of our Nobility and other Families of Distinction are too hasty in sending their Sons abroad, and too inadvertent in their Choice of Tutors: when young Men are sent into foreign Parts without any Knowledge of their native Country, perfected in no Language, unfurnished with Principles of Religion, Philosophy, Policy or OEconomy, and with Tutors unequal to the great Work of Instruction, (as all are who cannot distinguish Beauty from Deformity in Composition of Writing,) they are likely to return Home with little more than Acquisitions of ill Habits, and unimproved Years.4

Perhaps the most direct comment on the problems of the Grand Tour came from John Locke. Locke had himself spent considerable time in exile in Holland and his comments probably owed to his personal observations.

In Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel between Lord Shaftsbury and Mr.

3Sheridan, pp. 29-30.

4Pythagoras, "An Ode".
Locke, Lord Shaftsbury inquires if travelling is not the best method by which "to polish and form the manners of our liberal young, and to make them fit for the business and conversation of the world?" Locke answers:

I think not. I see but little good, in proportion to the time it takes up, that can be drawn from it, under Any management; but in the way, in which it commonly is and must be conducted, so long as travel is considered as part of early tutorage and education, I see nothing but mischiefs spring from it.5

In 1781, an anonymous reader, "X.Y.Z." of The Gentleman's Magazine began writing a series of letters to the editor on the "basics" of the Grand Tour: the proper age to travel; the acceptable modes of travelling; and the proper reasons for visiting different countries. Although X.Y.Z. did not purport to be an educational philosopher, he spoke from what he had observed. In his estimation, most young gentlemen embarked on their Grand Tours at too early an age to gain the most from the experience. As he noted, one reason to take a Tour was "to acquire a knowledge of men and manners," but to assume that an eighteen-year old boy qualified as company for a foreign gentleman yet remained unacceptable company for his elders in England seemed beyond comprehension.

X.Y.Z. observed, furthermore, that young men, bashful at so tender an age, tended to congregate with their fellow countrymen and not mingle with

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5Richard Hurd, ed., Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel between Lord Shaftsbury and Mr. Locke (London: 1764), p. 8. Locke's feelings on the Grand Tour imitate to a degree his beliefs on education in general. Locke believed a child's best example was his parents, and the child should stay in close proximity to his parents until grown-up.
the native aristocracy. In X.Y.Z.’s view, young gentlemen did not have the ability to dispossess their own national prejudices until they reached the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. In order to gain knowledge of foreign languages, young gentlemen should attend foreign academies before going to university, and should defer taking the Grand Tour until they could handle it on all levels. Thus the educational philosophers and theorists approved of a Grand Tour, but advocated postponing it until the gentleman could gain the most from his travels.

Planning and Preparations

Regardless of the age of the tourist, his rank, or the underlying motives for embarking, the planning and preparations for a Grand Tour involved a great deal of thought and time. One needed to hire a tutor, servant, or find another travelling companion; arrange letters of introduction, passports, and financing; and procure a wardrobe and other travelling equipment. Destinations and routes also required some preliminary forethought, beyond the obvious stops in Paris and around the Italian peninsula.

Finding a suitable tutor or travelling companion proved a most important, and most difficult, task confronting the eminent tourist and his parents. The number of tutors proficient enough in foreign languages and

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mature enough to control their young charges numbered, not surprisingly, very few. A good tutor supposedly guarded over his charge’s morals and religious inclinations as the pair moved through areas of corrupting influence: Satanism in Venice and Catholicism all over the continent. The tutor also instructed the tourist to look for particular features of a country’s disposition or national character.7

Most tutors, however, did not fill the rather high criteria unrealistically set for them. Although most English tutors came from respectable families, they did not have the social standing of most tourists. Those who did possess social standing did not necessarily want to tie themselves to an unrelated youngster. As X.Y.Z. noted in the second installment of his letter:

Men of ability so rarely engage themselves in the most irksome of all employments, that of attending to the whims of a spoilt child; that really were it for no other reason than the difficulty of procuring a good tutor, one should think that parents would learn to keep their children at home.8

Therefore, the tutors, lacking stature with the young gentlemen, could not always rein in the rambunctious tourists. When a tourist settled in one city for an extended stay, it was the tutor’s duty to set regular hours for instruction so that his charge did not idle his days away. To keep the young gentleman somewhat amenable to hours of observation and study,


the tutor necessarily sought some other amusements for him, unless the pupil's interests, according to the historian William Mead, "centered in drinking and gaming and association with loose women."9

A few aristocratic travellers also took at least one servant with them to attend to their comforts, or hired one on the Continent. Some of the duties of a servant on the Grand Tour were essentially the same as at home: keeping the clothes of the tourist (and tutor) clean and in good repair, and overseeing marketing and preparation of meals.10 But a servant travelling on the Continent had to be able to speak French well; write legibly; and be acquainted with "a little surgery". These extra requirements called for domestics with higher social rank and greater skills than those of the average servant in England, and people taking the Grand Tour usually did not find them. In fact, servants seemed so inadequate that many travellers regarded them as a burden rather than a boon. Travellers simply hired the necessary servants once settled in a particular city.11

If the tourist were older than the average young gentleman, he might ask an acquaintance to become his travelling companion. In 1754 the young Scottish architect Robert Adam originally set off on the Grand Tour as the

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9Mead, pp. 120-123.

10The exact duties of any one servant are not enumerated in any study of the Grand Tour. When the master travelled from town to town each day, the duties of his servant would be minimal; once settled in one city for an extended stay, duties naturally increased.

11Hibbert, p. 229.
companion of the Honorable Charles Hope, a younger brother of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun of the Scottish peerage. Hope wanted to spend the winter in Italy, visiting his son on the Grand Tour and asked Adam to join him. Adam would have to pay his own way, but Hope intended to buy a carriage on the Continent, and therefore would incur most of the travel expenses himself. Adam, who had saved five thousand pounds of his earnings from his family’s architectural firm profits for such a venture, accepted Hope’s invitation with alacrity, hoping the chance to travel with the brother of an earl would open some doors in Continental society.

Upon settling on governors or companions and servants, one needed to acquire official travel documents, such as passports and identity papers. Unlike the system today, with one document universally accepted, an English passport would get the individual into France and allow the traveller to return to English soil, and nothing else. Only the Dutch

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Adam was the second son of the preeminent Scottish architect of the middle eighteenth century, William Adam. Robert Adam joined his father’s firm in 1746, and after the father’s death two years later, Robert and his elder brother John took over the firm’s major projects. The Earl of Hopetoun was in the process of renovating his home, and became one of Robert Adam’s earliest and strongest patrons.

John Fleming, Robert Adam and His Circle (London: John Murray, 1962), p. 106. Adam and Hope travelled together to Italy, where, presented with the opportunity to stay in Rome to study architecture, Adam parted from his companion.

There were those, like X.Y.Z., however, who believed the mature tourist benefitted most from travelling alone, in spite of the agreeable hours he could pass travelling with a compatriot. Access to some foreign families he thought easier if one travelled alone, and not in a herd of hangers-on, who often neglected to procure the necessary letters of introduction. The Gentleman’s Magazine, May 1782, Vol. LII, p. 231.
Republic did not normally require a passport to enter the country.\textsuperscript{14} The typical passport, made of parchment, measured approximately twelve by sixteen inches in size. The text of Montagu Garrard Drake’s passport, signed by Queen Anne read:

\begin{quote}
This allows her trusty and well-beloved Montague Garrard Drake Esqre., Mr George Waddell, and William Saunders, his servant to go from Italy, Germany, or Holland to any part of France, and to return from thence into this Our Realm.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

After landing at one of the channel ports, the entourage needed to obtain new documents to allow passage through the country to the next destination, usually Paris or one of the university towns. The procurement of official documents continued in such a fashion across the Continent throughout the Grand Tour.

Much of Europe aside from France in the eighteenth century consisted of small states or provinces, each with its own regional peculiarities and traditions. Upon reaching his destination, the voyager was usually required by the local authorities to register as a visitor in the town, and present his passport, bill of health, and other identification papers or letters of introduction. A positive bill of health, also known as a testimonial (or \textit{fede} in Italian) could certify that the bearer was unlikely to spread any


\textsuperscript{15}The Queen signed the document "from Our Castle at Windsor 9th October 1712". G. Eland, editor, \textit{Shardeloes Papers of the 17th and 18th Centuries} (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 75.
contagions or point out that the bearer was ill. If tourists left one region for another without obtaining the positive fede the next city (especially at walled towns where one gained entrance through one gate) might refuse to admit them or put them into quarantine for forty days.\textsuperscript{16} At the time when Edward Wright accompanied the Right Honourable George Lord Parker on his Grand Tour from 1720-1722, the plague raged in parts of France.\textsuperscript{17} Officials all over the Continent, especially those in Italy, carefully checked the health credentials of those passing through their towns. Wright possessed both sorts of fede, positive and negative, for each had its use for a Protestant travelling in Catholic Italy:

We left Ravenna, furnis'h'd with a double fede, one to certify that we were well, the other that we were sick; the former, on account of their fear of the plague, to get us entrance into their cities; and the other (it being Lent) to get us some grasso (flesh-meat) in the inns. 'Twas necessary in our case to shuffle our cards right.\textsuperscript{18}

Financing the Tour proved a complicated business, since most tours lasted at least three years and few young gentlemen carried very much cash with them. Governors or tutors had at least nominal control over the expenses and finances of the younger traveller. Normally, his London

\textsuperscript{16}Mead, pp. 154-155.

\textsuperscript{17}Parker was later styled the Viscount Ewelme, and was the eldest son of the 1st Earl of Macclesfield. Parker and Wright "escaped" to Italy from Marseilles just before plague hit the city. Edward Wright, \textit{Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, etc in the Years 1720, 1721, 1722} (London: 1764, originally published 1730), p. 18.

\textsuperscript{18}Wright, p. 111.
banker, through letters of introduction which the tourist carried with him, asked his foreign correspondents--usually other bankers or merchants--to accept withdrawals of certain sums. In turn these people could extend the gentleman’s range of travel by contacting their counterparts in other cities. A young gentleman might also carry bills of exchange that any banker could "cash". Unfortunately, foreign bankers and merchants had no way of ascertaining the authenticity of these bills. Waiting for confirmation could take months, and these documents or original letters of credit could be lost or re-routed. If a young Briton needed money in a hurry, he could usually obtain it from fellow journeyers or British envoys in foreign cities. Tourists and their entourages rarely found themselves penniless.¹⁹

As the popularity of the Grand Tour and the number of people who took it increased, the list of necessary equipment grew as well. Protestant prayerbooks and hymnals, notebooks, crayons, weapons, lice-proof doublets, a large quantity of handkerchiefs, and a watch were essential for the seventeenth-century tourist. By the eighteenth century, essential equipment also included a dozen strong shirts, waterproof buckskin breeches, pocket inkstands, inflatable baths with bellows, a tea caddy, and a penknife. Since one could not trust foreign doctors and cooks many people returning from

their journeys suggested for the benefit of those yet to leave that they pack one box of medicines and another of spices and condiments.\textsuperscript{20}

Grand tourists also brought along guidebooks and some of their textbooks from school. In 1722 appeared \textit{The Gentlemans Pocket Companion, For Travelling into Foreign Parts}. This compact book contained a map of the Continent, and each individual country, including Turkey, but only a part of Sweden. These maps showed the major travel roads, noted villages along the routes, and posted mileage. The book also included three practical conversations on asking directions, common talk in an inn, and other necessary dialogues in English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, and Flemish.\textsuperscript{21} Many guidebooks appeared during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; some dealing with the entire Continent, others focusing on one particular country or region. One book, \textit{The Laws Concerning Travelling and Transportation}, gave practical information on travelling within England. It covered material on the traveller’s responsibilities for carriages and horses, what to do in case of accidents or robberies, and described lodgings and innkeepers.\textsuperscript{22} This type of information might today seem unnecessary. But most British Grand Tourists had family seats scattered throughout the country, and practical travel tips of this sort proved

\textsuperscript{20}Hibbert, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{The Gentlemans Pocket Companion, For Travelling into Foreign Parts} (London: 1722).

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{The Laws Concerning Travelling and Transportation} (London: 1718).
especially useful when they proceeded to the English Channel to begin the Grand Tour.

Travel Routes

After hiring a tutor and servant, obtaining letters of recommendation and official documents, preparing a financial network, and packing the necessities one began the Grand Tour in earnest. The first leg of the journey involved travelling from the English coast to the Continent. Most gentlemen left from Dover and crossed the channel to Calais. Ostend received a substantial number of visitors as well. These ports served well those people, the majority, who intended to visit Paris for an extended period and then travel to Italy. Others fewer in number, sailed from Harwich to Helvoetsluys, a port on an island off the coast of Holland, which facilitated tours of the United Provinces and often served as a starting point for a trip through the Holy Roman Empire.

Most voyagers, to conform as much to the prevailing fashion as out of convenience, went to Paris from the channel ports. The roads on this stretch of the journey were reasonably good, and a number of inns of high quality dotted the route. Good roads also ran from the Channel ports to Lille, Rheims, and Loan on the way to Lorraine, the home of the Luneville academy, which drew a number of younger people. People who started their journeys in the United Provinces, or Low Countries, usually proceeded

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23Black, p. 9.
to the Rhine, where they took advantage of the river, and sailed up it toward Munich, Austria and Italy.

The majority of travellers first went to Paris for an extended stay. Sightseers spent little time in other parts of France. When they did they usually visited the Loire valley during the first half of the eighteenth century. In Angers and Tours, younger journeymen and their tutors convened to study French and the social arts. Supposedly, these smaller cities and towns lacked the vices of the capital to tempt the young gentleman.\textsuperscript{24}

After Paris, those on the Grand Tour usually proceeded to Italy. The journey from Paris south to the Alps or Cote d'Azur usually by way of Dijon and a two-day river trip from Chalon-sur-Soane down the Soane to Lyons could take more than a week.\textsuperscript{25} Even though this first stage did not challenge him very much, the traveller was usually too tired to observe Lyons' many antiquities and ruins. The town boasted several good inns, ordinaires, and shops but the English usually found it not overly pleasant. Although they did take advantage of several good shops in the town they did not tarry there.\textsuperscript{26}

The trip from Lyons to Italy posed greater challenges and danger than the one from Paris to Lyons. One could either journey across the Alps or

\textsuperscript{24}Black, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{25}Black, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{26}Hibbert, p. 64.
avoid them by travelling from the French coast to Genoa.\textsuperscript{27} To get to Italy by sea required tourists to make their way overland from Lyons through Nice to Marseilles or Toulon. Nice particularly became known as an "English watering place" on account of its mild climate.\textsuperscript{28} Toulon, while not so fashionable as Nice, caught many a Britisher's fancy with its huge naval foundry. Marseilles also drew some tourists because of its pleasing aspect and because its harbor housed the king's galleys.\textsuperscript{29} In 1741, the Earl of Chesterfield sent this description of Marseilles to his son:

Dear Boy,
You find this letter dated from Marseilles, a seaport town in the Mediterranean Sea. It is now a very large and fine town, extremely rich from its commerce; it is built in a semi-circle round the port, which is always full of merchant ships of all nations. The prospect, for two leagues round this place, is the most pleasing that can be imagined; consisting of high hills, covered with vineyards, olive-trees, fig-trees, and almond-trees; with above six thousand little country houses interspersed.\textsuperscript{30}

From Marseilles or Toulon vessels could sail to Italy. In spite of the short distance involved, for example, in reaching Genoa, this venture could

\textsuperscript{27}Black, p. 18. It was almost impossible to travel along the coast to the Italian states. The one established coastal route consisted of a post-road to Nice and then a winding road along the foot of the Ligurian Alps. This route, however, contained exceptionally rough roads and a disproportionate number of thieves. See Hibbert, p. 72, for James Boswell's adventures along this route.

\textsuperscript{28}In the Provencal hinterland above the Cote d'Azur, Avignon and the university town of Montpellier became known as resorts for Britons attempting to escape the rigors of the northern winters. See Hibbert, pp. 64-70 for more discussion of southern French towns and their appeal to English travellers.

\textsuperscript{29}Hibbert, pp. 66-69.

be fraught with dangers. Bad weather could keep ships out of the harbors for weeks, and Barbary pirates always threatened to capture the unwary, even though the ships kept relatively close to shore.\textsuperscript{31} In light of these problems, most tourists chose to cross the Alps.

One popular route over the Alps ran through Grenoble, acknowledged as one of the finest cities in France. Other routes went by way of Briancon and Cesana, or to Geneva and then through Switzerland. Most travellers, however, went through the Duchy of Savoy. Then they took the Mt. Cenis pass over the mountains and descended on Turin.\textsuperscript{32} In any case, they endured the Alps. They did not enjoy them.\textsuperscript{33} First of all, they could only go over them in late spring, summer, or early fall. Snow might block the routes any other time. Even in fine weather, however, roads along the passes were rough and steep, and the scenery inspired a perverse terror. The English usually dismantled their carriages and transported them in pieces on pack-mules.\textsuperscript{34} Accommodations, furthermore, were poor and few in number until the late eighteenth century.

Once arrived in Italy the young gentleman still faced obstacles. Roads did not exist between many towns or were in such poor repair as to

\textsuperscript{31}Hibbert, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{32}Black, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{33}Hibbert, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{34}Black, p. 20.
render travel on them virtually impossible.\textsuperscript{35} The English generally recognized the major routes in Lombardy and Piedmont as the best, and the ones in the Kingdom of Naples undoubtedly the worst.\textsuperscript{36} Accidents of all varieties grew so common on the rough roads that the intrepid sightseer usually took his carriage apart during round trip journeys from Rome to Naples and transported it by mule. As one person noted on the way to Naples:

\begin{quote}
The road is shamefully bad that leads to this great and fine city; but it is remote from its sovereign, always govern'd by viceroys, who perhaps have not thought the care of the roads to be of so much consequence, as to deserve their notice.\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

Routes through the Appenine mountains offered several challenges. Many roads followed riverbeds, and consequently could not be used during flood season. Crossing rivers in Italy proved a major barrier during the spring thaw and autumn rains. Most rivers lacked bridges, so that ferries, at the mercy of currents, provided the only transportation from one side to the other.\textsuperscript{38} Some of the British preferred to travel by water wherever possible. Edward Wright purposefully did so, rather than over land to the edge of the Laguna protecting the floating city of Venice. Wright left Padua and floated down the Brenta to Fusino in a \textit{burcello}, a large boat, drawn by horses, with the middle section consisting of a decorated room. He wrote:

\textsuperscript{35}Mead, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{36}Black, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{37}Wright, p. 149 and Mead, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{38}Black, p. 41.
The passage down the Brenta is very pleasant, being enliven'd on each side with pretty villages, and with palaces, many of them built by Palladio, which are villa's to the noble Venetians.

At Fusino, several boats, each with four to six rowers, were hooked together and entered the Laguna for the final five mile journey across water to Venice.\(^{39}\)

After carefully picking his way through the Italian peninsula, many a young gentleman returned home through Germany, then mostly in the Holy Roman Empire, and the Low Countries. Conditions varied among the electorates and principalities of the Empire, but for the most part, accommodations were so bad, except along the Rhine, that people hurried through it. Roads throughout Germany were, if possible, even worse than in the most deplorable parts of Italy. Since the Grand Tour supposedly served an educational purpose, many people, especially parents, viewed the problems of transportation and routes as just a part of the process. As the Earl of Chesterfield commented in a letter to his son:

Dear Boy,
Your distresses in your journey from Heidleberg to Schaffhausen, your lying upon straw, your black bread, your broken Berlin, are proper seasonings for the greater fatigues and distresses, which you must expect in the course of your travels; and, if one had a mind to moralize, one might call them the samples of the accidents, rubs, and difficulties, which every man meets with in his journey through life.\(^{40}\)

\(^{39}\)Wright, p. 43.

\(^{40}\)Chesterfield, Vol. I, p. 155; letter date 9 October 1746 (O.S.) from Bath.
Tourists passing through Austria found some roads in better condition than those to the west, but general conditions not much better.\textsuperscript{41} Rivers provided the best way to travel in the Holy Roman Empire. The Rhine gave excellent and swift passage from north to south, the Elbe from northwest to southeast, and the Danube from west to east. Accommodations along the Rhine, unlike the inns along the Danube and Elbe and throughout the rest of Germany, usually were of high quality.\textsuperscript{42}

In spite of the hardships of travelling in the Empire, some English did linger at Vienna, one of the most exciting and pretty cities in it. Tourists in search of Crown patronage in the first half of the 18th century also often stopped in Hanover, the electoral principality from which came the kings of England. When George I returned to his beloved homeland in 1716, the sons of the Dukes of Bolton, Kent, and St. Albans travelled there to pay their respects. But after George II visited Hanover in 1755 for the last time, and his son and grandson shunned it, few British continued to include the principality in their itinerary.\textsuperscript{43}

Even if a gentleman did not travel through the Holy Roman Empire, he usually finished his Tour in the Netherlands. As contrasted to Germany, the Low Countries, or United Provinces, appealed to virtually everyone who entered the region. The Provinces provided good public transportation

\textsuperscript{41}Mead, pp. 49-51.

\textsuperscript{42}Mead, pp. 37-39.

\textsuperscript{43}Black, pp. 9-10.
systems and quality accommodations, some of the best in all of Europe. Rivers and canals dotted the area with many boats available for public transportation. Barges, which contained first-class compartments for the genteel traveller, ran on strict schedules and cost a relatively low price. Many roads lined with trees ran parallel to the canals. The basically flat terrain certainly helped the building and maintenance of these ways, always in good repair.

A flourishing trade with Britain also ensured top-rate accommodations on the journey across the North Sea back to the British Isles. As with the Tour itself, however, there were almost as many points from which to leave the Continent as routes from Britain to Rome. A number of travellers did leave from French ports, while fewer still left from Italy to sail home.

Without a doubt, planning a Grand Tour involved a great deal of thought, if not on the part of the younger would-be voyager, then on his behalf by parents and guardians, and tutors. Whether younger or more mature in years, even the most hardy of Tourists could wear themselves out with the rigors of actual travel. In spite of its hardships, most people who took the Grand Tour recovered quickly once they reached a town or city for an extended stay, ready to partake of all the entertainments and sights indigenous to the area. When they had finished the Tour and started home,

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44 Dunthorne, p. 78.

45 Mead, pp. 39-42.
each and every one of them, regardless of age or station, had ended perhaps one of the most glorious adventures of his life.
CHAPTER IV

ON THE GRAND TOUR:
WHAT TOURISTS DID AND SAW ON THEIR TRAVELS

France: Paris

While the arrangements for travelling and finding accommodations necessarily took up a great deal of time and effort on the part of the tourist and other members of his entourage, the importance of the Tour related to what and whom he saw and how he accumulated his knowledge of the Continent and used it. Even though many English people tended to group together, and the majority conformed to fashion, travelling to and staying in the same cities and towns, each individual's interests and tastes led him to find unique experiences abroad.

In France, the young men generally spent a considerable time in Paris, and moved at a quicker pace through the provincial regions and towns, although the very young might be ensconced in a provincial academy to keep them away from the temptations of French society. Others might choose to spend some time in the south of France, waiting for a fortuitous opportunity to cross the Alps or embark on the sea route to Italy. The time spent in any city or town on the Tour depended on a number of variables: finances, illness, international affairs, and the weather.

As most travellers began their journeys in France, Paris was usually the first stop. The French capital provided suitable lodgings, a base from
which to take numerous day trips, and an intriguing and genial society. In the eyes of one Britisher, members of French society were "eminently distinguished for their politeness and good manners, which may be traced, though in different proportions, through every rank." This polite society, as most British believed, dwelt unduly on matters of protocol related to rank. For instance, the city's lawyers and their wives held the privilege of having their trains borne through the streets, but physicians did not. Dress, too, denoted rank. According to one observer, upon arriving in the city, 

... a stranger. . . finds it necessary to send for a taylor, perruquier, hatter, shoemaker, and every other tradesman concerned in the equipment of the human body. He must even change his buckles, and the form of his ruffles. . . This variety of dress is indispensable for all those who pretend to any rank above the mere vulgar. 

Robert Adam transformed himself from an unadorned Scotsman into a French fashion plate, as he described in a letter to his mother:

Would you incline to know the appearance of your once plain friend? . . . read the description and you have him. A most Frenchified head of hair, loaded with powder, ornaments his top: a complete suit of cut velvet of two colors, his body—which is set off by a white satin lining; white silk stockings and embroidered silk gushets, his legs: Mariguin pumps with red heels, his feet: stone-buckles like diamonds shine on his knees and shoes. . . In short, were I to enumerate the collection of curiosities which at first adorned my body and made me


3Guthrie, p. 434.
laugh but are now as familiar to me as my garter, I should both divert and surprise you. . . I often burst out a-laughing upon this single thought--of what you would all say were I for a moment to show myself in the drawing-room thus metamorphosed!

This interest in fashion by the French and their apparent ability to make the English feel the need to emulate it upon reaching Paris, spoke, according to the contemporary observer William Guthrie, of a French "national vanity" and its ability to confirm "their sense of honour".

The need to update their wardrobes led most British tourists on rather extensive shopping sprees. Shopping, however, was not confined to clothing. Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone (1721-1793), travelling in 1786 and older than the usual British traveller, purchased numerous books and maps from the bookseller Laureat in the Rue Turrennou. Younger men, armed with lists prepared by parents and tutors, also perused the shops for finds. These people and their entourages also shopped for goods to bring back to people in Britain. Dr. James Hay, the tutor to the Hon. Charles Compton, wrote to Compton’s mother, informing her he had endeavored to follow her instructions and laid "out some money for some French pretty things."

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4As quoted in Fleming, Robert Adam, p. 113. Unfortunately, the letter from Adam to his mother is undated in Fleming’s study.

5Guthrie, p. 431.

6Lord Gardenstone, p. 29.

7Letter of 18 May 1720 from Dr. James Hay in Paris to Lady Northampton in Peter McKay, "The Grand Tour of the Hon. Charles Compton," Northamptonshire Past and Present 7(1986): 254. Charles Compton (1698-1755) was the third and youngest son of George, 4th Earl of
Beyond exploring and patronizing the local shops, those on the Grand Tour could find many diversions in Paris. The newcomers often walked about in the great gardens of the city, especially the Tuileries, enjoying the scenery and meeting other voyagers or members of French society. Most visitors to Paris sought out the great collections of paintings, both public and private, and the library of the Sorbonne. They also visited other public buildings, such as Les Invalides which housed injured soldiers—the French equivalent of Chelsea Hospital. Visiting churches always ranked high on the list of activities, even when the mostly Protestant British travellers viewed mostly Catholic churches. Some people chose to observe the harsher side of Parisian life. Thomas Pennant, on the Grand Tour in 1765, watched several executions, including a hanging and two tortures. The convicted felons, he noted, were "broken and placed alive on the wheel, there to die..."

Paris served admirably as a base from which one could take short trips into the surrounding countryside. Versailles proved an extremely popular place to visit, since the entire area was replete with chateaux and

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Northampton.

8Thomas Pennant, *Tour on the Continent 1765* (London; Printed for the Ray Society, 1948, p. 12. Dr. Samuel Johnson regarded Pennant as the foremost traveller of his time. Pennant took great pains to systematically note his observations. His chief interest was "natural history" and he occupied his time on the continent to a large extent by viewing "cabinets" of natural history collections.

9Hibbert, pp. 55-56.

10Pennant, pp. iii, 23, and 25.
hotels belonging to the royal family and members of their court. In spite of the grand approaches to the main palace, the building was so immense that some sections had fallen into a state of disrepair by the mid-eighteenth century. Pennant in 1765 attributed this decay to the hurried construction of the palace and its situation on reclaimed land. Later in the century, some visitors reported the chambers for the royal inhabitants interspersed with a large market, where in the staircases and antechambers subjects sold products of all varieties. However fascinating the architecture of Versailles and the general approval elicited by it, the main attraction at the palace was the royal family. One of the most agreeable events for British travellers was watching the King and Queen and their children dine at Court. Pennant describes this event as follows:

At night saw them sup in publick or at a Grande Covert, a Maigre supper, but very sumptious. When the King or Queen called for drink it was tasted by two before it was presented. . . . The King is a very good looking man: rather short; appears young of his years; great lover of hunting. His Queen looks very old, plain and sickly; their son, the Dauphin, tall, thin and sickly. The Dauphiness and mesdames are well looking women. . . . His Majesty had an excellent stomach, Her Majesty seemed thirsty; the rest of the Company only piddled.

Another English Tourist, John Brudenell Montagu, Lord Brudenell (1735-1770), and his tutor Henry Lyte, attended the French Court's holiday celebrations at Versailles on 31 December 1753. Although disappointed by

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11 Pennant, p. 27.

12 Pennant, pp. 27-28; Hibbert also describes the fascination of British travellers viewing the French royal family dining at Court, pp. 55-56.
the fireworks, as was the King, Lyte eagerly sketched the doings of the royal family:

We saw the fireworks from the great gallery and though our entertainment from without fell short of our expectations yet that within surpassed them infinitely. The gallery and the other apartments were illuminated in the most splendid manner and fill'd with persons drest as richly as possible. The King and Queen played at different tables... There was the greatest contrast imaginable between the company of the King's table and that at the Queen's. At the former were the youngest and most brilliant persons of the Court and at the latter only two decrepit old knights with blue ribbands and about ten frightful old ladies with black head-dresses which was, I suppose, Her Majesty's uniform, for she herself was drest in the same. ¹³

The nearby palaces of the French court also figured high on lists of sites to visit. The Duke of Orleans' palace at Saint-Cloud displayed fine architecture, interior decoration, and landscaping. Marli, with its grand cascade and water pump supplying the fountains of Versailles, fascinated the onlooker. The country surrounding Fountainbleu, the King's hunting lodge, elicited mostly negative reactions. Lord Gardenstone called it "wild barren country" while Pennant described it as "hills... formed of vast rocks piled on each other, some bare others mixed with trees." The countryside so repulsed him that he did not even stop to inspect the lodge itself. Pennant did, however, and noted a well-painted chapel, rich interior decorations, and a fine collection of art work. ¹⁴


¹⁴ Pennant, p. 37.
Day trips to the surrounding countryside and palaces were not the only diversions. Many British travellers were also interested in the manufactures of France. For the more artistically minded, tours of the Gobelins tapestry factory and Sevres porcelain works could be arranged, as they were for Dr. Samuel Johnson. In addition to examining churches, viewed mostly for their architectural importance, the British also visited many other religious houses. They found deeply fascinating those that provided care and refuge for orphaned children, the sick, and those who no longer could or wanted to deal with the world.

Parisian nightlife supplanted these rather mild daytime activities. The British took nearly as much delight in visiting theatre and ballet as in viewing the royal family. Twenty theatres in the city catered to almost every taste. Following a performance, most British retreated to the Café de Valois or the Café de Caveau for refreshment and gossip. Well-supervised young men then went home to bed. Older ones, or those lacking in strict supervision, perhaps diverted themselves at Mme Hecquet’s or Mlle Dupois’s, noted brothels, or gambled at the Parisian houses always open to Englishmen wishing to chance their money.

The importance of gambling among Continental society, especially in France, cannot be overstated. Many young gentlemen wrote home to their parents stating the almost absolute need to game in order to meet the sons of French aristocrats and the leading ladies of French society. They also

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15Hibbert, pp. 55-56.
wrote of their intentions of staying as detached from it, under the circumstances, as they could or at the very least, losing as little as possible.\textsuperscript{16}

Likewise, the availability of sexual partners seemed considerably greater to the English youth on the Continent than in England. French women, especially, had great "freedoms" in the choice of partners, even if they were married. According to many eighteenth-century travellers, their husbands did not seem to mind their affairs. The English travellers also pursued the affections of Parisian chorus girls, dancers, and actresses. In Venice, and elsewhere throughout Italy, prostitution provided the main avenues of sexual adventure, with some British travellers taking mistresses as a result of their liaisons.\textsuperscript{17}

The attitudes of parents in England and guardians on the tour naturally leaned toward dissuading the young gentlemen from indulging their baser instincts, since many feared the young men would contract some venereal disease which could result in a lack of heirs in the future, leaving family lines at stake. Their fears proved well-founded, as several young tourists found themselves seeking medical treatment for sexually transmitted diseases. Of course, most parents and governors knew that the young men would indulge in some sort of encounters, and they could do little, if anything, to forbid it. Most agreed, even if they did not verbalize it, that if

\textsuperscript{16}Hibbert, pp. 56-62 and Black, p. 119.

\textsuperscript{17}Black, \textit{Grand Tour}, pp. 109-114.
the young men had to "sow their oats", best they did so as far from England as possible.\textsuperscript{18}

**Interests of France**

Things to do in the other cities and towns of France paled in comparison to Paris. Even so, many English spent a great deal of time in places other than the capital. Some studied at the provincial academies, such as Lunéville in Lorraine, a pastime far preferable to their parents than tasting the delights of Paris. At these academies, the young men practiced their dancing, drawing, fencing, and French. Their forays into local society were carefully monitored by their governors and tutors.\textsuperscript{19}

One town in the south of France, Montauban, thirty miles north of Toulouse, attracted several travellers. Many thought it a healthy, fairly remote, place. Dr. Hay wrote to Lady Northampton:

> ... I have chosen the fittest place in France for him; no Englishman within forty miles of him, looses as few minutes as possible, has one to hear him read and explain French and examine his translation from one language into the other. He has a dancing master come to him twice a day. He has one to teach him arithmetic.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18}Jeremy Black in *Grand Tour* states the death of Charles Howard, Viscount Morpeth in 1741 was a result of venereal disease, p. 110.

\textsuperscript{19}Black, *Grand Tour*, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{20}McKay, p. 242 quoting letter of 24 December 1717 from Dr. James Hay to Lady Northampton.
During the Earl of Fitzwilliam's tour in the 1760s a number of English residents in the town introduced him to the leading members of Montauban society. At first he wrote to his mother of his experiences among the French, speaking their language and generally delighting in the agreeableness of the locals. Soon, however, a feud broke out between the English and their French hosts, and sixteen-year-old Fitzwilliam decided to leave the town. His tutor noted in a letter to Lady Fitzwilliam his charge's strides in improving his French, but also stated they could have been greater had he not sought the company of his fellow compatriots quite so much.  

Tourists viewed most other French towns, and the surrounding countryside, while passing through them on their way to or from Italy. Lyons, approximately a five-day journey from Paris, captured the imagination of Lord Gardenstone: "The city and its environs, as we approach, make a glorious appearance; --wild and romantic, yet highly cultivated and populous." Lord Chesterfield, on a tour of the Continent as a mature gentleman in 1741, called Lyons "a very great and rich town." Lord Fitzwilliam, after leaving Montauban, decided on wintering in Lyons, anticipating the congenial society and the ability to associate freely with the town's citizens. Still others, such as Robert Adam, used their short stays in Lyons to purchase some of the town's famous silks.  

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22Lord Gardenstone, p. 54; Chesterfield, Vol. I, p. 100; letter dated 1 September 1741; E.A. Smith, p. 397; Fleming, Robert Adam, p. 117. Adam was extremely excited about the multitude of wonderful shops there, and
Gardenstone, like some of his younger countrymen, decided to winter in southern France, in Hyeres, only eleven miles south of Toulouse. While he enjoyed the town, and the reasonable prices he paid, he found great inconsistencies in the food available:

The provisions for living are sufficiently plentiful here, and, in several articles, good, --particularly lamb, mutton, pigeons, hares, partridges, etc. The beef is not good, --and we are not pleased with the poultry. They have very few cows . . . so we can have little milk or butter that is tolerable.23

From Hyeres, Gardenstone decided to carry on with his trip to Italy. Chesterfield made a similar decision while in Marseilles.24

Italy: On the Way to Rome

From France, most tourists, like Gardenstone and Chesterfield, travelled on to Italy. Usually, they first viewed Genoa or Turin. Turin, the quieter of the two, had little to recommend it, other than a few churches and the King of Piedmont’s palace. Society did not extend itself to foreign visitors, so most gentlemen stayed in their rooms.25 Even though Genoa had a wonderful harbor and beautiful palaces, rendering it very picturesque, most British chose not to remain there long. Once again, they found little to do. During the season, the opera provided a pleasant evening diversion, but could not resist the temptation to spend extravagantly.


during the day, most visitors to Genoa entertained themselves by purchasing Genoese velvets. From Turin and Genoa the visitors went on to the larger, more important cities of Florence, Venice, Rome and Naples, while stopping at numerous smaller towns on their way there.

These smaller towns held many attractions, but as in France, the British spent less time in them than in the larger cities. Milan had a number of vast art collections, and its Ambrosian Library containing fourteen thousand manuscripts. Padua, once a thriving university town, had entered into a decline in the eighteenth century. A few Tourists viewed some frescoes by Giotto there, but in general Padua did not draw great praise. Edward Wright observed: "Though there are several large open places, and much waste ground within the walls of Padua, the streets are many of them narrow, and very ill-pav’d."27

Bologna drew praise for its beauty, for many of its streets resembled the porticoed Covent Garden. But other than a fine university and scattered art collections, it offered little else to site-see. Bologna’s social policies and its people as a whole impressed Wright. He wrote of a city bank which loaned money to the poor, and how the unfortunates subsisted on biscotti, or roasted chestnuts. Society in town was "gay, genteel, and sociable" and


27Wright, pp. 36-43.
conversation Wright thought freer in Bologna than anywhere in Italy. The children of the city drew a lengthy entry in his journal:

I observed more poor naked boys in Bologna than in any city whatever that we were in. The reason I was told is, that they are turned out of the Pietà at six or seven years old, and no care taken of them afterwards. (In the Pietàs at Milan and elsewhere they are entertained till fourteen years.) When I have gone out early in a morning, I have seen them lying in heaps by dozens, nestling together as close as they could, like little pigs, having no other covering than the sorry rags they wear all day, nor any thing under them, except perhaps a little straw, upon the cold stones under the publick porticoes; and the winters there are at least as cold as ours.

We see there several children of the better sort, dressed (as soon as they go) in the habits of several orders of friars. These are devoted from the womb; either for some deliverance of the mother from some imminent danger at the birth, or upon some particular occasion during the pregnancy.

Sienna was another smaller town which elicited praise. Dr. Hay left Charles Compton there in 1718 to improve his Italian. Many British believed the Italian language spoken better in Sienna than anywhere on the peninsula, "if you take in both the language and the pronunciation together. . ." as Wright observed. Furthermore, the city had a certain charm. The residents were cordial, while "the cleanliness of its streets; [and] the beauty of its piazza" drew comments from Joseph Addison.
Visiting the smaller towns of Italy certainly proved instructive, but the large cities were the main attractions. Florence, one of Italy's jewels, garnered plaudits from most visitors, even the acerbic Horace Walpole, who found it the most agreeable and lovely place he had seen away from home.\(^{32}\) Although the Florentines entertained little, they were "very social in a sober way." The city had an assembly house, where residents congregated many evenings "for play or conversation." Afterwards, the gentlemen would attend the women's assemblies, one of the academies of the Virtuosi, or indulge in a card game. Wright reported the presence of

"spies in all companies . . . to keep the people [of Florence] in awe, and restrain them from entering into any seditious discourses. . . The people of Florence are very highly tax'd; there is an imposition laid upon every thing they either wear or eat . . ."\(^{33}\)

Foreign residents kept their social calendars full with the theatre, horse races and site-seeing rounds of one hundred fifty-two churches. For many, it took a whole year to appreciate all Florence had to offer.\(^{34}\)

The beauties of the countryside beckoned as well, with seventeen palaces in Florence and the surrounding Tuscan area. Addison wrote:

There are some beautiful Palaces in Florence; but as Tuscan Pillars and Rustic Work owe their Original to this Country, the Architects always take care to give 'em a Place in the great Edifices that are rais'd in Tuscany. The Duke's new Palace is a


\(^{33}\)Wright, p. 429.

\(^{34}\)Wright, pp. 393, 428; Hibbert, pp. 114-118; Smith, p. 398.
very noble Pile, built after this manner, which makes it look extremly Solid and Majestic.\textsuperscript{35}

Wright thought most of the Tuscan palaces "noble", not just the Duke's. He also noted that the modern churches were built in "good taste" and even commented favorably on the older Gothic edifices.\textsuperscript{36}

Venice, in spite of the filth all around the city, even at the Doge's Palace and St. Mark's Church, and its reputation as a city filled with debauchery (or perhaps because of it), continued to attract most tourists. Of course, part of the romance of Venice was its setting, which Wright described:

"... 'tis a pleasure ... to see so great a city ... floating on the surface of the sea; to see chimneyys and towers, where you would expect nothing but ship-masts."\textsuperscript{37}

It abounded with great architecture, wonderful collections of art, amusing entertainments, and an intriguing society.

Once again for Wright, some of the main attractions of Venice did not revolve around the entertainments offered, but rather concerned the life of the inhabitants of the floating city. He attended a circumcision in the Venetian Ghetto, and watched as young men performed a stunt known as \textit{vola}, or flying. A man would "fly" down a rope fixed between the campanile of St. Mark's and the Doge's place, which he entered through a

\textsuperscript{35}Addison, p. 409.

\textsuperscript{36}Wright, p. 393.

\textsuperscript{37}Wright, p. 45.
window. He would then present a nosegay to his lady, and afterward be pulled up the rope back to the campanile.\textsuperscript{38}

The Venetian aristocracy kept mostly to themselves, and rarely offered entertainments for foreign visitors or even fellow natives. Public meetings of any kind, except for strictly social or artistic entertainment, they discouraged so strongly that Wright noted, "in the public coffee-houses there are no seats." Added to this insularity was the Venetian requirement of dressing soberly. Men attired themselves in black robes. According to Wright:

The noble ladies are allow'd but little finery any more than the men: they are by their laws to go all in black too: they are to wear no jewels, except the first year after marriage: a gold chain or some pearl about the wrist, is the chief ornament that's allow'd. . . Upon some extraordinary occaisions [sic], as when some sovereign prince is there, the sumptuary laws, or the laws of Pomp (as they call 'em,) are suspended for that time . . . \textsuperscript{39}

For women in Venice, public comportment and naivete ranked rather high on a list of acceptable attributes. Wright noted in Venice "four of these female hospitals" that took in unwanted children: the Incurabile, Pietà, Ospitalletto, and the Mendicanti, with only the Incurabile requiring an accompanying payment. As Wright observed, acceptable wives could be found in the hospitals:

Those who would choose for a wife one that has not been acquainted with the world, go to these places to look for 'em;

\textsuperscript{38}Wright, pp. 68 and 89.

\textsuperscript{39}Wright, pp. 92-97.
and they generally take all the care they can, they shall be as little acquainted with the world afterwards.\textsuperscript{40}

The rather unassuming appearances of the Venetians contributed to the English notion of them as "sober", as did their obedience to authority. One eighteenth-century writer noted: ". . .they submit very patiently to the public government. . ."\textsuperscript{41} This solemn demeanor disappeared during Carnival, however, which began on Twelfth Night. Thirty thousand bodies packed themselves together on the islands during this time, and there occurred many incidents of Italian passion and debauchery. With "sumptuary laws" dropped for the festival, whimsical attire became the norm. Men and women dressed in the clothes of the other sex, creating a variety of characters, parading all over the city. The Thursday before Lent, people chased bulls through the alleyways of Venice, with three butchered in front of the Doge's palace.\textsuperscript{42}

The entertainment in the theatres of Venice at all times rivalled the once a year festivities of Carnival. During Joseph Addison's tour in the early eighteenth century, he wrote of the abundance of theatrical entertainment in Venice, with opera forming an important part of that season. Addison found the music impressive but the lyrics or "poetry", disappointing. In addition, he did not admire the comedies in Venice, or

\textsuperscript{40}Wright, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{41}Guthrie, p. 617.
\textsuperscript{42}Wright, pp. 86-88.
any other part of Italy for that matter. He found them more "indifferent" and "lewd" than in other countries. "Their Poets," he complained, "have no Notion of gentile Comedy, and fall into the most filthy double meanings imaginable, when they have a Mind to make their Audience merry."\(^{43}\)

For artistic entertainment, the young Englishmen spent a great deal of time observing the architecture of the city. They gave the Doge's Palace high marks, but not St. Mark's, which they denigrated for its "absurd old Gothic style". The graceful architecture along the Grand Canal and the Ponte di Rialto also elicited admiration.\(^{44}\) The great art collections of Venice were found in many churches and other public places, as well as in private homes. Wright noticed, however, that one did not need to go inside to enjoy the work of the masters: "... you'll see many private houses, and some of them mean enough in other respects, ennobled on the outside walls, by the hands of Titian, ... and other principal Venetian masters."\(^{45}\)

Rome and Sidetrips

The most important city on the Italian peninsula was of course Rome, the seat of Classicism and home to artists and scholars attempting to recapture the glories of the golden age. The city itself covered a fairly large section of land, but had surprisingly few inhabitants. Given its location,

\(^{43}\)Addison, pp. 96 and 100.

\(^{44}\)Hibbert, pp. 121-128.

\(^{45}\)Wright, p. 48.
surrounded by hills, an oppressive air weighted down the city, made even worse during the summer, when the scirocco blew across the Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{46} Frequently, the British deserted Rome for cooler places during the summer months.

Roman society was a curious mixture of religious and secular figures, natives and foreigners, in a surrounding both oppressive yet magnificent, with the fine architecture, beautiful fountains, and the remains of antiquity. Wright estimated, "... that of about thirty-five thousand houses that are reckoned to be in Rome in the whole, there are twenty-three thousand that they call religious. ..."\textsuperscript{47} The Italian segments of Roman society, at all levels, seemed to the English rather gloomy and sad. One visitor noted "... the air of sanctity which the Romans affect, and the general dress of the country, which is black." The tourist Martin Sherlock found the native Romans to possess an excellent intellect and strong character, and an emotional streak, which could be stoked to violence if provoked.\textsuperscript{48}

Even the traditions within the city itself contributed to the sense of sadness and gloom; servants did not carry "flambeaux" when walking along the streets at night, and few noblemen carried more than a small lantern on their coaches. For these reasons, Sherlock called Rome "the worst lighted

\textsuperscript{46}Martin Sherlock, \textit{Letters From an English Traveller} (London: 1780), Letter XI, Rome, 1 October 1778, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{47}Wright, p. 364.

\textsuperscript{48}Sherlock, Letter XI, 1 October 1778, pp. 32-33.
city in Europe" which he attributed to the Romans' love of obscurity in all things. Poor lighting did not help to keep the crime rate low. The number of murders, as in all cities, fluctuated with the times and circumstances. Wright observed that while the rate had gone down from that in previous years, a fair number were committed during his stay in Rome.49

To many English people, arriving at Rome seemed almost like coming home. Amidst all the strange surroundings of the city and displays of antiquities and great collections of art, English taverns, inns, and coffee houses abounded. The French equally took to the city, and helped to set its social tone. Many deemed the amusements offered by the French residing in Rome the "most agreeable". Sherlock in the 1770's noted:

Of all the grand assemblies here, that of the Monseigneur de Bayanne, auditor of the rota of France, has the most amusements; a table of Bocetti in one room; in another literature, politics, news, are the subjects of discourse; and in a third, you will find one of the best concerts in Italy, a superb orchestra, and the first singers of both sexes in Rome. You will find at his dinners French fare, French gaiety, French politeness. The master of the house is truly amiable; I only find one fault in him, and that is not a French fault, he is more fond of hearing than of talking. I am sensible that this is owing to his extreme politeness.

Sherlock noticed, however, that the Romans would not let the French outdo them. Many of the native salons also developed outstanding reputations as centers of acceptable society and pastimes. He advised that one should:

... take care then not to leave Rome without being introduced to the Marchioness de Bocca-Paduli: her coterie is the most agreeable and the best chosen in Rome: among other persons of merit you will there meet the Count de Verni, a Milanese

49Sherlock, Letter XI, 1 October 1778, p. 33 and Wright, p. 364.
gentleman, who abounds with politeness, talents, and taste: The lady of the house will please you extremely, for she is witty, handsome, and as amiable as a French woman.50

In addition to the many assemblies hosted by various nobles, theatre was another evening pastime greatly admired in Rome. Even though women were forbidden on stage, large audiences turned out for most every performance.

British artists, diplomats, and scholars mixed freely with Catholic prelates, paying little regard to religious considerations. Though few protestant Whigs who visited Rome actually met with the Stuart pretenders to the throne, they did not have the same qualms about mixing with the Stuart family's retainers. Robert Adam planned to dine with Dr. Irvine, the Old Pretender's physician. As he wrote to his family: "The best Whigs go to see him, so that it is no stain and he is so sensible as not to say or do anything to offend them." Indeed, for Protestant Britons spending time in Rome, it became almost essential to rely on the good offices of many Jacobites. Countless British people, including Adam, benefitted from the contacts of the Scottish Catholic Agent in Rome, abbé Peter Grant of Blairfindy. The "abbate Grande"--accepted in every salon in Rome--knew everyone. Apparently, Dr. Irvine and the abbé abided by the astute advice of one traveller: "As it is necessary in Venice to avoid discoursing of policy,

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50Sherlock, Letter XIX, undated, p. 51-52.
so in Rome one must forbear disputes about religion, and then all is safe enough. . .\textsuperscript{51}

The cost of living in Rome did not strain the purse. Adam spent only twelve shillings a day for an apartment of several rooms in a highly respectable house, which also let rooms to a number of English noblemen. Food was cheap, plentiful and varied, and even during Lent, the hungry diner could obtain meat easily. He could satisfy himself physically in other ways. Prostitutes held licenses, and brothels abounded. Many a young gentleman, growing tired of viewing art and architecture, entertained himself with feminine company. More serious affairs of the heart were also prevalent. The young Earl Fitzwilliam acquired at least two mistresses during his stay in Rome from the fall 1767 to the spring of 1768.\textsuperscript{52}

Religious ceremonies, especially girls embracing the religious life and entering convents, fascinated the British. Yet, John Russell found one of the most important of these religious ceremonies disappointing. He wrote: "...the coronation of the new pope did not answer my expectation, as being in no wise [sic] comparable to the coronations in England. . .\textsuperscript{53} The highlight of any stay in Rome, even for a Protestant, involved a trip to the Vatican and an audience with the Pope, which, surprisingly, was not difficult to

\textsuperscript{51}Fleming, Robert Adam, pp. 146-147; Wright, p. 364.

\textsuperscript{52}E.A. Smith, p. 400.

obtain. Most young men took this opportunity to visit the Vatican Library as well. The librarians took the pains to show British visitors the manuscript letter of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn, in which the king proclaimed his love for her and his desire to make her his queen in spite of all obstacles.\textsuperscript{54}

Armed with sketchbooks and rulers, most travellers, even those with little artistic ability, set out to record the dimensions, and their impressions, of the Roman ruins.\textsuperscript{55} They also visited the more modern architectural sites and gazed upon the various collections of art.\textsuperscript{56} Collecting pieces of art and "antiquity" occupied a great deal of time as well as money. Although the British purchased art and other "mementos" in places other than Rome, it was in this city that the most serious collecting and purchasing took place.

Lord Fitzwilliam commissioned several English artists residing in Rome to paint some landscapes for his collection. He also commissioned a portrait of himself, which he intended to present to his uncle, the Marquis of Rockingham. The portrait did not meet Fitzwilliam’s expectations,

\textsuperscript{54}Addison noted, "These letters are always shown to an \textit{Englishman} that visits the \textit{Vatican} Library." Addison, p. 367 and Hibbert, pp. 138-139.

\textsuperscript{55}Hibbert, pp.141-142. During this period, the ruins were less revered by the Romans than they are today. For example, the Colosseum was let out to citizens who built animal shacks there and markets were held twice a week in the Forum.

\textsuperscript{56}Wright devoted hundreds of pages in his observations to the detailed descriptions of palaces, villas, and churches in and immediately surrounding Rome. These descriptions, of both the exterior and interior, were usually accompanied by lists of outstanding works of art in each building.
however, and he decided to give it instead to his guardian, busy protecting the family's interests in a "troublesome election business" at Peterborough.

Fitzwilliam met with better success when purchasing pictures. He procured several portraits with which he was well pleased. Lord Brudenell also commissioned two portraits of himself, by Antonio Rafael Mengs and Pompeo Batoni, and along with his governor, Henry Lyte--serving as an agent for Lord Cardigan--became extremely active in the intricate circles of collecting in Rome. Brudenell acquired a collection of antique statuary and many canvases, including a Luca Giordano called *Truth finding Fortune in the Sea*. Lyte related this purchase to Brudenell's father:

>'Tis a fine picture but I am afraid rather too large, being about 9 feet long and 5 feet high. His Lordship liked it so much that he has for once passed over the limits prescribed him, which he will avoid doing in his future purchases as I most certainly shall.  

Robert Adam found most canvases beyond his own financial scope, although he did purchase two small but "prodigious fine" pieces by Luca Giordano. Adam instead spent most of his time and money procuring a collection of drawings, which included some by Michelangelo, Raphael, and Correggio. He reckoned the entire collection cost him no more than one hundred pounds sterling. The young Duke of Bridgewater entrusted Adam

57 E.A. Smith, pp. 399-400.

with over one thousand pounds and a basically free hand to purchase works to send back to the Duke in England.\textsuperscript{59} 

During their extended stay in the city, tourists used Rome as a base from which to set out to visit nearby sites of interest, especially Tivoli, Palestrina, Albans, Frescati and Castel Gandolfo, where the Pope had a palace. Some also journeyed to Naples for a visit of perhaps a week or a fortnight. Many considered the city, with its large, straight, and well-paved streets and "magnificent" buildings, the "finest in Italy."\textsuperscript{60} Tourists counted themselves lucky if they could plan their journey to Naples to coincide with another great Catholic curiosity: the liquefaction of the blood of Saint Januarius, the city's patron saint. Two weeks each year, in May and September, this miracle supposedly ought to take place. If it did not, Neapolitans feared for the future and what it could bring: war, plague, famine, and even the eruption of Vesuvius.\textsuperscript{61} In spite of this rather macabre tradition, Naples had a vitality that no other Italian city possessed, and a beauty generally acknowledged by all. Sherlock waxed poetic:

\textsuperscript{59}Fleming, Robert Adam, pp. 134 and 178.

\textsuperscript{60}The Grand Tourists found very little else to see, however, in the way of collectibles. At the time Naples was still under the rule of the Spanish monarch. Addison explained the lack of art: "Pictures, Statues, and Pieces of Antiquity are not so common at Naples, as one might expect in so great and ancient a City of Italy; for the Vice-Roys take care to send into Spain everything that is valuable of this Nature." Addison, p. 199.

... the air there is so soft and so pure; the sun so brilliant and so warm, and the face of nature so rich and so diversified, that the imagination is sensible of a vivacity a vigour which it never perceives in other countries.

Every time that I go to my window, I feel electrified, my spirits revive, my imagination warms, and my soul becomes susceptible of the gentlest and sublimest impressions.62

Neapolitan society opened its doors to the British, who were impressed by the grandeur of the private homes of this Italian aristocracy. Sherlock thought the Neapolitans anxious to please their foreign visitors, but at the same time often rude and unprincipled. He viewed them as "naturally good, but ... absolutely in the state in which nature produced them. . . ." They were not well-educated, which to a large degree, he believed, contributed to their rudeness and unprincipled behavior.63

From Naples, many took day excursions to Vesuvius. A few people went to the recently begun excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, or over to Capri. Edward Wright took the popular trip to the volcano. The ascent of Vesuvius became too steep for pack animals after two miles of riding, so he climbed on foot the rest of the way to the summit. There he found the crater "spewing black smoke and fire." Addison also "had a troublesome March to gain the Top of it." He observed the ground on the ascent covered with "burnt Earth"--dry, crumbled powder which was hot underfoot. "A Man sinks almost a Foot in the Earth," he complained, "and

generally loses half a Step by sliding backwards." The crater was approximately 100 yards deep and 300-400 yards in diameter, while the sides appeared "all over stain’d with Mixtures of White, Green, Red and Yellow." After a fairly short stay in Naples touring the sites and being entertained by the Neapolitans, the English voyager returned to Rome to complete his stay in the Eternal City.

Germany

Not every Grand Tour involved travel through the Germanic states, but for those who decided to brave the arduous travel conditions, a number of towns and cities beckoned. Many of the courts in Germany had reputations as easily accessible to the British. Once a young gentleman was received at an individual court, he needed few or no further introductions in that particular town. Vienna was the most popular German city with British travellers. Admittance to the city itself happened only after strict questioning by the sentries, and a thorough examination of the Tourist’s

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64 Wright, p. 173 and Addison, pp. 238-239.

baggage. Once through the official formalities, travellers settled down to enjoy the city.

Although Vienna had a population only approximately a fifth of London’s, many thought it the best city in Europe. The Austrian upper classes, if not the commoners, particularly welcomed younger tourists. Sherlock praised the Austrian capital:

Vienna is perhaps the best city in Europe to teach a young traveller the customs of the great world: at his arrival he will be introduced into all the best houses, and if he is an Englishman, he will meet with the most flattering reception, because Sir Robert Keith, who is universally esteemed, accompanies him every where; but every foreigner is well received, especially by the ladies, who are very well bred, and extremely amiable.

Entertainment in Vienna was an eclectic mix of the fairly common and the "singular". The Imperial Palace, with its celebrated library of over twelve-thousand manuscripts and hundred-thousand printed volumes certainly drew many admirers, as did the palaces of other Austrian princes and aristocrats. Likewise, the university at Vienna, founded in 1237, was

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66 *The Harleian Miscellany*, "The Travels of Three English Gentlemen through Germany," vol. xi (London: 1810), p. 251. This account gives an extremely detailed view of the itinerary and post routes followed by this anonymous group of gentlemen through Germany, giving all the posts between major towns and cities, as well as mileage. It also discusses the physical aspects of the towns, but offers far fewer observations of the citizenry of the major towns. This source hereafter cited as "Three English Gentlemen . . .".

67 "Three English Gentlemen . . .", p. 278.

highly regarded by English visitors. While they did not think very highly of the German and Italian theatres in the city, they deemed the other entertainments in Vienna "magnificent."

Sherlock described the Viennese spectulars:

...the procession of the knights of the golden fleece is superb; the Hungarian guards, who come to court on New-year's day, are the most brilliant troop in Europe; but the most striking sight, and which is really beautiful, is the course of sledges. The Archduchess [sic] of Milan, the Archduchess Mary-Elizabeth, and the Princess Schwarzenberg, were led by the Archduke of Milan, the Archduke Maximillian, and Prince Albert of Saxony: they were followed by twenty-five ladies, all in crimson velvet with a very broad gold lace; the dresses of the Knights were of a sky-blue velvet, laced like those of the ladies.

The course begins in the great square before the Imperial palace; they take several turns there, and after traversing the principal streets of the city, they return thither to finish it by other turns. The ground of snow, on which this moving picture winds, relieves its splendor extremely, and makes the sight the richest and most dazzling that can be conceived.

The Imperial Court itself retained a great deal of Spanish sobriety and formality in etiquette inherited from that branch of the ruling Hapsburg family, but also had the reputation of exceptional friendliness and openness. Those people who made the time and effort to visit Vienna did not leave disappointed.

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69"Three English Gentlemen . . .", pp. 259-262.

70Sherlock, Letter VIII, undated, p. 25.

Some might, as did three English gentlemen travelling through the German states, go next to Prague. Here, as in Vienna, they endured a stringent examination of their baggage. The visitors noted the city was extremely populous and hard to defend. Its citizens had the reputation of being "bigotted Roman catholicks", and took great delight in showing protestant visitors a statue of Martin Luther and his wife. "Luther," the English commented, "appears in armour, and his wife with one of her hands extended towards his privities". The three travellers viewed the requisite churches, houses, and palaces in Prague, and noted those worthy of consideration by future venturers. They reserved their greatest accolades however, for a particular time-piece:

But, in our opinion, one of the finest things Prague can boast of, is the famous clock in the council-house, or town-hall . . . This, or rather the maker of it, deserves a peculiar encomium. For, besides the Bohemian, or Italian, and German hours, it presents the whole face of the heavens to one's view at once; exhibiting not only the day, month, and year, but likewise the risings of the sun and moon, the new and full moons, the eclipses, the motions of the other planets, the signs of the zodiac, the cycles, and chief festivals of the calendar. This curious and most admirable machine is not to be paralleled in Germany, nor, perhaps, in any other part of the world.

Most tourists with a German itinerary included Dresden and Leipzig in Saxony in their travels. The society of Saxony they found "cheerful and agreeable" and extremely polite toward strangers, the court a shining and brilliant example of amiability. It boasted "lively, good-natured, witty"

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72"Three English Gentlemen. . .", pp. 295-299.

73"Three English Gentlemen. . .", p. 306.
members of the fairer sex. Saxony could boast of a fine climate and wonderful entertainment. Sherlock wrote of Dresden:

Travellers in general make too short a stay at Dresden, and they are in the wrong. It is a country highly interesting to all who are fond of natural history, pictures, and the beauties of nature of every kind. If the Prussians are the Macedonians of Germany, the Saxons are its Athenians. I have scarcely seen a country where there is more taste. . . .

Only thirteen miles away, Leipzig, with an outstanding university and its learned and famous scholars, especially one Dr. Mascou, drew many young Englishmen, including Lord Chesterfield’s son, Charles Stanhope. Chesterfield arranged for his son to lodge in Mascou’s home, where the professor would read the young man lectures. In addition to the book learning, Chesterfield stressed attendance at evening socials at the Duchess of Courland’s residence, "... to improve your manners, though not your understanding. . . ." The town contained noble, though not ornate, buildings and hosted lively fairs at the beginning of the New Year that brought merchants and others of distinction to the city. The three English gentleman also commented upon the beauty of the town’s young women and their delicate condition: "Such vast numbers of them walking in the streets seemed to be pregnant, that we remember not to have seen any where the like."
Not far from Leipzig of course, lay Prussia. The town of Potsdam and its nearby neighbor, Berlin, attracted visitors to the kingdom. Potsdam virtually owed its existence to the Prussian court and its monarch, Frederick II, since the area was replete with a new royal palace and the homes of Prussian aristocrats. The three English gentlemen found Potsdam beguiling and Berlin "noble and grand". They spoke little of the other towns and instead focused on the royal first citizen and the myriad of rumors concerning him. For them, one of Potsdam's most interesting sights was that of Frederick II "exercising two battalions of his tall grenadiers. . .".

Potsdam and Berlin far outshined Hanover, the electoral seat of the King of England. Although the town had a clean and neat appearance, with several noteworthy churches, the buildings consisted of timber and clay, and no court of any consequence existed while the Elector resided in Britain. Therefore, there was little reason for most Englishmen to visit the town. When the King was in Hanover, however, the court became brilliant. Monarchial visits, however, occurred at increasingly infrequent rates after George II came to the throne, and stopped altogether after his death.

One of the last stops for English travellers might be Hamburg, known for its commerce, foreign and domestic. The city had a thriving Jewish community who lived among the other citizens, not off to the side in a

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77"Three English Gentlemen. . .", pp. 331-333.

ghetto. The city was also known for its charity. According to the three English observers:

All real objects of charity amongst them are provided for; but the sturdy beggars, that in other places infest the streets, are sent to the workhouse, that they may be thereby rendered serviceable to the publick. Hence it comes to pass, that a beggar is scare ever to be met with in the streets of Hamburg.79

Hamburg might serve as the last stop in Germany, before proceeding onto the Low Countries.

The Low Countries

The great majority of Britons on a Grand Tour took some time to visit the Low Countries, usually at the end of their journey. The close relationship between the British and Dutch states made the Netherlands a natural area to visit, and many British not only enjoyed the top-rate travel accommodations and conditions, but also the hospitality of Dutch and Anglo-Dutch acquaintances, as well as English inns, coffee houses, and taverns.

Most young men enjoyed spending time in the Low Countries, for they offered a distinct change of pace and scenery for the weary traveller. Edward Wright observed the Dutch work ethic first hand:

. . . instead of idle abbés sauntering about the streets, (a sight we had been pretty much us’d to) every thing that had life was now busy; all were at work; not only men, women, and

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79"Three English Gentlemen. . .", p. 352.
children, but dogs and goats; for these I observ'd drawing burdens on little carriages along the streets. . .80

The British marveled at Dutch industriousness, which led, according to one observer, to scarcely "... an Acre of Wasted Ground (Sands excepted) in all their country. ..." and the emergence of Amsterdam as the center of flourishing trade. Amsterdam was, in the eyes of many British visitors, the Venice of the north. Built almost on pilings, and lacking the facilities of a "good" natural harbor, it stood as the hallmark of Dutch ingenuity.81

The terrain of the region also struck those passing through as "surprisingly pretty". After three days, however, the never-ending flatness began to bore the on-looker.82 In addition to the bustling trade of Amsterdam, The Hague, called "one of the noblest Villages in the World" by the eighteenth-century travel writer J. Breval, also drew many visitors, as did Leyden, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels. They enjoyed looking at the quaint architecture associated with the region. Also, many of the towns in the Low Countries had vibrant universities, with which many Britons were well acquainted.

The exceptional collections of artwork by the Dutch masters comprised one of the main attractions in the Low Countries. Most paintings the British saw had been completed in the seventeenth century. Not until

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80Wright, p. 506.

81J. Breval, Remarks on Several Parts of Europe (London: 1726), pp. 15 and 42-43.

the mid-eighteenth century, however, did they begin paying attention to this art. The British connoisseurs greatly admired the technique and realism the Dutch painters used in portraying the countryside of Holland. Sherlock noted:

Their school of painting deserves to be viewed, in order to have an idea of the height to which the mechanism of the art may be carried. There finish is much more perfect than that of the Italians . . .

While Rome was the center of art collecting for those on the Grand Tour, many discerning people also enlarged their holdings by procuring pieces in Holland.

For most English travellers the Grand Tour ended in the Low Countries. They had collected some works of art and pieces of antiquity, and had viewed countless buildings, collections, and ruins. They had met some of their compatriots, as well as many members of the foreign aristocracies with which they mingled. Those who had travelled to improve their professional techniques returned to England ready to ply their crafts. Their families hoped the return of the young men who had left Britain to complete their educations and polish their social skills marked their readiness to take their place as cultured and learned men in society.

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83 Many early travellers had noted as early as the late seventeenth century the presence of some artwork in even the most humble of Dutch homes. Dunthorne, p. 81.

Did the educational system for aristocrats in eighteenth-century Britain provide the necessary information to allow the student to be a contributing member, not just to aristocratic society, but to British society as a whole? Was the Grand Tour worth the thousands of pounds which could be spent in its execution?

The answers to these questions largely depended on the individual. For the young man attempting to break into higher echelons of society, his experiences as a classmate to the sons of aristocrats and on the Grand Tour gave him the ability to converse with social superiors, especially potential patrons, on an outwardly equal footing. Although it came into its own during the nineteenth century, the old boy network did have its advantages and uses during the eighteenth century. The common ground of public school education, especially, helped to cement the sense of cohesion felt in high social circles. Furthermore, the prevailing fashion of following the same basic itinerary while on the Grand Tour made it far easier to discuss, for example, the Roman ruins in polite company; almost everyone had seen them.
But having seen the same sites as his peers certainly did not mean that the experience made an impression on every young man. The character of each individual played a great role in determining appreciation for what was heard and seen. Young Lord Fitzwilliam realized he had squandered a wonderful opportunity upon completing his Grand Tour, while others, such as Lord Brudenell, also of youthful years, submitted themselves to the guidance of their tutors and gained a great deal from their experiences.

The schooling received by members of the aristocracy at the public schools certainly had its faults and problems. Little or no individuality was worked into the system, and for those students who had difficulty with their studies, there was no remedial outlet available. Learning the Latin language became more important than understanding what was actually being conveyed in that language. In fact, Latin was the major problem with the public school system, for little emphasis was placed on providing instruction in English.

With the emphasis on Latin, and to a lesser extent Greek, the modern foreign languages also received little attention. While the public-school education did have the advantage of being basically the same from school to school, it certainly did next to nothing to prepare its students for future foreign travel. The Dissenting academies and private home education, whether Catholic or Protestant, had greater flexibility and variety in their curriculum, although students in these systems, especially home education,
may have suffered from lack of exposure to other students of high social standing.

The English universities did not fare much better than the public schools during this period. Numerous external and internal political forces kept the dons and tutors from having much influence with their students. In any case, most students, unless aiming for the clergy, did not attend the university to gain knowledge, but rather to simply mark time before moving on to the next experience, whether it was the Inns of Court, entering some other profession, or embarking on a Grand Tour.

For the upwardly mobile members of the gentry, as well as the established aristocracy, a Grand Tour offered the opportunity to gain intimate knowledge of the countries of Europe. This knowledge might prove especially useful when serving the government in some capacity. It could prove a double-edged sword: for all their experiences in the world around them, many young gentlemen became uncompromisingly xenophobic. All in all, however, this was not a particularly unique criticism, and it continues to be true even today, for young travellers leave and return home with the belief that their society's way is best.

Exactly how well the Grand Tour served as an educational experience, or as a step upward toward entrance into higher society, or as an avenue to better political patronage and employment opportunities is a question that cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. In the case of artists touring to increase their professional abilities and to gain exposure with
members of the aristocracy, the exercise often had extremely positive results. For the situation of architect Robert Adam, the Grand Tour served admirably. He acquired by his own admission social grace, met several aristocrats who later served as his patrons, viewed the great architectural ruins, as well as contemporary architecture, and studied with one of the foremost authorities on drawing and perspective in Rome at the time. In addition to studying art, he also acquired a collection of drawings for himself and served as a purchasing agent for others. Of course, by the time Adam undertook his journey, he was a mature, practicing architect of twenty-six.

Younger Grand Tourists often used the time away from parental observation, future patrons, and potential brides to indulge in the seamier side of life. Most gentlemen indulged in sexual relationships while on the tour, and gambled frequently, especially while in Paris and Italy. The general feelings on these subjects acknowledged that experimentation and vice were a natural part of maturation, and if they had to happen, it was far better to indulge in these activities away from Britain than at home. By the time the young man returned home, he should have left this aspect of his life behind him. The gaming and sexual exploits of travellers constituted another major criticism against the Grand Tour, for many philosophers and theorists felt the young men returned home dissipated, syphilitic reprobates, and to be sure, some did.
While the Tourists travelled around the Continent, their minds filled to overflowing with classical images and examples. Theoretically, upon their return home, they began to live by the virtues of order, balance, symmetry, and restraint, and came to advocate an aura of detachment and a profound love of the countryside, all of which had roots in classical philosophy. The old and young travellers alike often returned to Britain laden down with the beginnings or continuation of great collections: books, paintings, sculptures, and pieces of marble ruins from Greek and Roman temples and palaces filled the holds of ships. These collections often provided the basis of new family status and gave credence to the gentleman’s role as a patron of the arts, or increased the older gentleman’s collection and stature as an artistic connoisseur.

It is perhaps in the role of preparing upper-class Britons as cultured and cosmopolitan arbiters of fashion in architecture, art, fashion, and music that the educational system and, in particular, the Grand Tour had its finest triumph. This extra dash of culture was sometimes most appreciated in the areas outside of London, where the local lord set the cultural tone, often drawing on the experiences of his travel on the Continent, and where there were few, if any other, collections for the culturally sensitive to savor.

For a man moving in the fashionable circles of society in the eighteenth century, a knowledge of and interest in the fine arts proved fundamental, and this necessity was admirably served by the experiences of the Grand Tour. A nobleman or member of the gentry moving in such circles needed
to know, and be able to discuss intelligently, the better-known artists and some of their works. Of course, if the gentleman in question happened to own a piece of some artist's work, so much the better. Even so, a high degree of "one-up-manship" marked many critical discussions. Many of the analyses offered were bogus or regurgitations from the criticisms of experts. These revealing streaks of humanity, however, do not detract from the overwhelming evidence that those individuals who collected and patronized art in the salon society of eighteenth-century England had a genuine interest in culture, even if they lacked the initiative or insight to provide new perspectives.

While the educational system certainly had an effect on upper-class society, for good and ill, the effects of this system on British politics is more difficult to determine. Since most government officials came from the ranks of elite society, some cohesion already existed from the mutually shared experiences among members of the Commons and government departments. For those involved in the diplomatic corps, travel abroad certainly held advantages. Many British tourists were introduced to leading members of the native aristocracies and governments while travelling, and those contacts could prove invaluable in times of diplomatic or political turmoil, as could the personal insights gained while travelling. In spite of, or perhaps because of, these insights into foreign nations, Britain still involved itself, citing national interests, in many of the power struggles centered on the Continent during the eighteenth century. The effects of the educational
system of the eighteenth century in regard to contributions to the relative internal peace of the country (as compared to the seventeenth century) is a worthy question. However, it is a question for which there seems no concrete answer, and that abstraction also applies to whether the educational system allowed the comparatively peaceful transfer of power over the course of the nineteenth century from the aristocracy to the middle class. These queries are not quantifiable, but the facts are very plain and each individual can draw his or her own conclusions: Britain suffered less from the revolutionary forces than did its neighbors on the Continent, and the enfranchisement of British citizens into the world of politics, while not without tense moments, did not erupt into overthrows of legitimate governments.

The social and scholastic aspects of education were not the only components which figured into the creation of the eighteenth-century British gentleman, but they ranked high on the list. Interest in these elements sparked heated debate during the eighteenth century, and continues to provide an area of interest to historians and educational theorists. In general, as it is today, so too in the eighteenth century it was the individual who decided how much he derived from his education, regardless of the system to which he was exposed. In Britain during the eighteenth century for members of privileged society, that system was based on study of the classics followed by a period of travel in Europe, with the alternative of a curriculum based on math, science, and vernacular languages in schools
outside of the Establishment, usually followed by professional training and travel. Travel then, as it is now, was regarded as natural extension of the educational process, and while most heavily promoted for young males, it provided a natural capstone of experience and knowledge in many fields to all ages. Regardless of the flaws in the system, and there were many, the educational system in eighteenth-century Britain did not contribute to full-blown revolution at home, but instead provided cultural acuity and collections to a rather isolated island country, which Britons still hold in high esteem today.
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