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978-1-107-02050-4 - Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690–1820

Rosemary Sweet

Excerpt

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## Introduction

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Long before the eighteenth century, Italian cities such as Rome and Venice occupied a very particular place in the British imagination. But as travel on the continent became increasingly commonplace amongst the British elite from the late seventeenth century onwards, with the rise of what has become known as the ‘Grand Tour’, this familiarity increased and the influence of Italian history and culture upon Britain grew steadily stronger. Books and prints describing Italy, its cities and its art and antiquities proliferated, consumed by armchair travellers and grand tourists alike. Returning travellers brought with them Italian fashions in art, music and architecture and the wealthiest redesigned their houses and their gardens to evoke an Italianate classical ideal and to display the art and antiquities they had collected. Italian poetry captured the imagination of an increasingly broad swath of the literate classes and learning Italian became a fashionable accomplishment, particularly for young women. As a consequence of these changes, the physical image, history and reputation of the principal cities of the Italian tour – Florence, Rome, Venice and Naples – were readily recognised by a wide range of travellers and readers, being invoked in novels and poetry, commemorated in prints and engravings and emulated in architecture and civic design. The foundations of the recognition which these cities still command today were securely established in the eighteenth century. This book, therefore, is not conceived as a survey of the Grand Tour as a cultural institution or a study of the broader influence of Italy on British culture; it is not even specifically concerned with what travellers saw and did. There are numerous books which cover this ground already.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ilaria Bignamini and Andrew Wilton (eds.), *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (1997); Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1985); Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London, 2003); Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (1998); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999); Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (1969); Clare Hornsby (ed.), *The Impact of Italy: The Grand*

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Rather, its focus is upon recovering and understanding how these urban centres were experienced, described and represented as places; how the image of a city was created and perpetuated through the medium of travel literature; what the different meanings and imaginative associations attached to these cities were; and how the contrasting descriptions of each of these cities reflected the travellers' own attitudes to urbanism. More broadly, this book explores other themes central to our understanding of eighteenth-century culture and the transition to modernity such as the construction and performance of personal, gender and national identities, and the shift in cultural values away from neo-classicism towards medievalism and the gothic.

The European Grand Tour was essentially a prolonged journey based around the principal cities of Europe rather than an exploration of the countryside and rural pleasures. It generally started in France or the Low Countries from where travellers made their way south, either passing over the Alps into northern Italy or making their way down to the Mediterranean and crossing over to the Ligurian coast via the Gulf of Spezzia. Having made the tour of Italy, they would either travel back via the major cities of Austria-Hungary, Germany and the Low Countries, or through France again. The length of time spent in 'making the tour' fell over the course of the century, but even in the early nineteenth century many tours lasted six months at the very least, and the costs could be prohibitive.<sup>2</sup> The conventional understanding of the Grand Tour is that it was intended to provide the final education and polish for elite young men, before they embarked upon fully fledged adulthood.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, however, in practice the range of travellers undertaking these continental tours was more diverse than the traditional

*Tour and Beyond* (Rome, 2000). Recent literature on the Grand Tour is surveyed in two review articles: Barbara Ann Naddeo, 'Cultural capitals and cosmopolitanism in eighteenth-century Italy: the historiography of Italy and the Grand Tour', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10 (2005), 81–99; John Wilton Ely, '“Classic ground”: Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 28 (2004), 136–65.

<sup>2</sup> Costs varied enormously, depending on the length of the tour, the style of travel and the quantity of purchases made. The kinds of expenses incurred are discussed in Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 94–101.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London, 1996), 14, argues that 'The Grand Tour is not the Grand Tour unless it includes the following: first, a young British male patrician (that is, a member of the aristocracy or gentry); second, a tutor who accompanies his charge throughout the journey; third, a fixed itinerary that makes Rome its principal destination; fourth, a lengthy period of absence, averaging two or three years.' It is also the definition used by many other historians of the Grand Tour, such as Christopher Hibbert, for all that he frequently cites a much more eclectic range of sources, including female travellers such as Mariana Starke, Catherine Wilmot or Beaujolais Campbell, older men travelling for professional purposes, such as the musician Charles Burney, and French travellers such as Charles de Brosses.

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image implies. Nevertheless, most of those undertaking a tour had at least some ambition to acquire cultivation and refinement; to improve their taste by studying the finest specimens of art and architecture; and to participate in the leisure pursuits and sociability of polite company in the different countries through which they passed. All these goals were pursued in the environment of towns and cities. This is not to say that the countryside was without interest: indeed, remarks relating to the fertility of the soil, the state of agriculture, the condition of the labouring population or the existence of manufactures all comprised an important element of travellers' observations and represented a crucial means of evaluating the prosperity and governance of the state.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, travel in pursuit of picturesque scenery or sublime landscape was becoming increasingly popular in the latter part of the eighteenth century, as was evident, for example, in the growing popularity of exploring the Swiss Alps from the 1780s. But for most purposes, the itinerary of the Grand Tour continued to be based around urban centres with people travelling *through* the countryside and staying *in* towns and cities.

It is only to be expected, then, that the observations recorded in travel journals and letters home, as well as the information provided in travel literature, tended to be structured around the description of particular cities. From this information, it is possible to draw some general conclusions about the kind of criteria by which eighteenth-century travellers judged the cities through which they passed; the kinds of questions that most interested them about the history, governance or social life of a city; and how these changed over the course of the century. We can also build up a sense of *how* visitors viewed a new town or city, both physically and imaginatively. In certain cities, visitors made much more extended stays of weeks, or even months, and here it is possible to arrive at a rather fuller understanding of how these cities were perceived and represented by the British, the meanings with which they were associated and the narratives that were told around them. Because so many British travellers went to Italy and recorded their impressions, either for private circulation or for publication, the published and unpublished material describing these cities is uniquely rich and varied, and allows one to trace the continuities and discontinuities and to identify the hackneyed clichés or the sudden aperçus with particular clarity. In describing the towns and cities through which they passed, travellers were able to rehearse various narratives by means of which the British understood their own history and identity as well as their relationship to other European

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Josiah Tucker, *Instructions to Travellers* (1758), or Leopold Berchtold, *An Essay to Direct and Extend the Inquiries of Patriotic Travellers*, 2 vols. (1798).

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societies. Thus, accounts of the cities which were encountered on the Grand Tour can be read on one level simply as records of where travellers stayed and what was seen. But we can also see how particular narratives or tropes were constructed around specific cities, which in turn predetermined the expectations and reactions of subsequent travellers. However, the ways in which these descriptions were framed and the choices that were made regarding what observations to include were also reflective of shifting attitudes towards urban society in general and of an evolving sense of what it meant to be British. For this was a period when Britain itself was undergoing rapid urban growth, not just in London but in provincial towns and cities throughout the country.<sup>5</sup> It was a society that was becoming increasingly aware of itself as ‘polite and commercial’ and by extension urban: towns and cities were an object of interest and inquiry, both for their historical importance in the past but also as the centres of economic growth, political power and cultural achievement in the present. Urban centres were scrutinised, discussed and described, and local and urban histories were a rapidly proliferating genre.<sup>6</sup> Travellers’ comments on Italian cities are therefore revealing for what they imply about attitudes to urbanism back in Britain as well as for their observations relating directly to Italy.

In analysing the sources used in this study – travel literature, guide-books, diaries, journals, correspondence – it is important to bear in mind the practical and cultural constraints that influenced the scope of much of what could be written. At the most basic level, the physical limitations on travel, enforced by the nature of the transport infrastructure and the availability of inns, roads, coaches and guides, ensured considerable standardisation and continuity to the itinerary and the experience of travel in Italy over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Visitors’ comments, not unexpectedly therefore, frequently display a significant degree of homogeneity: the travellers visited the same sites, went on the same excursions, read the same books and made the same observations in their own journals and correspondence. Moreover, what travellers observed and recorded was always heavily determined by conventions within the genre of travel writing and by the anticipated readership: their observations, therefore, cannot be taken as statements

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of urban population growth in this period see John Langton, ‘Urban growth and economic change: from the late seventeenth century to 1841’, in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. II (Cambridge, 2000), 453–90.

<sup>6</sup> Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Judith Adler, ‘Travel as performed art’, *American Journal of Sociology*, 94:6 (1989), 1371–2.

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of the simple immediacy of experience.<sup>8</sup> The literary formats of the day shaped the range of responses it was possible to express and did much to determine what was visited and described.<sup>9</sup> Thus, travellers were not free agents either in what they chose to see or how they described it. Although this is a drawback in terms of recovering the specificity of a given individual's experience, it can also be seen as a strength when we are seeking to understand the broader cultural meaning of particular places for eighteenth-century society and in explaining how these meanings changed – or failed to change – over the course of the century.

This book covers what may loosely be called the 'long eighteenth century', a period extending from roughly 1690 to around 1820. In the earlier part of this period, the dominant mode of writing about Italy, which characterised many of the published accounts as well as more personal, unpublished diaries and correspondence, was the trope of 'classical nostalgia', epitomised by publications such as Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705). It reflected the civic humanist education and the dominance of the classical ideal amongst the social elite who comprised the majority of travellers.<sup>10</sup> Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, and other works contemporary to it, were primarily textual in orientation: his travels were effectively undertaken and described as illustrations to classical quotations. Addison's was the most literary of tours, but the fascination with antiquity which *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* represented helped to shape almost every tour, published and unpublished, that was made in the first half of the eighteenth century. But even when the literary and historical references were more sparsely provided, the classical frame of reference still determined the agenda of sightseeing throughout Italy, so that even at Genoa, a city with no ostensible remains of antiquity to boast of, one of the established fixtures on the tourist

<sup>8</sup> Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley, 1978), 4.

<sup>9</sup> On the development and diversification of travel writing in this period see *ibid.*; Judith Adler, 'Origins of sightseeing', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16:1 (1989), 7–29; Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*; Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke, 2000), 40–65; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (2nd edn, 2008); Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe 1750–1800. Authorship, Gender and National Identity* (Aldershot, 2001); J. Vивиès, *English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Exploring Genres* (Aldershot, 2002); and on developments in the early nineteenth century, see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1997).

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itinerary was the rostrum from the Roman galley that had been placed over the entrance of the old Arsenale.<sup>11</sup>

Many of these accounts seem today dry, descriptive catalogues of objects or perfunctory lists of buildings. The conventions of topographical and antiquarian writing of the time, however, which shaped both published and unpublished accounts, demanded that writers should eschew the personal response or the individual opinion in order to guarantee the objectivity of descriptions: readers expected to find a disinterested approach and a highly factual content, typically presented in the format of enumerated lists and catalogues of building, works of art and antiquities.<sup>12</sup> This mode of writing was characteristic not just of descriptions of Italy, but of topographical literature much more generally: place and locality were defined by antiquities whether in the cities of Italy or the remoter corners of Great Britain.<sup>13</sup> Yet, for all that they shared a common ‘classical nostalgia’, the published tours of the first half of the century still offered a considerable variety in approach, coverage and emphasis, which, as we shall see, allowed for some variation in how particular cities were described. George Lewis Langton, travelling in 1737, weighed up the relative merits of the texts that he consulted in preparation for his trip to Italy: Edward Wright’s *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy* (1730) offered ‘great Exactness’ but a ‘very high degree of coarseness in his reflections and baseness in his style’. Nevertheless, his ‘quaint conceits’ and ‘impertinent stories’ were, apparently, to be preferred to the account of Maximilien Misson, first translated into English in 1695 as *A New Voyage to Italy*. Richard Lassels’ *Voyage of Italy* (1670) was ‘dull’, and in the eyes of a Protestant such as Langton, full of Catholic ‘superstition’. The Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, offered a more satisfactorily Protestant perspective, but Langton found him ‘affected’, and unreliable as an authority. John Breval, author of the two-volume *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe* (1726) was, by implication, more reliable but overly long, requiring ‘an uncommon Share of Patience and Leisure’ on the part of the traveller. Addison’s *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* – mercifully shorter – were ‘made & expressed with a Delicacy that makes you lament his being so superficial & incorrect’.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Edward Wright, *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, &c in the Years 1720–21 and 1722*, 2 vols. (1730), I, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction*, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2004), 314–16.

<sup>14</sup> R. J. Colyer, ‘A Breconshire gentleman in Europe, 1737–8’, *National Library of Wales Journal*, 21 (1979–80), 285.

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The heyday of the aristocratic Grand Tour, however, is said to have passed by 1760, and in the last third of the eighteenth century this model of classical nostalgia and objective observation began to fragment as the social constituency of travellers to Italy broadened and the genres of travel writing multiplied.<sup>15</sup> Yet, even at mid-century, not all travel was being funded by the agricultural rentals of the great estate. Thomas Nugent's volume of travels, which was first published in 1744, offered tips on how to save money and to travel economically. Although Nugent (or his publisher) entitled his book, *The Grand Tour, or, a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France*, his target readership was self-evidently not exclusively the nobility and gentry. Amongst those whom he predicted would find his volume useful, he included 'all such as who travel for business'.<sup>16</sup> Nugent was attempting to catch some of the reflected lustre associated with aristocratic travel, perhaps, when he selected his title, but the choice of words is also indicative of how commonplace it had become to describe any kind of extended continental journey as a 'Grand Tour'. By 1760, young men from the landed elite were still being sent to Italy for the final polish to their education, although more and more writers were questioning the value of such a practice.<sup>17</sup> Increasingly, however, they were being joined by older men, professional writers, wealthier members of the middle classes, wives and family groups.<sup>18</sup> Merchants might send their sons abroad to mix business with education and pleasure; a bookseller could combine a business trip to purchase a library with a continental tour.<sup>19</sup> Artists and architects

<sup>15</sup> Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, 15. It is important to recognise that this dimension to travel in Italy did not disappear: 'classical nostalgia' continued to shape travel accounts into the nineteenth century, see, for example, Richard Colt Hoare, *A Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily* (1819) and John Chetwode Eustace, *A Tour through Italy*, 2 vols. (1813), republished as *A Classical Tour through Italy*, 2 vols. (1814; revised edn, 4 vols., 1817).

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour, or, a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France*, 4 vols. (2nd edn, 1756), I, v.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Richard Hurd, *Dialogues on the Use of Foreign Travel Considered as Part of an English Gentleman's Education* (1764); Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education: or, a Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning*, 2 vols. (9th edn, 1788), II, 296–309; Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (1996), 54–63.

<sup>18</sup> John Towner, 'The Grand Tour: a key phase in the history of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12 (1985), 308–12, provides a preliminary quantitative analysis of the social background of travellers to Italy; Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers* emphasises the role of the middle classes, and women, in the composition of travel narratives in the later eighteenth century; Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (2001), also focuses on female travellers.

<sup>19</sup> See the diaries of the Norfolk textile merchants John Patteson and Robert Harvey: D. Cubitt, A. L. Mackley and R. G. Wilson (eds.), *The Great Tour of John Patteson, 1778–1779*, Norfolk Record Society, 67 (2003), and Harvey journal NRO MS 20677; or the



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travelled to Italy in increasing numbers and whilst these travellers were clearly of a different social status to the ‘tourists’ proper, they often mixed with them socially, and frequently supplemented their earnings by acting as drawing masters and guides to their fellow Britons: social boundaries could prove less impermeable and more flexible within the artificial environment of a British community abroad.<sup>20</sup> The changing profile of travellers had become even more marked by the turn of the century. By this time, travel guides were routinely being published which deliberately promoted Italy as somewhere cheap to live – a place where one could follow the way to be ‘rich and respectable’ at minimal outlay.<sup>21</sup> Thus Henry Coxe’s *Picture of Italy* (1815) was prefaced with over fifty pages of advice, most of which consisted of instructions on how to live economically but genteely without giving the appearance of scrimping. Coxe made his recommendations on the assumption that readers would be travelling without servants and he offered tips on a wide range of matters from the best way of dealing with bedbugs to the appropriate etiquette for dining at the table d’hôte at inns.<sup>22</sup>

These later travellers had different agendas; they did not necessarily subscribe to the nostalgia for classical antiquity and were prepared to challenge some of the assumptions on which the traditional itinerary of the ‘Grand Tour’ had been based. Travellers from commercial and professional backgrounds, for example, might ask rather different questions and note different features in the urban landscape.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, a buoyant domestic market for travel literature encouraged the diversification of style, content and approach. The popularity of conjectural history, which emphasised the value of the study of ‘manners and customs’ as reflections of the legal, moral and economic state of a society, lent new value to such observations. The description of ‘manners and

journal of London bookseller, James Robson, BL Add. MS 38837. For an earlier example of a merchant making the tour of Italy, see Richard Chiswell’s journal of 1696, Bodl. MS Don. c. 181.

<sup>20</sup> Some of the most vivid observations on Italian cities come from artists or their relatives. See for example, Paul Oppé (ed.), *Memoirs of Thomas Jones of Penkerrig, Radnorshire, 1803*, Walpole Society, 32 (1946–8); Susan Pearce and Frank Salmon (eds.), *Charles Heathcote Tatham in Italy*, Walpole Society, 65 (2005); John Ingamells (ed.), *John Ramsay’s Italian Diary 1782–4*, Walpole Society, 65 (2003) (John Ramsay was the son of the artist and antiquary, Allan Ramsay); diary of Ann Flaxman, Flaxman journal BL Add. MS 39787 and BL Add. MS 39780 correspondence of both Ann and John Flaxman from Italy.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Martyn, *A Gentleman’s Guide in his Tour through Italy* (1787), xx–xiii.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Coxe, *Picture of Italy; Being a Guide to the Antiquities and Curiosities of that Classical and Interesting Country* (1815), i–l.

<sup>23</sup> Margaret Hunt, ‘Imperialism and the traveler’s gaze in eighteenth-century England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 32:4 (1993), 346–53.



customs' offered fresh topics for discussion and opportunities for using the medium of travel writing in a more reflective way to debate issues of morality and national difference as well as to explore individual subjectivities. 'I never trouble you with descriptions of churches and palaces', wrote the surgeon Samuel Sharp, 'but, rather, with the customs and manners of the people I visit.'<sup>24</sup> True to his promise, his description of cities such as Florence and Venice barely even mentioned the usual highlights of the tourist itinerary, concentrating instead on discussions of the problem of beggars, the conventions of the *conversazione* and the perennially fascinating subject (for Englishmen at least) of the morality of Italian women and the married ladies' custom of taking a supposedly platonic lover, the *cicisbeo*. Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) inspired an emulative stream of sentimental narratives, in which the traveller's emotional responses and personal reflections took precedence over the collation of factual information, changed the tenor and content of topographical literature. Moods and feelings, personal encounters and anecdotal stories took the place of the comprehensive catalogues of sites to be seen and objects to be admired. John Owen, whose travels were published in 1796, went to great lengths to explain what he was *not* going to write about: he was not a connoisseur, not a naturalist, not an expert in painting, physics, mountains or wildlife. Rather, his interest was in human nature 'in all her varieties'.<sup>25</sup> The emergence of the picturesque equally had a decisive impact on the way that travel 'got done and written about' both in Britain and in Europe.<sup>26</sup> Female travellers, whose published works began to appear in increasing numbers from the 1770s, confirmed this trend away from the more rigidly classical and antiquarian mode of observation, which their gender disqualified them from adopting.<sup>27</sup> More broadly, however, travel writing of the early nineteenth century is distinguished by the impact of romanticism, with its heightened sensitivities and exquisite emotions, which influenced male and female travellers alike. Travellers were taught to feel and articulate an emotional response to Italy through reading *Childe Harold* or *Corinne* that displaced the didactic intent of earlier narratives. A divergence

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Sharp, *Letters from Italy, Describing the Customs and Manners of that Country in the Years 1765 and 1766* (1766), 243.

<sup>25</sup> John Owen, *Travels into Different Parts of Europe, in the Years 1791 and 1792: With Familiar Remarks on Places, Men and Manners*, 2 vols. (1796), I, 2.

<sup>26</sup> James Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002), 38.

<sup>27</sup> Turner, *British Travel Writers*, ch. 4, discusses some of the dominant features of women's travel writing in this period. The contrasts between the accounts of male and female travellers are considered in more detail in Chapter 1.

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emerged between the informative, objective and edifying literature of travel writing and the more literary narratives of personal observation and reflection, based upon ‘first impressions’ and subjective responses.<sup>28</sup> This book, however, does not purport to be a study of the travel writing per se, but developments in the genre are important in so far as they changed the way in which cities were described and represented, and how this in turn determined the experiences of subsequent travellers and the reproduction of a particular image or narrative of a city.

The foundations of the Grand Tour were laid long before the *milordi inglesi* began to descend on Rome in their hundreds.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it is generally seen as a quintessentially eighteenth-century experience. Accordingly, this study starts in the late seventeenth century, the period when numbers travelling to Italy began to rise appreciably, and ends in the 1820s when the numbers travelling and the diversification of itinerary saw continental travel evolve into a different kind of leisure phenomenon, albeit one which was still very clearly rooted in the traditions of eighteenth-century travel.

Many studies of the Grand Tour conclude in 1793 when the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars made continental travel problematic, if not impossible. But for all that fewer Britons were travelling in Italy between 1790 and 1815, this period and the years immediately following are crucial in arriving at an understanding of how the ‘classical’ vision of Italy in the eighteenth century evolved into *Italia romantica* of the early nineteenth century. Although war was an impediment to travel, the interruption was far from absolute for the entire duration. The British were present in large numbers for much of the 1790s and were quick to resume their pattern of continental travels in 1802 following the Peace of Amiens.<sup>30</sup> This window of opportunity was swiftly closed, however, with the resumption of hostilities a year later in 1803. Travellers such as Joseph Forsyth, who was seized by the French army in Turin as he made his way back from Italy in May 1803, were held for the duration of the hostilities in prisoner of war camps.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Imagination* (1998), 1–54; Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840* (Oxford, 2002); and Buzard, *The Beaten Track*.

<sup>29</sup> See notably Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*; John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1607–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London, 1952); and Cesare de Seta, *L'Italia del Grand Tour da Montaigne a Goethe* (3rd edn, Naples, 2001), 61–72.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Hudson Gurney's manuscript journal (SAL MS 677) and the published travels of John Chetwode Eustace, Lewis Engelbach, Joseph Forsyth and J. G. Lemaistre.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Forsyth composed the greater part of his *Remarks on Antiquities* whilst held in a prisoner of war camp by the French in the hope that it might assist in securing his release if brought to the attention of Napoleon. *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy, in the Years 1802 and 1803* (2nd edn, 1816), 4–8.