

## Nostalgia, Homesickness and Emotional Formation on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour

The first recorded medical diagnosis of nostalgia – an extreme form of homesickness – was published in 1688 by a Swiss medical student, Johannes Hofer. The sufferer was a young man from Berne who was studying in Basel. After “suffering from sadness for a considerable time” and unresponsive to medical interventions, he lay feverish, “weak and dying”. He only began to recover when he was told he might return home. Home acted as such a powerful remedy that “he was restored to his whole sane self” before he even completed his journey.<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of Hofer’s thesis, nostalgia and its emotional sibling, homesickness, has been discussed by contemporaries and scholars in the context of medical and Enlightenment discourses and in relation to the Swiss, migrants and lower social groups, including soldiers, servants and slaves.<sup>2</sup> Despite Hofer’s assertion that nostalgia most commonly affected “young people and adolescents sent to foreign regions”, little has been said about the most common category of young travellers in this period: the educational traveller.<sup>3</sup> This article begins to rectify this oversight by examining one

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Hofer, Carolyn Kiser Anspach (trans.), ‘Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia by Johannes Hofer, 1688’, *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2 (1934), 382-83.

<sup>2</sup> For nostalgia amongst eighteenth-century, French Revolutionary and American Civil War soldiers, see: Philip Shaw, ‘Longing for Home: Robert Hamilton, Nostalgia and the Emotional Life of the Eighteenth-Century Soldier’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39:1 (2014), 25-40; G. S. Rousseau, ‘War and Peace: Some Representations of Nostalgia and Adventure in the Eighteenth Century’, in Paul-Gabriel Boucé (ed.), *Guerres et Paix: La Grande-Bretagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1998), 121–40; Donald Lee Anderson and Godfrey Tryggve Anderson, ‘Nostalgia and Malingering in the Military during the Civil War’, *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 28 (1984), 156-66; David Anderson, ‘Dying of Nostalgia: Homesickness in the Union Army during the Civil War’, *Civil War History* 56:3 (2010), 247-82; Frances Clarke, ‘So Lonesome I Could Die: Nostalgia and Debates Over Emotional Control in the Civil War North’, *Journal of Social History* 41:2 (2007), 253-82. For forced displacement via migration and slavery, see Susan Matt, ‘“You Can’t Go Home Again”: Homesickness and Nostalgia in US History’, *The Journal of American History* 94:2 (2007), 469-97; Christobal Silva, ‘Nostalgia and the Good Life’, *The Eighteenth Century* 55:1 (2014), 123-28; Ramesh Mallipeddi, ‘“A Fixed Melancholy”: Migration, Memory, and the Middle Passage’, *The Eighteenth Century* 55:2-3 (2014), 235-53.

<sup>3</sup> Hofer, ‘Nostalgia’, 383.

example of the educational traveller, the eighteenth-century Grand Tourist. In doing so, it uses this case study of emotions to undertake a much wider revision of the Grand Tour and eighteenth-century elite masculinity.

The Grand Tour was a period of travel around Europe undertaken by young aristocratic and gentry men after school and/or university and prior to entering adult society.<sup>4</sup> Lasting an average of three years, it was a major educational and cultural experience shared by generations of men that constituted Britain's ruling class.<sup>5</sup> Often defined as a finishing school and important rite of passage into adulthood, it was intended to form participants in their adult masculine identity through developing the skills and masculine virtues most highly prized by the elite.<sup>6</sup> This was achieved through providing a formal education, via tutors, academies and universities, and an experiential education, via encountering European society and the varied experiences of travel. Scholars unanimously agree that the Grand Tour's aim was to form the complete elite man but what this entailed and how it was achieved remains under-investigated. Survey studies often list an ambitious array of destinations and activities but in practice a far more limited investigation has taken place. Scholars have focused on Italy and its itinerary of arts, antiquities and architecture and, more recently, on France's role in the formation of a polite masculine identity. As a result, the Tour is overwhelmingly understood as advocating a narrow interpretation of elite masculinity based on polite, cosmopolitan and virtuoso characteristics.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The term 'Grand Tour' can be used as a general term for all British travel cultures (see Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour. Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600-1830* (Manchester: MUP, 1999), 11-13 for an avocation of this usage.). I am using a more selective definition that recognises that eighteenth-century travel incorporated multiple cultures of travel.

<sup>5</sup> Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 130.

<sup>6</sup> For the Grand Tour's importance to elite power, and as an initiation, see Cohen, *Masculinity*, 54-63, 130; Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: YUP, 1996), 7-9, 14-15; Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti. Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven: YUP, 2009), 12-14; Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour. The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 23-25.

<sup>7</sup> For some literature on the Tour's Italian and aesthetic education, see Joseph Burke, 'The Grand Tour and the Rule of Taste', in R. F. Brissenden (ed.), *Studies in the Eighteenth Century* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968), 234; Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding. Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810*

This mirrors a more general historiographical trend in the history of masculinity. Scholars have drawn on R. W. Connell's model of "hegemonic" masculinities to interpret the dominant mode of eighteenth-century masculine culture principally in terms of "politeness", which was in turn succeeded by "sensibility".<sup>8</sup> However, within the last decade, a wider variety of eighteenth-century masculine cultures, identities and behaviours has been acknowledged, including those of a decidedly impolite, libertine and violent nature.<sup>9</sup> The unabated contemporary celebration and idealisation of these behaviours suggests that the qualities of the ideal man comprised the exercise of a much broader array of social, political, intellectual, physical and emotional abilities and traits. In response to these findings, scholars have begun to explore alternative models to Connell's theory. Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard have argued for the coexistence of several dominant masculine codes and for a model that allows men to move with a greater degree of fluidity between these different codes, while Jason Kelly and Vic Gatrell have identified a "private realm within the public world" and suggested that men's identities shifted in response to their social

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(New Haven: YUP, 2005), 48; Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (eds), *The Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996). For the importance of Paris and France as a centre of polite cosmopolitanism, see Cohen, *Masculinity*, 55-6; eadem, 'The Grand Tour: Constructing the English Gentleman in Eighteenth-century France', *History of Education*, 21:3 (1992), 241-57; eadem, "'Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830', *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), 312-29.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001); Cohen, *Masculinity*; G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> See for example, Kelly, 'Riots, Revelries, and Rumour: Libertinism and Masculine Association in Enlightenment London', *Journal of British Studies*, 45:4 (October 2006), 774-75; Helen Berry, 'Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King's Coffee House and the Significance of 'Flash Talk'', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001), 65-81; Karen Harvey, 'Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present* 214 (2012), 165-203; Karen Downing, 'The Gentleman Boxer: Boxing, Manners, and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England', *Men and Masculinities*, 12:3 (April 2012), 328-52; Robert Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honor and Ritual Violence in London, 1600-1800', *The Historical Journal* 45:3 (2002): 525-45; Catriona Kennedy, 'John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British Army Officer during the Napoleonic Wars', in Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele and Jane Rendall (eds), *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 131-32.

settings.<sup>10</sup> These suggestions allow for a far more fluid understanding of eighteenth-century masculinity, but further consideration needs to be given to *how* men, their families and formative, educational institutions navigated the multiple demands made upon their masculinity, particularly as these traits and abilities often seemed to be in tension with one another. For example, the ideal elite eighteenth-century man was expected to be cosmopolitan *and* patriotic, stoically self-controlled *and* an emotional man of feeling, politely civilised *and* able to violently defend his honour and country. Evidence suggests that men were expected to achieve the correct balance between these seemingly contradictory traits, which then coalesced to form the ideal whole.

As the Grand Tour was one of the period's most influential institutions of elite masculine formation, a reappraisal is necessary in light of these revisions.<sup>11</sup> This article utilises approaches from the history of emotions to reconsider the experience and education of young elite gentlemen in terms of their emotional formation. It suggests that the theories and approaches used in history of emotions offer a potentially valuable insight into the questions that perplex the history of masculinity. While the wider emotional culture of eighteenth-century masculinity has received

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<sup>10</sup> See for example, Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (2005), 274-80; Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660-1900* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 11-15, 37, 78, 254; John Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and Tosh (eds), *Masculinity in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: MUP, 2004), 52; Carter, 'James Boswell's Manliness', in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 1999), 111-30. For alternative models, see Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700', *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005), 291; Kelly, *Dilettanti*, 252; Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter. Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), 178.

<sup>11</sup> The Grand Tour is slowly being revised through other approaches. See Richard Ansell, 'Educational Travel in Protestant Families from Post-Restoration Ireland', *The Historical Journal* 58:4 (2015), 931-58; Sarah Goldsmith, 'Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40:1 (2017), 3-21; Matthew McCormack, 'Dance and Drill: Polite Accomplishments and Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain', *Cultural and Social History* 8:3 (2011), 315-30; Paola Bianchi, 'La Caccia Nell'educazione del Gentiluomo. Il Caso Sabauda (sec. XVI-XVIII)', in Bianchi and Pietro Passerin d'Entrèves (eds), *La Caccia Nello Stato Sabauda I. Caccia e Cultura (secc. XVI-XVIII)* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2010), 19-37.

some consideration, most notably in relation to the impact of the mid-century cult of sensibility, little has been said about the Tour's emotional curriculum.<sup>12</sup> This article identifies how emotion played an important role in the Grand Tour's educational strategies and aims. It exposes some of the processes through which elite young men and their families navigated the conflicting demands in the development, experience and expression of eighteenth-century elite masculinity on the Grand Tour as related to the experience and expression of emotion.

Examining young, elite male Grand Tourists as represented in the rich archives of their correspondence, this article focuses on two emotional states strongly associated with travel and displacement: the emotion of longing for home (hereafter referred to as longing or homesickness) and the related medical condition of nostalgia. A prime example of the historical specificity of emotions, eighteenth-century nostalgia referred to an emotional and medical condition caused by geographical displacement, rather than a temporal longing for the past.<sup>13</sup> Homesickness and nostalgia have been investigated as emotional, medical, philosophical, literary and cultural phenomena that have, from the earliest stages of their categorisation, been associated with provincial, uneducated and unenlightened thinking. Studies such as Susan Matt's investigation into the changing status of homesickness in American history have shown that, while recognised as very powerful, disruptive emotions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these emotions often fitted awkwardly with a national mythology of pioneering independence.<sup>14</sup> Less attention has been given to how homesickness and nostalgia featured in elite experience, culture and travel. Yet, as this article demonstrates, these emotions were a common element in Grand Tour

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<sup>12</sup> See for example, Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of Northern Carolina Press, 2008); Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England, 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford: OUP, 2012); Thomas Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: OUP, 2015); Carter, *Men*, Chapter 3.

<sup>13</sup> See Jean Starobinski, 'The Idea of Nostalgia', *Diogenes* 54 (1966), 81-103; Silva, 'Nostalgia', 123-28; Kimberly Smith, 'Mere Nostalgia: Notes on a Progressive Paratheory', *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 3 (2000), 505-27; Anderson, 'Dying', 247-82; Judith Broome, *Fictive Domains: Body, Landscape, and Nostalgia, 1717-1770* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007); Helmut Illbruck, *Nostalgia: Origins and Ends of an Unenlightened Disease* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Matt, *Homesickness: An American History* (Oxford: OUP, 2011).

correspondence. Both emotional states were deeply embodied, triggered through the practice of removing one's self from home. Their presence was therefore a natural but problematic part of the Tour that offers a useful lens through which to view the complex, potentially conflicting expectations placed upon elite men. Applying approaches from the history of emotions to the related histories of the Grand Tour, masculinity and the family, this article examines how Tourists, tutors and their families and friends discussed and navigated their experiences of nostalgia and homesickness as emotions that sat uneasily with the Grand Tour's wider aims of elite masculine formation. On the one hand, such emotions offered the opportunity to express patriotic notions of British superiority as well as manly feeling and sentiment, but on the other, they carried associations of insanity and immoderate expression, character traits which were at odds with ideals of elite masculine conduct, such as cosmopolitanism and self-control.

Section One unpacks the article's methodology and source base. It explores the different history of emotions theories in play through the article and outlines how the Grand Tour can be explored as an emotional regime, emotional practice and in light of emotional communities. Section Two explores Grand Tourists' longing for home in light of the most immediately obvious cultural contexts of the cult of sensibility and the discourses of patriotism before turning to consider the less discussed context of the medical discourse of nostalgia. It highlights a surprising resistance to fully engaging with this context for homesickness within the writings and experiences of the Grand Tour. Section Three undertakes an explanation for this refusal by examining the tension between nostalgia as an unenlightened disease with connotations of madness and the Grand Tour's commitment to Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism and self-control. It delves deeper into selected case studies to identify how, despite this, the often-unnamed experiences of emotional suffering closely correlated with nostalgia. Section Four returns to the history of emotions theories to consider how Tourists, families and friends negotiated the tensions surrounding nostalgia, emotion and the Tour's aims; it evaluates whether such dilemmas can simply be understood in terms of repression and regimes, and considers the crucial importance of individual family dynamics.

This article has several aims. It presents a fuller understanding of the relationship between the Grand Tour, nostalgia and homesickness and contributes to the on-going revision of the Grand Tour and eighteenth-century masculinity through a case study of emotion. Through this, it demonstrates that emotions comprised an important part of elite masculine identity and the pedagogical methods associated with the Grand Tour. Finally, in demonstrating how history of emotion theories help unpick the complex relationship between emotions, family dynamics, cultural discourses, masculine ideals and elite education, this article proposes that the relatively new field of the history of emotions offers valuable and fresh insight into social and cultural history. At this point, it should be noted that my aim here is not to advance the theoretical field of emotions history through a new critique or alternative model. This has already been extensively and effectively debated within this subdiscipline.<sup>15</sup> Rather, my aim is to think about how these extensively critiqued theories can be best utilised to bring a new dimension to fields that have not normally been evaluated in this light.

### **Section One: History of Emotion Theory and the Grand Tour**

The history of emotions argues that emotions are central to historical narratives. It contends that emotional states and styles developed interactively with the society and culture surrounding them, and that exploring their shifting meanings reveals much about the social attitudes and mentality of historical subjects.<sup>16</sup> It offers theoretical approaches that address the social norms that constructed and governed emotions and their expressions, the individual experience of emotion, and the gaps in-between.<sup>17</sup> As

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<sup>15</sup> For an excellent account of, and contribution to, these extensive theoretical critiques undertaken, see Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford: OUP, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002), 821.

<sup>17</sup> See Ute Frevert et al, *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling, 1700-2000* (Oxford: OUP, 2014); Plamper, *History of Emotions*; Rosenwein, 'Worrying', 821-45; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001); David Lemmings and Ann Brooks, 'The Emotional Turn in the Humanities and Social Sciences', in David Lemmings and Ann Brooks (eds), *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 4.

topics where the prescribed norms are better understood than the lived experience, the Grand Tour and eighteenth-century masculinity can gain much from this approach. The Tour was an emotionally rich experience. As witnessed in letters and diaries, Grand Tourists acknowledged, explored, silenced and carefully constructed a whole range of emotions within the social, cultural and medical context of affection, feeling, sensibility and passion. The potential disparity between the Grand Tour's intended emotional outcomes, the lived reality, and how Tourists represented these emotions is readily apparent. Seeking to understand these disparities in relation to nostalgia, this article utilises several history of emotion theories.

In particular, this article draws on William Reddy's influential concept of emotional regimes. Reddy views emotions in terms of control/resistance and valid/invalid forms of emotional expression and experience. He argues that regimes of power create corresponding normative orders for emotions. While strict emotional regimes require individuals to express normative emotions and avoid deviant ones, more relaxed regimes offer a degree of emotional navigation and freedom.<sup>18</sup> As an institution devoted to training young men in elite masculine norms with public and private discourses that often constructed, prescribed or punished certain emotional reactions, the Tour was part of the apparatus that upheld the emotional regime of eighteenth-century British elite masculinity. Reddy's theory is purposefully designed to identify the simultaneity of two emotional objectives and the potential for conflict between them in a manner that moves historians beyond presuming that one emotional objective must be more meaningful and deeply felt than another.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore well placed for helping historians of masculinity and the Grand Tour explore rather than neutralise the tensions experienced by eighteenth-century men.

However, there are limitations to Reddy's theory. It seeks to assess the degree of emotional control and/or freedom in any historical period and, in exploring the dynamics of control/resistance in relation to political authority, makes a close connection between an emotional and political regime. These elements become difficult to apply meaningfully to eighteenth-century Britain as Reddy appears to

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<sup>18</sup> Reddy, *Navigation*, 125.

<sup>19</sup> Plamper, *History of Emotions*, 259.



advocate an epitome of emotional liberty closely connected to his own contemporary political ideal, a liberal democracy with a market economy and solid protection of minority rights. He also associates a typically political regime with a modern nation state.<sup>20</sup> While the Grand Tour was closely connected to elite exercise and maintenance of political power, the modern nation state did not exist in the eighteenth century. Grand Tourists and their families can be identified as Britain's ruling elite, with an element of political and cultural cohesiveness, but they cannot be easily classed as the embodiment of a political regime of centralised authority. They held agendas and ambitions that did not simply manifest in relation to the state, but instead related to advancing family and political parties. Furthermore, to assess the emotional experiences, values and freedom of eighteenth-century aristocratic men against a benchmark of modern liberal democracy risks judging and fundamentally misunderstanding eighteenth-century mentalities.

In linking emotional regimes to a political regime that was the equivalent of a nation state, Reddy's theory also risks suggesting that there was only one centralised source of emotional legitimacy. Alternatively, Barbara Rosenwein proposes that historical actors belonged to several "emotional communities" which could prescribe different forms of emotional expression and legitimacy.<sup>21</sup> This is certainly the case for the Grand Tour. Scholars have frequently focused on the Grand Tour's public discourses as expressed in travel guides, pedagogical texts and periodicals, yet Tourists often planned, experienced, and discussed their Tours almost entirely within the context of family, friends and elite circles. This essentially is in the space that Kelly and Gatrell identify as the "private realm within the public world". Within this realm, family held a powerful influence which other historians of emotions have recognised and sought to account for. Building on the work of sociologist Sara Ahmed, who contends that emotions are social and cultural practices framed primarily in the relationship between bodies, objects and subjects, historian Susan Broomhall argues that emotions are communal behaviours that shape self-identity and understanding in relation to others and that the family constitutes a crucial setting of communal behaviour in

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<sup>20</sup> Plamper, *History of Emotions*, 262-63.

<sup>21</sup> Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context* 1:1 (2010), 11-12.

which emotions are performed.<sup>22</sup> However, as the article's final section explores, the "emotional communities" of an individual's friends and travelling party also had a significant impact on shaping emotional cultures in allowing for more vulnerable experiences and expressions.

Finally, Reddy's model elevates words over other forms of emotional behaviour. Responding to this shortcoming, Monique Scheer developed the concepts of emotional practices. Emotional practices are "manipulations of body and mind to evoke emotions where there are none, to focus diffuse arousals and give them an intelligible shape, or to change or remove emotions already there."<sup>23</sup> Arguing that emotions are always embodied, Scheer identifies four kinds of emotional practice: mobilising, naming, communicating and regulating.<sup>24</sup> Both Scheer and Reddy's models can be used to shed light on the pedagogical methods and strategies used by the Tour to form its participants. For example, Henry French and Mark Rothery have described the Tour as the "forced exile from the parental home".<sup>25</sup> By separating young men from their home country and putting them through a wide variety of testing scenarios, the Tour intended to not only develop skills and knowledge but to also stimulate and refine certain virtues and emotions. It was therefore a mobilising emotional practice: the process of documenting, circulating and reflecting on one's Tour experiences through correspondence and journals subsequently named, communicated and regulated this emotional practice. Equally, Reddy's model suggests how certain lessons in emotions might be undertaken through praising or punishing certain responses. As this article will suggest, emotions and emotional formation was central to the Grand Tour's pedagogical practice.

This article undertakes a close analysis of unpublished correspondence from nine Grand Tour journeys that dated between 1729 and 1780 but predominately took place during the 1740s-1770s. These parties were typically formed of one or two young

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<sup>22</sup> Susan Broomhall, 'Introduction', in Broomhall (ed.), *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850* (London: Routledge, 2015), 1-2, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have history)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51:2 (2012), 209.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 193-4, 209, 212, 217.

<sup>25</sup> French and Rothery, *Estate*, 44.

men, a tutor (who was part-friend, part-*in loco parentis*) and servants,<sup>26</sup> but they could also include younger siblings,<sup>27</sup> older male companions,<sup>28</sup> travel with larger family groups<sup>29</sup> or with other Tour parties.<sup>30</sup> The correspondence analysed here is mostly between the Tourists and senior family members, such as fathers, mothers, aunts and uncles,<sup>31</sup> however correspondence with siblings<sup>32</sup> and friends<sup>33</sup> have also been used. It is important to note that each Tour party was more widely documented beyond this correspondence. Tutors and family abroad maintained regular correspondence with their charge's parents and guardians, as well as with their own families.<sup>34</sup> Some Tourists and tutors also kept journals of their travels. Within the context of the Grand Tour, journals rarely operated as private receptacles of thought, but instead were used as either a commonplace diary or an *aide de memoire* for later retellings. Such diaries were explicitly labelled for wider readership and often closely echoed the content of letters.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lincoln with tutor, Joseph Spence (1739-41); John Murray, later 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Atholl, tutor unidentified (1751-53); George Bussy Villier, later 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Jersey and George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham and later 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Harcourt with tutor, William Whitehead (1754-56); George Augustus Herbert, later 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke with tutors, Rev. William Coxe and Captain John Floyd (1775-80); Philip Yorke, later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Hardwicke with tutor, Colonel Wettstein (1777-79)

<sup>27</sup> George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Dartmouth travelled with younger brothers, William and Charles, and their tutor, David Stevenson (1775-79).

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Fox, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Ilchester travelled with the older John Hervey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Hervey (1728-29).

<sup>29</sup> William Fitzgerald, Marquis of Kildare, later 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Leinster travelled with his tutor Mr Bolle, and, at times, with his aunt and uncle, Lord and Lady Holland, their sons Charles James and Stephen Fox, and Stephen's wife, Mary (1766-68).

<sup>30</sup> For example, a group of English, Scottish and German Grand Tourists, including Robert Price, and their tutors who formed the Common Room club in Geneva (abroad between c.1737-44).

<sup>31</sup> Including Kildare's correspondence with his mother, Herbert, Lewisham and Nuneham's correspondence with their mothers and fathers, and Lincoln, Murray and Yorke's correspondence with their uncles.

<sup>32</sup> For example, Nuneham's correspondence with his younger sister; Fox and Hervey's correspondence with Fox's younger brother.

<sup>33</sup> For example, the Common Room's correspondence between themselves.

<sup>34</sup> I have used Spence's letters to his mother, but all the tutors wrote regularly to parents and guardians. Kildare's aunt also wrote to his mother, her sister.

<sup>35</sup> This is the case for Spence, Jersey, Herbert and Yorke's Tour journals. James Boswell's 1763-66 Tour diary is an obvious exception to this rule but is not used here.

Grand Tourists and tutors often wrote to multiple correspondents, leading to the question of whether recipients such as mothers, sisters or non-authority figures might encourage a greater degree of emotional openness. Yet while letters to female correspondents could be emotionally vulnerable, equally vulnerable letters were also sent to male recipients. As will be discussed, much relied on specific family dynamics. Furthermore, eighteenth-century correspondence was frequently shared unless privacy was specifically requested.<sup>36</sup> Tourists did sometimes request privacy, but I have not yet found a request relating to an emotional matter. Instead, collective salutations and affectionate messages of longing to other family members strongly indicate that Tourists expected that the emotional content of their letters would be shared, whether addressed to their mothers or not.

Discussions of these case studies will be placed within the period's wider cultural and medical context. Firstly, it must be noted that the majority of Tours considered here coincided with the cult of sensibility. Disseminated through literature, drama and images, the cult of sensibility encouraged the expression and physical display of deeply-felt emotion. Those who demonstrated a deep capacity for feeling also demonstrated a capacity for nobleness. This arguably validated a new brand of masculinity as increased importance was placed on gentlemen's displays of emotional sensibility. The sentimental man of feeling was increasingly viewed as a family figure who expressed his true refinement with intimate, trusted loved ones and friends, and through weeping, sighing and trembling.<sup>37</sup> While the man of feeling had his contemporary critics who viewed the cult of sensibility as affected and insincere, sensibility nevertheless forms a natural starting point for discussing longing and the Grand Tour. However, this article discusses other influential contexts and discourses. It draws on a range of medical treatises discussing nostalgia from English, Scottish, French and Swiss authorities dating from 1621-1787, and on the wider cultural discussions of nostalgia found in eighteenth-century publications concerning music, geography and travel. It also utilises sources relating to the public, published face of the Grand Tour. This took three interlinked forms: pedagogical texts that discussed

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<sup>36</sup> See for example, Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 22.

<sup>37</sup> Carter, *Men*, 89-90, 93-96-100.

the Grand Tour's purpose, content and curriculums, the often vehement published debate on the respective merits and shortcomings of the Grand Tour as the best means of educating young men, and the developing genre of travel literature in which men and women from a range of backgrounds published narratives of their travel experiences. These were forums in which the Grand Tour was publically discussed, yet Grand Tourists and their families were only partially influenced by such discussions. Instead, they frequently drew upon a more self-referential discussion and culture that took place within the unpublished world of elite familial and social circles.<sup>38</sup>

## **Section Two: Longing for Home: Patriotism, Manly Feeling or Medical Affliction?**

A common outcome of separating an individual from their family, home and country is the emotion of homesickness. Benno Gammerl warns about the need to “differentiate historically specific concepts of emotion within this tension between proximity and distance”, but studies of the early modern and eighteenth-century family and education consistently highlight that geographical distance had emotional ramifications, including a strong sense of separation from family.<sup>39</sup> This was certainly the case for George Legge, Viscount Lewisham and later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Dartmouth. Lewisham was 20 years old, abroad for the first time on a Grand Tour that lasted from 1775 to 1778. His letters recorded a vivid enjoyment of many elements of his travels, which he tried to extend at least twice, but this enjoyment was accompanied by a reoccurring longing for home that hinted at a very different experience of travel.<sup>40</sup> Homesickness was implicit in his idealised imaginings of home, constant desire for

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<sup>38</sup> See for example, French and Rothery, *Estate*, 16, 18-19, 105-07.

<sup>39</sup> Benno Gammerl, ‘Felt Distances’, in Frevert et al, *Emotional Lexicons*, 2. See for example, French and Rothery, *Estate*, 74-5; Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester: MUP, 2011), 30-31; Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, ‘Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange among Siblings in the Nassau Family’, *Journal of Family History* 34:2 (2009), 143-65.

<sup>40</sup> Staffordshire Record Office (hereafter SRO), D(W)1778/V/874, 10/11/1776, George Legge, Viscount Lewisham, Vienna, to William Legge, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Dartmouth; 04/11/1776, Lewisham, Milan, to Dartmouth.

communication, and “passionate” distress at delayed letters. Writing to his father in December 1775 from Paris, he confessed more explicitly:

I am persuaded that the more one sees the greater will be the pleasure to return home, & to sit down quiet & undisturbed, happy to find oneself at anchor in ones native country, and additionally happy to think over what one had seen & done; nor do I imagine that I shall ever experience a single regret when I reflect that the scene is over.<sup>41</sup>

Similar themes can be identified in William Fitzgerald, Marquis of Kildare, later 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Leinster’s letters to his mother. Traveling between 1766 and 1768, Kildare frequently sent “A thousand kisses” to his younger sibling, expressly detailed how much he missed his mother, and repeatedly stated his “envy” at his family’s on-going residence at their estate, Carlton, particularly when “[I] could wish myself there with you all”.<sup>42</sup> Vivid expressions of longing for “ones native country”, home and family featured regularly in Tour correspondence. As importantly, the absence of such expressions (or the absences of letters in the first place) was strongly rebuked by parents. This action of rebuking suggests that the sense of separation from family, home and country was a desired, intended outcome of the Grand Tour that presented the opportunity to demonstrate one’s capacity for sensibility, patriotism and family loyalty.

Kildare and Lewisham’s Grand Tours can be read within the context of the cult of sensibility. Eighteenth-century elite men were expected to have a degree of emotional sensitivity, and young men’s tender expressions of longing, kisses and filial affection demonstrated their capacity for feeling within the appropriate context of intimate family. These expressions of longing should also be considered in the light of one of the Grand Tour’s most overt aims: to inspire an increased patriotic love of Britain. As

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<sup>41</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10/12/1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

<sup>42</sup> 16/12/1766, William Fitzgerald, Marquis of Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily Fitzgerald, Duchess of Leinster in Brian Fitzgerald (ed.), *Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster (1731-1814). Vol. 3, Letters of Lady Louisa Connolly and William, Marquis of Kildare (2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Leinster)* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1951), 443.

Linda Colley observes, Tourists travelled “out of a desire to assert and confirm the prejudices and positions that they themselves already held”.<sup>43</sup> This was partially achieved through producing a tempered critical comparison of the Continent that favoured Britain, but there was also an emotional element at play. In 1788, John Villiers reflected that travel should make a young man “more attached to his own country...I glow with pride and rapture, when I think I am an Englishman”.<sup>44</sup> This glow was created partly through comparison but also partly through separation from home. Following an “absence makes the heart grow fonder” rationale, the Tour was intended to stimulate a well-vocalised longing for home. Patriotism was not the same thing as missing family and home but it was acknowledged to be inspired by domestic affection for and a desire to defend home. Furthermore, the expectation placed on young men to express their longing and affection for families indicated that that Grand Tour was not just a means of cultivating loyalty to Britain. It was also used to test and refine loyalties to families too.

Feeding into the mechanics of family politics, expressions of homesick affection could be used to demonstrate loyalty and to secure preferential treatment as Broomhall demonstrates in her case study of James Murray, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Atholl and his nephew, John Murray. Between 1751 and 1753, Atholl paid for Murray’s Tour in order to groom him as a potential, but unconfirmed, heir. This was part of Atholl’s wider attempt to stabilise the family’s Hanoverian loyalties; an effort that was continually disrupted by the on-going Jacobite activities of other family members (including Murray’s own parents). Murray was in a highly delicate position and used his travel correspondence to “carefully subvert[ed] his feelings to the obedience he owed his uncle”.<sup>45</sup> In this context, his homesickness, in which he described his desire to borrow a flying machine so “I might have paid You a visit at Atholl, and breakfasted with You upon Venison Divils and Whisky and Hony”, demands to be

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<sup>43</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2002), 116.

<sup>44</sup> J. C. Villiers, *A Tour through Parts of France* (London, 1789), 33, quoted in Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 293-94, see also 221-23, 232.

<sup>45</sup> Broomhall, ‘Affections’, 69.

read as a calculated effort to maintain his favoured position.<sup>46</sup> Yet the highly complex nature of family dynamics make it difficult to predict this use of emotions. Henry Fiennes Pelham Clinton, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lincoln and Philip Yorke were also the adopted heirs of their respective uncles, the Duke of Newcastle and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Hardwicke. Neither used the trope of homesickness as Murray did. Lincoln was (fairly) upbraided by Newcastle as a neglectful, ungrateful correspondent.<sup>47</sup> Yorke was a notably punctual and affectionate letter writer, but made minimal use of the emotive language of home and hearth.<sup>48</sup> Equally, expressions of homesickness were not just reserved for families. In 1741, having left friends in Geneva, Robert Price wrote from London:

I read your letter over & over, & think my Self among you...While I read your letter you all pass before me like the Ghosts in Macbeth; only with this difference, that you never entirely banish.<sup>49</sup>

Indicating emotional vulnerability and loss in the repetition of “over & over” and his inability to banish his friends’ “Ghosts”, Price’s letter demonstrates that homesickness was not always identified exclusively with home and family, but could also be applied to close friendship and other sites of significance.

Placing homesickness and longing in the Grand Tour’s cultural context of sensibility, patriotism and family loyalty encourages us to cynically question whether or not these expressions of affection were physically and emotionally felt realities. Letters were shaped by convention, familial obligation and a desire to influence. Furthermore, correspondents have been shown to enter into appropriate affective performances

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<sup>46</sup> NRAS, 234/47/4/102, Göttingen, 20/11/1751, quoted in Broomhall, ‘Affections’, 66-67.

<sup>47</sup> For example, 13/10/1739, Henry Fiennes Pelham Clinton, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lincoln, Turin, to the Duke of Newcastle in Joseph Spence and Slava Klima (ed.), *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1975), 225.

<sup>48</sup> See British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS 35378 for Philip Yorke, later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Hardwicke’s 1777-79 Tour correspondence with his uncle.

<sup>49</sup> Norfolk Record Office, WKC 7/46/[8/9], 19/12/1741, Robert Price, London, to the Bloods.



from an early age.<sup>50</sup> Were these cries for home and hearth therefore simply an emotional artifice that gave expected responses designed to reassure families that their sons remained unmoved by the lure of the foreign and that they were developing appropriate sensibilities and loyalties? Broomhall contends that such readings are overly simplistic. In the case of Murray, she argues that his and Atholl's shared Tour correspondence also developed an important emotional rapport and relationship between the two men as Murray was confirmed as Atholl's heir.<sup>51</sup> As Katie Barclay observes, identifying how forms of expression were socially constructed is not to suggest that the feelings described in letters were not real.<sup>52</sup>

To fully investigate the physically and emotionally felt experiences of the Grand Tour, we need to shift away from the well-known discourses of patriotism and the cult of sensibility. Grand Tourists' emotions of longing and homesickness also closely correlated to the emotional and physical state of nostalgia. Taken from the Greek, *nostos* – return to native lands – and *algos* –suffering or grief, “nostalgia” was “the sad mood originating from the desire for the return to one's native land”.<sup>53</sup> It was further known as *la maldaïs de Swiss*, *das heimweh*, *la maladie du pays* or homesickness. As Lisa O'Sullivan observes, it was “a disease triggered by displacement”.<sup>54</sup> A concept that had existed since the classical period, it was discussed by medical and Enlightenment figures throughout eighteenth-century Europe. They debated a mixture of climatic, mechanical and psychological causes, but typically recognised the powerful influence of travel, emotions and imagination over the body.<sup>55</sup> Nostalgia was a known medical condition that was repeated and exclusively linked with travel. Despite this, the term is notably absent from the Grand Tour's various discourses. There was no attempt to identify nostalgia as a potential

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<sup>50</sup> Broomhall, ‘Renovating Affections: Reconstructing the Atholl Family in the Mid-Eighteenth Century’, in *Spaces for Feeling*, 66-67; French and Rothery, *Estate*, 74-75.

<sup>51</sup> Broomhall, ‘Affections’, 69.

<sup>52</sup> Barclay, *Love*, 28.

<sup>53</sup> Hofer, ‘Nostalgia’, 381.

<sup>54</sup> Lisa O'Sullivan, ‘The Time and Place of Nostalgia: Resituating a French Disease’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 67:4 (2012), 626.

<sup>55</sup> Starobinski, ‘Nostalgia’, 88; O'Sullivan, ‘Nostalgia’, 634-38. See Kevin Goodman, “‘Uncertain Diseases’: Nostalgia, Pathologies of Motion, Practices of Reading”, *Studies in Romanticism* 49:2 (Summer 2010), 197-227 for the precise medical categorisation of nostalgia.

effect of educational travel in published pedagogical texts. The periodical debates on the Grand Tour's dangers worried more about the dangers of effeminacy that stemmed from external influences such as luxury and exposure to French and Italian servility, licentiousness and Catholicism, rather than emotional states that were internally generated. The concept of nostalgia appears in very selective contexts in private letters, through stereotypical associations with the Swiss. After encountering "the inhabitants" of a Swiss mountain in 1777, Lewisham reported that their mountain singing produced an "ardent desire...to return to their mountains when they hear it sung in other countries".<sup>56</sup> In 1778, Yorke discussed the love held by the "common people" for Switzerland, noting that "The common soldier in foreign services are frequently afflicted with the mal du pays [sic], & I have been told that when that happens there is no other remedy than immediately giving them leave to return home."<sup>57</sup> Neither made any attempts to connect this discourse with their own longing for home.

One exception is John Hervey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Hervey of Ickworth's P.S. to Stephen Fox's younger brother, Henry (also Kildare's uncle by marriage). Writing from Florence in 1729, Hervey predicted that he and Stephen would be near England by August:

for la maldaïs de Swiss, & la maladis of a fine English Gentleman (c'est à dire L'ennuiee) are so prevalent at present in our Constitutions that I am apt to think we shall never hold it out 'till then in Florence<sup>58</sup>

Hervey laid claim to two intertwined physical and emotional conditions, melancholy ("la maladis of a fine English Gentleman" and "l'ennuiee"), and nostalgia ("la maldaïs de Swiss"). Using the terms in a common parlance that nevertheless reflected their precise meaning, Hervey demonstrated the extent to which these afflictions formed part of a non-professional elite medical and emotional understanding as early as 1729. Hervey's medical and emotional usage, combined with Yorke and

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<sup>56</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 09/09/1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Dartmouth.

<sup>57</sup> BL, Add. MS 35378, f. 212, 04/07/1778, Yorke, Basel, to Philip Yorke, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Hardwicke.

<sup>58</sup> BL, Add. MS 51417, 24/06/1729, Stephen Fox, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Ilchester, Florence, to Henry Fox (P.S. by John Hervey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Hervey of Ickworth).

Lewisham's later references to nostalgia's cultural associations, suggests that Grand Tourists were familiar with the concept of nostalgia in its various guises but that they and the private, published and pedagogical writings discussing the Grand Tour deliberately avoided association with the condition.

Elite young men were evidently not meant to be emotional voids. They were expected to have ties of loyalty and affection for family, country and individuals. The experiences and writings of emotions concerning longing and homesickness were therefore a demonstration of manly sentiment, revealing an emotional depth and connection of love and remembrance. Despite this, there was a limit on what constituted an acceptable emotion of longing, in which only the positive elements of such emotions could be expressed. The silence surrounding nostalgia was complemented by expressions of paternal disapproval in response to overly ardent, or excessive, expressions of longing. For example, rather than responding in a manner suitable to a man of feeling, Lewisham's often affectionate father responded to his December 1775 letter by warning him not to "be so little-minded as to indulge any partiality to yourself, or shut your eyes against your own infirmities".<sup>59</sup> This was accompanied by unrelenting demands that he "lose no time in getting into [Parisian] Society" and by plans for travel into Germany and Austria.<sup>60</sup> This limit on emotional excess, the refusal to engage with the concept of nostalgia and the curt response of parents to overly emotional Tourists flies in the face of the cult of sensibility and points to the importance of another set of masculine virtues. Ultimately, the elite community's reluctance to associate with nostalgia stemmed from its association with an uncontrolled and unenlightened state. This clashed with the Tour's aim of forming enlightened, cosmopolitan young men and its commitment to the virtue of rational self-control.

### **Section Three: Avoiding Nostalgia: Cosmopolitanism, Enlightenment and Rational Self-Control**

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<sup>59</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 18/12/1775, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham; 3/01/1776., Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

<sup>60</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 18/12/1775, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

The Grand Tour had many aims and ambitions for its participants. Through a rigorous curriculum of tuition, academies and socialising, it placed a strong emphasis on learning languages, cultural assimilation and adaptation, and accessing the correct social circles – even when deeply unfamiliar.<sup>61</sup> Such acts engendered the highly prized masculine quality of independence that marked the coming of age process.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, the seventeenth-and eighteenth-century pedagogical theories that underpinned the Tour and wider elite education operated on the expressed principle of separating the boy from his mother.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, while the Grand Tour as an emotional practice intended to stimulate feelings of homesickness, it also simultaneously taught hardship, emotional resilience and self-control. The late seventeenth-century writers, James Howell and Richard Lassels, claimed that learning “bold and hardy” French would “take away the mother’s milk” and “enharden with confidence” and that travel “teacheth him wholesome hardship; to lye in beds that are none of his acquaintance; to speak to men he neuer saw before”.<sup>64</sup> Home and the mother’s milk bred an inability to be an independent man. Under these circumstances, the emotional practice of separation was a necessary emotionally hardening process.

Read within this context, nostalgia, a condition where young people were unable to adapt to foreign manners and experiences, was a childish affliction to have during a coming of age process. It was also the antithesis to the Tour’s Enlightenment, cosmopolitan principles. Helmut Illbruck argues that nostalgia was “a disease, provocation and theoretical challenge to the Enlightenment.”<sup>65</sup> The Enlightenment sought to transcend the vicissitudes of local contingency and disempower the hold of

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<sup>61</sup> See Goldsmith, ‘The Social Challenge: Northern and Central European Societies on the Eighteenth-Century Aristocratic Grand Tour’, in Sarah Goldsmith, Rosemary Sweet and Gerrit Verhoeven (eds), *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 65-82; Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 192-3, 213.

<sup>62</sup> See McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: MUP, 2005).

<sup>63</sup> Cohen, *Masculinity*, 58; French and Rothery, *Estate*, 44-47, 140-44.

<sup>64</sup> James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1640), quoted in Cohen, *Masculinity*, 56; Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy...* (Paris, 1670), preface, 141-42.

<sup>65</sup> Illbruck, *Unenlightened*, 19.

place, creating individuals who were advocates of reason and citizens of the world.<sup>66</sup> Resistant to the cosmopolitan and Stoic motto, *patria ubi bene* [where there is good, there is my land], and a pathological process immune to rational control, nostalgia was an unenlightened disease.<sup>67</sup> As such, it could draw considerable scorn. Using the term banishment, the Jacobean Robert Burton scathingly observed, “’Tis a childish humor to hone after home”.<sup>68</sup> He contended that a Stoic approach, curiosity and “the pleasure of peregrination” would make amends.<sup>69</sup> Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant similarly attacked nostalgia as a chosen state of immaturity.<sup>70</sup> Emblematic of this provincial mentality, stereotypes of the nostalgic Swiss occurred repeatedly in late seventeenth-and eighteenth-century published literature. Johann Georg Keyssler’s 1740 *Travels* drew on medical treatises to identify specific regions of nostalgic Swiss.<sup>71</sup> The *ranz-des-vaches*, famously discussed in Rousseau’s *Dictionary of Music* as the tune most likely to trigger an outbreak of Swiss nostalgia, attracted extensive medical and cultural interest.<sup>72</sup> Geographical and medical texts expanded the stereotype to Europe’s unenlightened peasant hinterlands, including Lapland, Finland, and the Scottish Highlands.<sup>73</sup> Despite the medical opinion that it could affect anyone, nostalgia was deemed an unsophisticated affliction. From the earliest stages of its categorisation, it was associated with provincial, barren and remote areas, and with uneducated, unenlightened sections of society.<sup>74</sup>

Nostalgia’s medical connotations were equally troubling. Nostalgia went beyond the normative emotion of homesickness into the realm of disease, irrationality and insanity. Thomas Arnold argued in 1782 that:

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 66, 77.

<sup>68</sup> Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), partition 2, sect. 3, memb. 4, quoted in Illbruck, *Unenlightened*, 6-7.

<sup>69</sup> Illbruck, *Unenlightened*, 66.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 127, 131.

<sup>71</sup> Johann Georg Keyssler, *Travels through Germany...* (London, 1760), Vol. I., 174-5.

<sup>72</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionary of Music*, trans. W. Waring and J. French (London, c. 1778), 267; Illbruck, *Unenlightened*, Chapter 4.

<sup>73</sup> John Trusler, *The Habitable World Described...* (London, 1787-88), Vol. I., 231; James Gordon, *Terraquea...* (Dublin, 1798), Vol. VI., 28, 49.

<sup>74</sup> Various scholars have noted this association. See for example, Shaw, ‘Longing’, 32; O’Sullivan, ‘Nostalgia’, 628; Michal Roth, ‘Dying of the Past: Medical Studies of Nostalgia in Nineteenth-Century France’, *History and Memory* 3 (1991), 11, 15.

in England, whatever may be our partiality to our native land of plenty, opulence and liberty, we know nothing of that passionate attachment that leads to this sort of Insanity, - an immoderate affection for the country which gave them birth.<sup>75</sup>

As the physicians, François Boissier de Sauvages and William Cullen, emphasised in 1763 and 1769, nostalgia had two stages: *simplex* and *complicate*.<sup>76</sup> *Simplex*, or “imminent”, nostalgia bore the following symptoms:

if they frequently wander about sad; if they scorn foreign manners; if they are seized by a distaste of strange conversation; if they incline by nature to melancholy; if they bear jokes or the slightest injuries or other petty inconveniences in the most unhealthy (frame of) mind; if they frequently made a show of delights of the Fatherland and prefer them to all foreign (things).<sup>77</sup>

Nostalgia *complicate* progressed to:

continued sadness, meditation only of the Fatherland, disturbed sleep either wakeful or continuous, decrease of strength, hunger, thirst, senses diminished, and cares or even palpitations of the heart, frequent sighs, also stupidity of the mind – attending to nothing hardly, other than the idea of the Fatherland.<sup>78</sup>

Eventually the patient succumbed to wasting, fever and death.<sup>79</sup> Treatment ranged from purging to distractions through exercise and social activity, but by the *complicate* stage, returning home was the only cure.

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<sup>75</sup> Thomas Arnold, *Observations on...Insanity...*(London, 1782-86), Vol. I., 268-9.

<sup>76</sup> François Boissier de Sauvages, *Nosologie Méthodique...*(Lyon, 1772), Vol. VII., 237–41; William Cullen, *Nosology...*(Edinburgh, 1800), 162–64, 154. Cullen’s text was first published in Latin as *Synopsis Nosologiae Methodicae* (Edinburgh, 1769).

<sup>77</sup> Hofer, ‘Nostalgia’, 386.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 380, 382.

Nostalgia was an undesirable emotional and medical disorder for a (supposedly) young elite, educated and cosmopolitan man. As shy, awkward, “timid ones” unable “to forget their mother’s milk” or accustom themselves to living abroad, nostalgia sufferers were failures.<sup>80</sup> Thus, irrespective of its potentially positive attributes, nostalgia’s “immoderate”, debilitating nature upset the desired balance between reason and emotion. In associating nostalgia with the Swiss, Tourists signalled their awareness of this flaw and deliberately marked the boundary between their rational emotions of longing for home and this irrational disease. Despite this, medical professionals believed nostalgia could affect the whole social strata and emphasised the susceptibility of “young people and adolescents sent to foreign regions”.<sup>81</sup> As young men sent abroad by their families for the first time, Tourists fell into a high-risk category. Irrespective of their deliberate disassociation, Tourists like Kildare and Lewisham exhibited evidence of emotional and physical distress that tallied with nostalgia’s symptoms and moves our interpretation of their letters beyond a cultural reading.

Lewisham’s December 1775 letter was written during an extended bout of homesickness that was triggered by a couple of factors. With his younger brother, tutor-companion and old family servant, Lewisham had been abroad for just over six months. Having attended Harrow and Oxford, this was not his first time away from home, but it was the first to be unbroken by holidays and parental visits. Seven months in, he confessed “I begin to feel that I never was so long without seeing you all before”.<sup>82</sup> This sense of protracted absence was compounded by his brother returning to England.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Lewisham was struggling to adapt to Parisian circles and manners. In this unfamiliar environment, he encountered the Count de Very, the Sardinian Ambassador. An old friend of his father’s, the Ambassador invited him “to eat roast beef at his house”. Lewisham liked him “as he seems to be very much an Englishman; & to be sure after all good English manners with an English heart”.<sup>84</sup> Lewisham wrote his letter after this encounter which had clearly

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<sup>80</sup> Hofer, ‘Nostalgia’, 383.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 383; Illbruck, *Unenlightened*, 69-70.

<sup>82</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 28/01/1776, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

<sup>83</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10/12/1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

reminded him of his father, and the foods, manners and style of home. He concluded with a plea to “tell [my mother] that I shall be monstrously happy to hear from her”.<sup>85</sup>

Kildare’s letters to his mother charter a cyclical pattern of distress and recovery throughout his travels. Kildare unexpectedly became heir after his elder brother’s death in 1765 and was almost immediately sent on a Grand Tour. Attended by his long-term tutor, his Tour switched between independent travel and travel with his aunt and uncle, Henry and Caroline Fox, Lord and Lady Holland. Kildare fretted constantly about letters, demonstrating a heightened awareness of the distances separating him from his family. Complaining of Italy’s “very irregular” posts, he speculated on when and where the delays might have occurred, tracing over the postal routes in his imagination.<sup>86</sup> He attributed a lack of letters in Naples to problems with the Irish post in London, and a lack of letters in Florence to Rome’s limited postal service.<sup>87</sup> Even the pleasure of received correspondence was filtered through distance. It was “a very agreeable circumstance at all times, especially when one is at so great a distance”.<sup>88</sup> Alongside writing and requesting incessant correspondence, Kildare repeatedly circled back to his family’s estate, Carton in County Kildare, Ireland. He often contrasted his current experiences of weather with an imagined Carton. Too cold in Lyon, he wrote “it is delightful for you to have the weather fine enough at this time of year”, and when he found Florence’s summer heats “almost insupportable; I could wish myself transported at Carton for the summer, as there one may go out at all hours of the day.”<sup>89</sup> Finally, he also clung to physical reminders of his family. He wanted letters in his mother’s “own handwriting”.<sup>90</sup> She had difficulty with her eyesight, so these rare letters held particularly high value for him. They were a reassurance of her improving health and material talismans. As literary scholars observe, the very act and material aspects of writing itself conveyed emotional

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 455.

<sup>87</sup> 03/03/1767, Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily, 11/07/1767, Kildare, Florence, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 461, 477.

<sup>88</sup> 03/02/1767, Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 455.

<sup>89</sup> 19/10/1766, Kildare, Lyons, to Lady Emily, 04/07/1767, Kildare, Florence, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 431, 476.

<sup>90</sup> 24/02/1767, Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 458. See also pages 468, 480, 484, 510.



meaning, raising the letter's value as an *object* of affection, equivalent to other gifts.<sup>91</sup> Kildare's desire for an object imbued with emotional meaning that somehow negated the distance from his mother was fulfilled by Lady Holland who gave him his mother's image on a snuffbox. Kildare wrote, "you cannot conceive the happiness it would be to me when away from you".<sup>92</sup> Snuffboxes were particularly valued within sentimental material and literary culture as "surrogates for particular persons".<sup>93</sup> Able to carry his mother with him to any destination, Kildare demonstrated a possessiveness over her and the object, receiving great "pleasure" "to think I have you in my pocket".<sup>94</sup>

Both Lewisham and Kildare manifested the *simplex* symptoms of nostalgia. They initially rejected foreign manners, were sensitive to the slights of missed letters, struggled to socialise effectively, and delighted in imagining the "Fatherland". Lewisham, for example, loved being "quiet and undisturbed", and dwelling on imaginary scenes of homely intimacy.

you are I imagine still at Sandwell, & to judge from the appearance of the day round a comfortable English fire-side [sic] – no unpleasant thing let me tell you – I sigh prodigiously for a little English chit-chat<sup>95</sup>

In Kildare's case, nostalgia arguably progressed to the *complicate* state. In October 1767, Kildare was in Turin alone. He had "left Florence very unwillingly", complaining that he had finally made acquaintances, and that he was now struggling to meet people.<sup>96</sup> He was dismayed by parental orders to travel even further to Vienna

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<sup>91</sup> James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 11; Fay Bound, 'Writing the Self? Love and the Letter in England, c. 1660-c.1760', *Literature & History* 11:1 (2012), 3-4. See also Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letters Writers, 1660-1800* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 23, 226-7.

<sup>92</sup> 16/12/1766, Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 444.

<sup>93</sup> Deidre Lynch, 'Personal Effects and Sentimental Fictions', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12:2-3 (2000), 345, 348.

<sup>94</sup> 03/02/1767, Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 456.

<sup>95</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 03/10/1777, Lewisham, Geneva, to Lady Dartmouth.

<sup>96</sup> 27/10/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 493.

by January 1768.<sup>97</sup> As this date drew nearer, Kildare's letters became increasingly distressed, ostensibly at the thought of the winter journey. At the same time, references to home increased dramatically through idealised imaginings and plans for the future. These included the apparently imminent possibility of marriage (and children) to a Miss Fitzgerald, whom he had yet to meet, and the outcome of a by-election.<sup>98</sup> His mother's pregnancy allowed Kildare to also dwell on more regressive childhood traditions. Kildare wrote "Mrs Lyons [the midwife] will always say it is a pity I am not there, for to eat this good cake and to drink this delicious caudle."<sup>99</sup>

Kildare had travelled separately from the Hollands since Rome, but had been in Florence with his cousin, Charles James Fox. Kildare admitted the Hollands provided him with emotional security, writing from Naples, that "since my wish ["to be with my family at Carton"] cannot be accomplished...I must own it does me good to see the constant good humour and good natured and friendly way of living of this family".<sup>100</sup> When Fox left, his loneliness intensified and his thoughts quickly turned to re-uniting with his aunt and uncle in Nice. He wrote separately to Lady Holland, hoping to prompt an invitation that would obviate Vienna and place him back within family circles.<sup>101</sup> Finally, as the Vienna deadline came closer, he fell physically ill with influenza, which prevented him from setting out.<sup>102</sup> The Nice gambit worked; Vienna was temporarily off the cards. Kildare's physical and emotional symptoms immediately lessened, as did references to home.<sup>103</sup> His Christmas with the Hollands fortified him enough to return to Turin and, eventually, Vienna.

Kildare, Lewisham and others demonstrated a clear longing for home, families and friends that waxed and waned, but could rise to distressing and incapacitating levels.

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<sup>97</sup> 03/10/1767, Kildare, Florence, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 490.

<sup>98</sup> See for example 27/10/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Emily and 19/12/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 492, 502-3.

<sup>99</sup> 19/12/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Emily, in *Correspondence*, 502. Caudle was a sweet, milky drink given to women in childbirth and drunk by visitors, family and children in celebration. See Adrian Wilson, *Ritual and Conflict: The Social Relations of Childbirth in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 158, 172.

<sup>100</sup> 16/12/1766, Kildare, Naples, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 443-44.

<sup>101</sup> 04/12/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Holland in *Correspondence*, 501.

<sup>102</sup> 09/12/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 502.

<sup>103</sup> 14/12/1767, Kildare, Turin, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 503.

The effects of this emotion is implicit in other under-investigated areas of the Grand Tour, such as anecdotes of rise of sickness, death and suicide experienced in Italy.<sup>104</sup> In Kildare's case, his agitation, illness and fixation on visiting his aunt, alongside the nature of his recovery once returned to a home from home with the Hollands and distracted by busy social activities matched the symptoms and solutions offered by medical authorities surrounding *complex* nostalgia. Nostalgia was a condition known to Kildare's family. Hervey and Fox's 1729 self-diagnosis was sent to Fox's brother, Henry, who later married Kildare's aunt and was present during Kildare's Grand Tour. The decision not to apply the term to his emotional distress was therefore likely to have been deliberate. Intriguingly, nostalgia was not the only emotional state to be frowned upon.

There was a degree of overlap between melancholy and nostalgia in medical and popular understanding; but while nostalgia was a fixation on home and therefore a short-term state with a cure, melancholy was denoted as a general, often long-term lowness. A serious medical ailment and the Achilles' heel of genius, melancholy was considered a peculiarly English ailment, stemming from an English constitution and climate, but also blamed on luxury, consumerism and elite decadence.<sup>105</sup> Sophisticated and fashionable, melancholy's link with rank, worldliness, and travel indicates that it might have been a more suitable ailment for aristocratic young men.<sup>106</sup> But the case of George Herbert, later 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke, abroad from 1770 to 1775, provides evidence to the contrary and offers an example of parents demanding total compliance with an emotional regime.

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<sup>104</sup> See Nicholas Stanley-Price, 'See Rome – and Die: Legacies of the Grand Tour in a Roman Cemetery', in Lisa Colletta (ed.), *The Legacy of the Grand Tour. New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture* (Maryland: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015), 169-184.

<sup>105</sup> Oswald Doughty, 'The English Malady of the Eighteenth Century', *The Review of English Studies* 2:7 (1926), 258; Eric Gidal, 'Civic Melancholy: English Gloom and French Enlightenment', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37:1 (2003), 24, 26; Jonathan Andrews, 'Letting Madness Range: Travel and Mental Disorder c. 1700-1900' in Wrigley and George Revill (eds), *Pathologies of Travel* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 28.

<sup>106</sup> For examples of melancholy as a key theme in travel literature, see Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (London, 1768); Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (London, 1766); Anna Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (London, 1826).

Herbert's family exhibited a rigid disapproval at any splenetic behaviour in their son and were particularly concerned at the apparently long-term nature of his melancholy. Halfway through his Tour, his father wrote to his tutor, William Coxe, expressing the hope that:

now [Herbert] is of a certain age, a certain Parresse or Faineantise, & all Sulks, or Ill humoured obstinacy have entirely left him. When a boy, he was, now, & then, attacked by these formidable foes.<sup>107</sup>

Using imagery common to melancholic discourses, Pembroke also selected deliberately critical terms "Faineantise" (from the French *feignant* or *fainéant*) was a particularly negative term for laziness.<sup>108</sup> "Parrasse" could refer to another French term for laziness and abnormal slowness (*paresser*, *paresseux*) but could also have been a misspelling of *paresis* or *paralysis*, which by the nineteenth century had associations with various mental illnesses.<sup>109</sup>

This indicates that Lord and Lady Pembroke did diagnose Herbert's struggles as melancholy, but they expected Herbert to persevere in using self-control. Lady Pembroke demanded that Herbert should be "perfect, & to act & speak exactly right", "whether you are plagued or not, & reason or no reason to be discontented, that's all". While she acknowledged that "perhaps that may not be a very easy matter", "that's all" left little room for negotiation. This was all the more striking given her own protracted association with melancholy and a debilitating excess of sensibility.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC), MS 2057/F4/27, 28/03/1779, Henry Herbert, 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House, to Rev. William Coxe.

<sup>108</sup> 'faineantise, n.', *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67672?redirectedFrom=Faineantise#eid>, (accessed 04/09/2013); 'fainéant, n. and adj.', *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67671#eid4651816>, (accessed 04/09/2013).

<sup>109</sup> 'Paresis, n.', *OED Online* (June 2015, OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/137859?rskey=XLHGUI&result=5&isAdvanced=false#>, accessed 04/09/2013).

<sup>110</sup> WSHC, MS 2057/F4/31, 10/10/1779, Lady Pembroke, Brighton, to George Herbert, later 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke.

Lady Pembroke's inflexibility was couched in gentle language, whereas Pembroke wrote more brutally that unless Herbert found some measure of control "ye will grow into being, I fear, an unhappy man".<sup>111</sup> He further commented that:

I am not surprised, that the Heats disagree with you bodily, but I hope, that you are pleased to be comical as to what you say about your temper, & humour. You would be a melancholy, terrible creature indeed, if, at your age, the sight, or manner of this, of that, or t'other was to affect yr Lordship's humour, & temper. Cela ferait pitie, & rire en meme temps [that would be pityful, and make [me/others] laugh at the same time].<sup>112</sup>

Using tools of contempt that, in missing the "me" from his final statement, left open the possibility of mockery from Herbert's father *and* others, Pembroke's letter is a clear-cut parental rejection of an emotional state. Herbert's parents were noticeably sympathetic to any straightforwardly physical afflictions and to the possibility of loneliness.<sup>113</sup> They also encouraged him to partake in certain sentimental displays, such as mourning his dog's death. In line with sentimental principles, Pembroke even observed that such loss and sorrow was more "than vulgar minds can conceive".<sup>114</sup> The contrast between this and their rejection of his melancholic state forcibly indicates the unsuitability of melancholy for young males.

While the Grand Tour's disassociation from nostalgia highlights concerns regarding social status and proof of cosmopolitanism, the collective discomfort surrounding the emotional afflictions of nostalgia and melancholy confirms the deep-seated elite attachment to the male virtue of emotional self-control and rationality that resided in an equally deep dislike of medical disorders rooted in involuntary emotions. While the impact of the cult of sensibility is clearly in evidence in some shows of feeling, this performance and the depth to which it was felt had to be carefully monitored.

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<sup>111</sup> WSHC, MS 2057/F4/29, 20/04/1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

<sup>112</sup> WSHC, MS 2057/F4/29, 21/06/1779, Pembroke, Stony Stratford, to Herbert.  
Trans. by Robin MacDonald, 28/04/2014.

<sup>113</sup> See for example, WSHC, MS 2057/F4/29, 20/04/1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert and 20/09/1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

<sup>114</sup> WSHC, Ms. 2057/F4/29, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1779, Pembroke, London, to Herbert.

Correspondingly, considerable demands were placed upon a young elite man's emotional performance while abroad.

#### **Section Four: Enforcing and Consoling: Family and the Lived Experience of Emotion**

Exploring the positioning of nostalgia and homesickness reveals the Tour's finely balanced and, at times, competing aims of cosmopolitanism and patriotism, self-control and manly feeling. While the elite masculine ideal effortlessly combined all four, they nevertheless sat uneasily next to one another in the Tour's published and private discourses. Tourists used unlabelled emotions of longing to demonstrate sensibility and patriotic desire but also sought to prove their cosmopolitan credentials and command of self-control by avoiding overly emotional discourses and the problematic issues that came with the label of nostalgia. The emotional reality of longing for home sat as uneasily between these demands, as did the efforts made to respond to and control their emotions.

At this point, it is useful to return to the history of emotion theories discussed in Section One to consider how Tourists and their families navigated these different demands and tensions. The Tour's overarching idealisation of certain emotional expressions arguably operated as a relatively strict emotional regime that demanded more than one expression of emotion while also denying a discussion of nostalgia or any expression of deep distress. Parents played a crucial role in enforcing and silencing certain responses by, for example, refusing to allow homesick Tourists to come home early. Yet Reddy also observes that participants often find that strict emotional regimes shore up an effective personal emotional management style. They themselves feed back into the regime, even when this would appear to be emotionally harmful.<sup>115</sup> In the Tour, this becomes visible when examining the strategies used to overcome, combat and control an unwelcome emotional state. While painful, this was not just as an act of repression. It was an engagement with a formative emotional practice (to use Scheer's term) devoted to honing abilities in emotional self-control that also signals the high value that was given to this trait.

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<sup>115</sup> Reddy, *Navigation*, 125.

Central to this was a tendency towards self-indoctrination. Frances Clark has noted that homesick American Civil War soldiers constantly reiterated the reasons for fighting as a means to control their emotions.<sup>116</sup> Similarly, Tourists reiterated a determination to stay, improve and enjoy. As such, even when desiring to be “at anchor”, Lewisham carefully framed this within a correct context. Home was to be enjoyed *after* one had travelled, conditional on seeing “more” so that one might be “additionally happy to think over what one had seen & done”.<sup>117</sup> In claiming that “nor do I imagine that I shall ever experience a single regret when I reflect that the scene is over”, Lewisham referred not just to the Tour being done, but to a lack of regret in undertaking it in the first place.<sup>118</sup> Sometimes requests to remain abroad came out of a genuine enjoyment of travel and it certainly must be acknowledged that numerous Tourists suffered only minor pangs of homesickness or did not suffer at all. Sometimes, however, these statements became visibly forced as Tourists struggled to reconcile their conflicting feelings and duties. Kildare wrote from Nice:

I flatter myself that towards next winter you’ll think of me a little...my absence from you appears very long; though I can assure you that next to be with you being abroad is the most agreeable. Yet I own I begin to long to see you. I can assure you nobody is happier than I am abroad and I have nothing to complain of.<sup>119</sup>

In his study of World War One officers and emotions, Michael Roper argues that they frequently circled around events that were too disturbing to relive but that they needed to unburden themselves of, creating a silent, perhaps subconscious, narrative of distress.<sup>120</sup> Although a vastly different circumstance, Kildare similarly circled around the topic of home. In seventy words, he switched direction four times, going back and forth between protesting his desire to stay and return.

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<sup>116</sup> Clarke, ‘Lonesome’, 254, 256-59.

<sup>117</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 10/12/1775, Lewisham, Paris, to Dartmouth.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> 13/01/1767, Kildare, Nice, to Lady Emily in *Correspondence*, 506.

<sup>120</sup> Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: MUP, 2009), 64, 66.

Family correspondence was a powerful tool for mitigating distance. It was critical to maintaining “bonds of emotions” between geographically dispersed families, acting as “a material substitute for physical proximity”.<sup>121</sup> In acknowledging this, Tourists sometime sought to control its effect by abstaining from correspondence during periods of uncertainty. On his first stretch of travelling post-to-post from Rheims to Leipzig in 1756, George Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham wrote to his sister “to make a very odd request, which is that neither she nor any of the Family will write again” until he reached Leipzig. Knowing the speed of travel meant receiving letters would be impossible, Nuneham believed “I should be very miserable, so that rather than run the risque of loosing [letters] I must deny myself the pleasure that of all others is the most sensible one to me”.<sup>122</sup> Letters were clearly important in his battle against nostalgia, as Nuneham humorously acknowledged that “my Papa & Mama...cannot be sorry to be excused for six Weeks a Correspondence, which nothing but their delight in giving pleasure, could make them hold so regularly.”<sup>123</sup> Nuneham strongly associated himself with the cult of sensibility. He regularly described himself weeping, sighing, shaking and overcome with feelings, whilst also encouraging his sister to write in a freer sentimental style.<sup>124</sup> Despite this and despite his love of letters, his decision at Rheims focused less on sentimental indulgence and instead gestured toward the maxims of self-discipline and endurance.

In denying oneself letters, repeating reasons for being abroad and setting boundaries on one’s emotional indulgence, Tourists exhibited a set of strategies that fit Reddy’s model of individuals striving to conform to an emotional regime. However, these mechanisms were not just based upon prohibitive methods. They sat within a wider set of coping mechanisms, which involved more supportive, often compassionate

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<sup>121</sup> Broomhall and Van Gent, ‘Affections’, 5, 10; Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 229; Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity. Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 29.

<sup>122</sup> Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (hereafter CBS), MS D-LE-E2-4, 09/08/1756, George Simon Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham, Reims, to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Harcourt.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> For example, CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-12, 08/04/1755, Nuneham, Leipzig, to his sister; CBS, Ms. D-LE-E2-19, 09/04/1756, Nuneham, Rome, to his sister.



responses from family and fellow travellers. For example, the very existence of a widespread engagement with correspondence indicates letters were an accepted means of providing emotional solace. The presence and absence of letters alone held considerable power over the traveller's emotional composure. In Rome, in 1741, Lincoln and his tutor, Joseph Spence, endured four months of missing correspondence. It was only in retrospect that they were able to fully acknowledge the emotional impact of this delay. Spence wrote to his mother that he "stole away with Mr. Holdsworth" to read his letters. On his return, he found Lincoln, who had also received a letter from Spence's mother:

He loves you so well, that it made him cry to read it: and you can't imagine how kindly he spoke of you. We have both of us suffered a good deal.<sup>125</sup>

Spence likened his emotional state to "a man after a storm, who...still trembles to look at the sea that was like to have swallowed him."<sup>126</sup> Describing letters as a powerful restorative, comparable to "an unexpected shower", Spence's reference to his, Holdsworth's and Lincoln's mutual support is equally significant in highlighting the importance of one's travelling party and companions in the battle against nostalgia.<sup>127</sup> They acted as an emotional, reciprocal community of support and quasi-familial matrix. Spence was deeply affected by Lincoln's emotional support. Towards the end of his life, when wrestling with another bout of lowness, he wrote in the 1760s:

I have been troubled for some months, at times, with such a sort of Gloom, as I contracted in endeavouring to serve you in Italy; & I shall never forget the melancholy kind of pleasure I felt, when you was so good as to ease me from it, in part, in our walk by the Monte Testaceo.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> 22/04/1741, Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence and 29/04/1741, Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence in *Letters*, 376-79.

<sup>126</sup> 29/04/1741, Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence in *Letters*, 378.

<sup>127</sup> 22/04/1741, Spence, Rome, to Mrs Spence in *Letters*, 377.

<sup>128</sup> University of Nottingham Manuscript and Special Collections, MS NeC4145, [undated], Spence [no location] to Lincoln.

Spence begged Lincoln “to grant me a like ease now; by sending for me.”<sup>129</sup> The bond forged during their Tour and its emotional trials endured throughout their lifetime. Furthermore, such examples demonstrate how the Grand Tour involved contact with emotional communities beyond immediate family, especially with travelling parties and friends.

These moments of emotionally raw need and compassionate response were not limited to the travelling party and male friendship. Authority figures were also actively complicit. As discussed earlier, Nuneham’s parents deliberately wrote more frequently to support him.<sup>130</sup> Likewise, Lewisham’s mother sent a swift “very affectionate” response to his Parisian plea, with the consolation of a possible parental visit.<sup>131</sup> These responses correlated with the military surgeon, Robert Hamilton’s 1787 medical recommendations for treating nostalgia. Hamilton believed that a medical regime of “tenderness” and compassion, rather than hostility and contempt, would lead to recovery.<sup>132</sup> As the patient had “no friends near to sympathise with him; no parental, or fraternal anxiety to watch over him”, it was the medical officer’s duty to act as comforter and family.<sup>133</sup> Letters and travelling companions on the Grand Tour provided equivalent support. Reddy’s model defines such spaces as “emotional refuges”, spaces that reduce the conflict or tensions felt by conforming to an emotional regime.<sup>134</sup> This is certainly useful in demonstrating how young elite men might resolve, or at least alleviate, some of the tensions experienced on the Grand Tour. However, as Reddy’s definition of regime and refuge centres around questions of power, this does not easily allow consideration of how some authority figures, such as parents, might have simultaneously acted as both regime and refuge; enforcing and comforting in the same letters and even the same sentences. These compassionate acts were neither a subversive rejection of the overall emotional regime, nor an effort to bestow what Reddy terms, “emotional freedom: the freedom not to make rational

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> CBS, MS D-LE-E2-4, 9/08/1756, Nuneham, Reims, to Elizabeth Harcourt.

<sup>131</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/874, 22/12/[1775], Lewisham, Paris, to Lady Dartmouth.

<sup>132</sup> Robert Hamilton, *The Duties of a Regimental Surgeon...* (London, 1787), Vol. I., 84, quoted in Shaw, ‘Longing’, 29.

<sup>133</sup> Hamilton, *Duties*, Vol. II., 85-6, quoted in Shaw, ‘Longing’, 30.

<sup>134</sup> Reddy, *Navigation*, 128.

decisions but to undergo conversion experiences”.<sup>135</sup> Parents and tutors did not allow Tourists to come home early nor did they cease championing the virtues of travel, stoicism and self-control. Yet within these boundaries, there were continual affectionate attempts to alleviate the sufferer’s mood.<sup>136</sup>

While a useful framework to a certain degree, Reddy’s arguments do not entirely explain what is being found in the evidence. Here, Rosenwein’s concept of emotional communities offers a useful way forward, particularly as this model gives acknowledgement to how the different emotional communities of family, friends and traveling parties might have had subtly different expectations and demands that could allow for different emotional expressions. Equally, Rosenwein’s model gives scope to acknowledging the individual emotional cultures of different families. As discussed in the first section, family milieus, dynamics and power plays were influential. Murray’s Tour is a particularly fraught example of the entangled dynamics at play but these were important, especially in large families where the competing influence of carer siblings, aunts and others could complicate a straightforward parent-child hierarchy.<sup>137</sup> For instance, Kildare was under the authority of his parents but his aunt and uncle offered an alternative line of authority. This was partly due to their position of de facto parents while abroad, but they had also held a similar position during his Eton days.<sup>138</sup> In taking his aunt’s invitation to Nice over his parent’s orders to travel to Vienna, Kildare seized upon this alternative authority. Barclay has recently argued that these and the parent-child power relationships were central to families and were both hierarchical and loving and emotionally fulfilling.<sup>139</sup> As Joanne Bailey’s recent study of Georgian parenting has highlighted, influenced by Christian virtue, the Enlightenment tenets of reason and feeling, and the rise of domesticity, parents were expected to be profoundly responsive to their children, whilst also disciplining and instructing them. Such aims focused on “life time happiness”, rather than immediate gratification. In the context of elite masculine education and the Tour, this returns to

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<sup>135</sup> Reddy, *Navigation*, 123.

<sup>136</sup> SRO, D(W)1778/V/852, 03/01/1776, Dartmouth, London, to Lewisham.

<sup>137</sup> See Broomhall and Van Gent, ‘Affections’, 143-65; Bailey, *Parenting*, Chapter 8.

<sup>138</sup> See Elizabeth Fitzgerald, *Lord Kildare’s Grand Tour, 1766-1769* (Wilton: The Collins Press, 2000), xv-xvii.

<sup>139</sup> Barclay, ‘Review Article: Emotion, Identity and Family Life’, *Women’s History Magazine* 72 (2013), 31.

the need for parents to enforce separation in order for their sons to achieve independence. However, it also remained their parental duty to feel that separation as well.<sup>140</sup> As French and Rothery's study of Juliana Buxton's various responses to her son's reoccurring homesickness at Harrow in the early 1800s demonstrates, she consistently sought to sever her son's maternal dependence, varying between kind, brusque and shaming responses. These were not symptomatic of maternal coldness but rather an anxious desire to develop his "manly stoicism".<sup>141</sup> Likewise, parents such as Lady Pembroke might write to tutors concerning the Tour's "dreadfull" distances and the time it took to become "quite easy & calm" at their sons' departure, but this did not stop them taking a hard line in response to similar qualms from their sons.<sup>142</sup> Parent-child relationships were also unavoidably shaped by the individual foibles and emotional needs of the parents. For example, Kildare's mother, Emily, Duchess of Leinster exerted her influence by creating a family milieu with herself at the emotional and devotional heart of it. For her sons, this manifested in demanding extravagant and enduring expressions of filial devotion and confidence that endured long into adulthood.<sup>143</sup> Even as she conformed to societal and educational expectations in sending Kildare away and desiring him to cultivate independent behaviour, she and her son were caught up in a countervailing emotional dynamic in which she encouraged, for example, his sentimental attachment to her portrait as part of her wider control of the family's culture of devotion to her. Demands such as these were idiosyncratic and serve as a valuable reminder that while emotions were undoubtedly shaped by society and culture, the influence of family and the individual must also be accounted for.

## Conclusions

Applying the questions and approaches of the history of emotions to the Grand Tour and eighteenth-century elite masculine formation reveals the deeply emotional

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<sup>140</sup> Bailey, *Parenting*, 8-9, 24-35, 71-75.

<sup>141</sup> French and Rothery, *Estate*, 68.

<sup>142</sup> WSHC, MS 2057/F4/27, 17/11/[1775], Lady Pembroke, Pembroke House, to Coxe; 10/12/[1775], Lady Pembroke, Wilton, to Coxe.

<sup>143</sup> Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats. Caroline, Emma, Louisa and Sarah Lennox, 1740-1832* (London: Vintage, 1995), 329-31.

elements at play. The Grand Tour can be fruitfully analysed using frameworks such as emotional practices, emotional communities and emotional regimes. As my analysis has shown, the Grand Tour contained elements that fit Reddy's concept of an emotional regime. It involved the regulation of emotional expression and incorporated elements of emotional refuge. Nevertheless, it does not entirely fit Reddy's framework, particularly with regards the involvement of authority figures as both regime and refuge. While this article has shown the some of strengths and limitations of applying history of emotions theories to a historical field, it has also revealed new findings concerning the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and the families who took part in this institution of elite masculine formation. The Tour deliberately used emotion as an educational tool that taught lessons in emotions and virtues that were repeated throughout an elite man's life. As this case study of nostalgia and homesickness has shown, emotions played a role in the elite male cultures of sensibility and patriotism. As importantly, this article has reaffirmed the importance of emotional self-control as a key part of eighteenth-century masculinity. The elite young men studied here made considerable efforts to display an ability to be patriotic men of feeling, but with the emotional resilience and restraint to keep their nostalgia under control. These efforts closely matched the emotional ideals set out in the pedagogical theory underpinning the Tour. These findings strongly suggest the perceived importance of being exposed to situations that would exercise the muscle of self-control, reaffirming the high value placed upon travel and separation as a means of elite masculine education and formation.

This article's analysis of the correspondence of Kildare, Lewisham, Nuneham and the other young men reveals how they processed, constructed and shaped their emotional responses in response to the demands made upon them, but it also identifies their more involuntary, often unlabelled emotional reactions that did not neatly conform to expectations. Their correspondence shines a light on the complex familial and peer relationships that could simultaneously be punitively demanding and tenderly loving. Exploring individual examples of how these emotional states and relationships were experienced and negotiated offers an important insight into how some of the apparent tensions within eighteenth-century elite masculinity were approached. At an individual and family level, we find a complex exchange of expectations and displays of emotion, compassion and rejection which created opportunities for more unfiltered

emotional vulnerability without relenting on the overall demands and expectations surrounding elite masculinity.

It has been beyond the scope of this article to undertake a comparative study but some consideration needs to be given to whether this was an exclusively aristocratic, male and youthful experience of travel and emotion. Did the Grand Tour have a unique emotional culture of nostalgia and homesickness or can meaningful parallels be drawn elsewhere? This article has briefly nodded toward earlier experiences of education and separation that many young elite men had through attending public school and university. Such experiences involved smaller distances and shorter periods of separation than the Grand Tour, but it would nevertheless be interesting to trace the influence of age upon emotional experience. There is scope here for comparison with, for example, young girls in the early modern period, who were sent to Continental convents for a Catholic education. As noted in the introduction, the Grand Tour took place within the context of a much broader culture of eighteenth-century travel. For example, increasing numbers of men and women began to travel for pleasure at later stages of life. While they might visit the same locations, their experience of travel differed substantially to the young male Grand Tourist, particularly as they might travel with husbands, wives and children or as wealthy, independent widows, undertake shorter “pleasure” trips or more protracted periods of living in expatriate communities, and benefit from social networks already established from previous trips abroad.<sup>144</sup> Furthermore, while the Grand Tour was designed to be a formative experience in which its participants were explicitly being assessed in their masculine performance and initiated into adult society, mature male and female travellers had

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<sup>144</sup> For the travel culture of older travellers, particularly women, see Sweet, *Cities*, 27-61; Christina K. Lindeman, ‘Gendered Souvenirs: Anna Amalia’s Grand Tourist *Vedute* Fans’, in Jennifer G. Germann and Heidi A. Strobel (eds), *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), 51-66; Marianna D’Ezio, ‘Literary and Cultural Intersections between British and Italian Women Writers and *Salonnières* during the Eighteenth Century’, in Hilary Brown and Gilliam Dow (ed.), *Readers, Writers, Salonnières: Female Networks in Europe, 1700-1900* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 11-29; Gerrit Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach. Netherlandish Travellers on the Grand Tour and Beyond (1585-1750)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002).

rather different agendas. I would suggest that these differing structures, agendas and degree of life experience may well have created a very different emotional milieu, in which experiences and discussions of nostalgia and homesickness manifested differently.

Existing studies of nostalgia have focused on the lower social orders. In comparing their findings with this article, it could be argued that while age and gender contributed to the construction of different emotional cultures and experiences, the most substantial differences circulated around social status. For example, in the context of armies, military surgeons, officers and men conducted a much more open discussion of nostalgia and homesickness in relation to rank and file. To a certain extent, soldiers experienced a greater degree of emotional freedom. Their homesickness caused problems for the military but was often much more fully expressed in both physical and verbal terms. Their emotions were framed primarily by nostalgia's medical discourse, whereas the opposite is true for elite young Grand Tourists or, for that matter, for the officer ranks. Intriguingly, the different framing of what was essentially the same emotion caused by the same experiences of travel and separation held substantial ramifications. This difference glorified the more sophisticated aristocratic abilities of self-control and command, but it also denied that young aristocratic men might be overwhelmed by emotion's physical and psychological elements. Conversely, in associating the soldier's emotions of nostalgia with the involuntary nature of illness and madness, the surrounding discourses used nostalgia to reemphasise the standard trope of the lower social order's uncontrollable, undisciplined nature. Investigating whether the social groups, ages and genders of the eighteenth century produced different emotional communities, regimes and explanations for emotions offers the opportunity to explore how different discourses of the same emotions might have been used to reinforce political and social hierarchies, sometimes to the emotional detriment of all involved.