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As the itinerant wizard (technically one of the Maiar, if not the Istari) Gandalf wrote to the then domestically-inclined hobbit Frodo Baggins in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, "Not all those who wander are lost."² Indeed, as the recent brouhaha over the "wanderlust gene" DRD4-7R testifies to, travel is a constant of human experience, inflected in myriad ways by history, literature, and life, from the Homeric epics and the Jungian archetype of "the wanderer" to *Tripadvisor.com* and Ibiza stag parties.³ People have traveled to learn, to conquer, to evangelize, in search of architectural inspiration and for reasons of health, not to mention because other places were "there," in Edmund Hillary's famous formulation, but within this spacious swath of human history my interest lies with a particular *kind* of purposeful travel that I would define as "economic," by which I do not mean frugal or "low cost," but pursued to improve the management of the material world—theoretically or practically, individually or collectively; more the Jesuit François Xavier d'Entrecolles discovering the secrets of Chinese porcelain in 1712 than, say, Ryanair.⁴

¹ This paper was prepared as part of Giovanna Cesarani's Grand Tour Explorer Project, <http://grandtour.stanford.edu/>, and I am grateful to the participants at her Stanford conference of 4-5 March 2016 as well as to Steven L. Kaplan and Robert Fredona for comments.

² Gandalf to Frodo Baggins, *The Lord of the Rings*, 50th Anniversary Edition, Boston: Mariner Books, 2005, p. 170 (*Fellowship of the Ring*, chapter 10). On the wandering origins of Gandalf himself, see Allan Asbjørn Jøn, "An Investigation of the Teutonic God Óðinn; and a Study of his Relationship to J.R. R. Tolkien's Character, Gandalf," MA Dissertation, University of New England, 1997, pp. 82-83 and *passim*.

³ See, for overviews, Adam Nicolson, *The Mighty Dead: Why Homer Matters*, London: William Collins, 2014; William D. Chalmers, *The Origin of the Species homo touristicus: The Evolution of Travel from Greek Spas to Space Tourism*, Bloomington: iUniverse, 2011; and Stewart A. Weaver, *Exploration: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 116.

⁴ Compare William Rowe and Timothy Brook, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 84 and Alan Ruddock, *Michael O'Leary: A Life in Full Flight*, London: Penguin, 2008. For a recent example of architectural travel see Harry Seidler, *The Grand Tour: Travelling the World with an Architect's Eye*, Cologne: Taschen, 2013; on the venerable tradition of spa travel, see the range from

Economic travels are by default emulative, in aspiration if not in practice, as they are driven by the desire to discover better ways of doing and thinking in the economic sphere—not to mention to establish commercial linkages and networks—and such travels represent a crucial vector of globalization in history, in the early eighteenth century and today.⁵

In the wake of East Timor’s independence in 2002, for example, future Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri embarked on a global “tour” of “relevant” countries, ranging from Singapore and Nauru to Norway, in order to “learn from their experiences” and choose which one to “emulate” as a model of national political economy.⁶ A decade later, the Wenzhou businessman Sun Jian impulsively decided to fly to Lagos, Nigeria, after having considered “everything from Bangladesh to Uzbekistan,” because he had “heard” that there were business opportunities there for the outsourcing of Chinese manufacturing.⁷ Their modes of travel, one informed by macro- and the other by micro-economic concerns, harken back to the origins of international commerce and communication itself, to the conceptual beginnings of what we today call globalization.⁸ And though examples of such economic tours are bountiful and stretch back into the dimmest eons of recorded history, eighteenth-century Europe positively brimmed with them.⁹ Indeed, the mythical “Grand

Roman thermal voyages in Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994 to Mirjam Triendl-Zadoff, *Nächstes Jahr in Marienbad: Gegenwelten jüdischer Kulturen der Moderne*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007 and Karl E. Wood, *Health and Hazard: Spa Culture and the Social History of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012. For many other sorts of travel see still Jared Diamon, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1997. For Edmund Hilary’s phrase, see Alan Weber (ed.), *Because It’s There: A Celebration of Mountaineering from 200 B.C. to Today*, Lanham: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2003. For a representative caveat regarding eighteenth-century “Oeconomical” travel, understood as low-cost, see William Patouon, “Advice on Travel in Italy [c. 1766],” in John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers to Italy 1701-1800; Compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997, xxxix-lii, p. xl.

⁵ On the conceptual history of early globalization, see David Armitage, “Is there a Pre-History of Globalization?,” in id., *Foundations of Modern International Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 33-45.

⁶ Interview with Mari Alkatiri, Dili, East Timor, 11 August 2015.

⁷ I am grateful to my student and sometime research assistant Irene Yuan Sun for this reference and the interview conducted in Ogun, Nigeria, 2 July 2014, discussed in her forthcoming *The Next Factory of the World*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

⁸ See, for a particularly colorful example of how even accidental long-distance travel could establish commercial linkages that would last for more than half a millennium, the case of the Venetian Pietro Querini’s shipwreck in Northern Norway and the Italian obsession with *stoccafisso*, in Helge A. Wold, *Querinis reise—Il viaggio di Querini*, Stamsund: Orkana, 2004.

⁹ See for some of endless examples, Jürgen Kocka, “Entrepreneurs and Managers in German Industrialization,” in Peter Mathias and M.M. Postan (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. VII: *Capital, Labour and Enterprise*, Part 1: *Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, 492-589, p. 532; Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign*

Tour” in early modern Europe, of which these forms of instructive travel represent a woefully neglected aspect, has over time come to be seen as one of the cardinal institutions of the Enlightenment.¹⁰ Scholars have recently called for a broader analysis of the Grand Tour, including, among other things, the women and children, servants and middlemen, foreigners and Italians among whom wealthy young Britons travelled, and—though principally interested in the role of travel in early modern political economy—this is very much a contribution to the genre of expanding the historical parameters of Grand Tourism.¹¹ I have elsewhere explored how the theories and practices of countries that “forged ahead,” to quote Moses Abramowitz, were emulated in Europe, as well as how “another Grand Tour” emerged in the eighteenth century through which travellers visited countries of similar or more advanced economic development and geopolitical station for technological as well as governmental inspiration; to emulate, in short, foreign best practices.¹² The exercise of collecting economic and more generally strategic intelligence abroad had of course been a primary task of spies and ambassadors in early modern Europe,

of Charles II, 1660-1685, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 40; John Raymond Harris, *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer: Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998; Peter M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008, p. 95; Mark Netzloff, “Jonson’s *Volpone* and the Information Economy of Anglo-Venetian Travel and Intelligence,” in John Watkins and Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds.), *Mediterranean Identities in the Premodern Era: Entrepôts, Islands, Empires*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014, pp. 73-89.

¹⁰ The literature on this is vast, but see Melissa Calaresu, “Looking for Virgil’s Tomb: The End of the Grand Tour and the Cosmopolitan Ideal in Europe,” in Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds), *Voyages and visions: Towards a cultural history of travel*, London: Reaktion Books, 1999, pp. 138-161; Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003; Attilio Brilli’s multi-volume publication project, and particularly *Il viaggio in Italia: Storia di una grande tradizione culturale*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008; Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012

¹¹ See among others John Brewer, “Whose Grand Tour?,” in Maria Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox (eds.), *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, an Episode of the Grand Tour*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 45-61; Calaresu, “Looking for Virgil’s Tomb.”

¹² Sophus A. Reinert, “Another Grand Tour: Cameralism and Antiphysiocracy in Tuscany, Baden, and Denmark-Norway,” in Jürgen Backhaus (ed.), *Physiocrats, Antiphysiocrats and Pfeiffer*, Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2011, pp. 39-69. For Moses Abramowitz’ vocabulary see id., “Catching Up, Forging Ahead, and Falling Behind,” *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 46, no. 2, 1986, pp. 385–406. For further examples, from one end of Europe to the other, see Even Hammer, *Philonorvagi velmeente Tanker til veltænkende Medborgere*, Copenhagen: N.P., 1771, pp. 36-44, on which see Rolv Petter Amdam, “Norske fysiokratar—fanst dei?,” in Edgar Hovland, Even Lange, and Sigurd Rysstad (eds.), *Det some svarte seg best: Studier i økonomisk historie og politikk*, Oslo: Ad Notam Forlag, 1990, pp. 19-30 and J.O. Bro-Jørgensen (ed.), *Ove Høegh Guldbergs og arveprins Frederiks brevveksling med Peter Christian Schumacher 1778-1807*, Copenhagen: Danske selskab for fædrelandets historie, 1972; Marsilio Landriani, *Relazione di Marsilio Landriani sui progressi delle manifatture in Europa alla fine del Settecento*, ed. Mario Pessina, Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1981.

but the activity was rendered more democratic over the course of the eighteenth century. As the statesman, intellectual, and future 117th Doge of Venice Marco Foscarini put it in a 1742 ambassadorial report from Turin, one of the primary purpose of accounts such as his had historically been to record not merely “events” but also survey the “trade,” “industries,” and “armies” of different countries. Yet,

as these became familiar with the passing of time, and common knowledge because of the new facility of travel, which rendered it more frequent, and because of the infinite number of published books comprehensively treating of these issues, one has, not without reason, abandoned this form of report over the past century and reduced it to a kind of particular history containing the maxims, councils, and arcane origins of the things that took place during the duration of any given Ambassadorship.¹³

The increasing frequency of travel and the exploding volume of publications in early modern Europe, in short, changed the economy of intelligence on the continent, as a far wider spectrum of travellers and thinkers turned to questions of political economy widely construed and accumulated insights became common knowledge.¹⁴ Yet Foscarini insisted that travel still could offer strategic insights into the “economic administration” and “economic system” of competing polities, even offering “perfect examples to imitate.”¹⁵ Much like textual translation, travel thus remained one of the early modern period’s principal vehicles of international emulation and the standardization of best practices in the Western world and—in some cases—its transoceanic connections.¹⁶ “The

¹³ Marco Foscarini to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 2 March 1743, *Relazione fatta dal Marchese Foscarini gia Ambasciadore Veneto presso la Corte di Torino nel 1742. Dopo il suo ritorno a Venezia*, Archivio Storico Comunale di Casale Monferrato, Casale Monferrato, Italy, 091 93, pp. 2v, 98r. See, for similar arguments, Pietro Verri, *Considerazioni sul commercio dello stato di Milano*, ed. Carlo Antonio Vianello, Milan: Università L. Bocconi, 1939, p. p. 202 and id., ‘Considerazioni sulla proposizione di restringere il lusso nello stato di Milano 1763’, in *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Pietro Verri*, 6 vols., Rome: Edizioni storia e letteratura, 2003-2015, vol. II:1: *Scritti di economia finanza e amministrazione*, eds. Giuseppe Bognetti *et al.*, pp. 93-106, 105-106.

¹⁴ That said the “economic” Grand Tour remained resolutely gendered, much like the fields of scholarship and policy it touched upon. For recent gender perspectives on the Grand Tour see Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama (eds.), *Italy’s Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

¹⁵ Marco Foscarini to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 2 March 1743, *Relazione fatta dal Marchese Foscarini gia Ambasciadore Veneto presso la Corte di Torino nel 1742. Dopo il suo ritorno a Venezia*, Archivio Storico Comunale di Casale Monferrato, Casale Monferrato, Italy, 091 93, pp. 36v-37v, 38r-38v.

¹⁶ Reinert, *Translating Empire*, p. 5. On the importance of practice for the codification of early political economy see further ‘Authority and Expertise at the Origins of Macro-Economics’, in Rosario Patalano and

subject of Finances,” the future US President John Adams for example mused, could be learned only “from books or from Travel.”¹⁷ And it was for similar reasons that his founding brother and also future United States President Thomas Jefferson visited Piedmont in 1787 to study rice-growing practices there as part of his Grand Tour. Like many contemporary travelling collectors, Jefferson also secured rare books in Italy, including a “copy of Polybius, the best edition,” but he readily admitted that

I scarcely got into classical ground... in architecture, painting, sculpture, I found much amusement; but more than all in their agriculture, many objects of which might be adopted with us to great advantage.¹⁸

Though, in short, Jefferson indulged in many of the activities of the stereotypical Grand Tourist, his itinerary was fundamentally inflected by exigencies of political economy.

Sometimes, macro- and micro-economic interests even overlapped on what one might call “Economic Grand Tours,” as the case was when the Milanese merchant and large-scale textile manufacturer Antonio Greppi, who traveled most of Europe not merely in search of business opportunities, but also to familiarize himself with the theoretical study of political economy internationally.¹⁹ Indeed, such direct experience could be deemed a source of authority in economic affairs, as the Abruzzo adventurer Trojano Odazj proved when he successfully relied on extensive “travels” as a selling point for a Professorship in political economy at the University of Naples.²⁰ The Germanic ideal of *Bildung* so essential

Sophus A. Reinert (eds.), *Antonio Serra and the Economics of Good Government*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 112-142.

¹⁷ John Adams to Joseph Palmer, 6 May 1777, in John Adams, *The Papers of John Adams*, 15 vols. to date, eds. Robert J. Taylor *et al.*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977-, vol. 5, p. 179. I am grateful to Francesca Viano for this reference.

¹⁸ Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, 16 September 1787, in Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 41 vols. to date, eds. Julian P. Boyd *et al.*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-, vol. XII, pp. 127-130. Though hardly “British” at that point, Jefferson’s travels were noted in Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 552, for a modern treatment of which see Geroge Green Shackelford, *Thomas Jefferson’s Travels in Europe, 1784-1789*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

¹⁹ Paolo Greppi to Antonio Greppi, 14 April 1777, in Stefano Levati and Giovanni Liva (eds.), *Viaggio di quasi tutta l’Europa colle viste del commercio dell’istruzione e della salute: Lettere di Paolo e Giacomo Greppi al padre (1777-1781)*, Milan: SilvanaEditore for the Archivio di Stato di Milano and the Camera di Commercio di Milano, 2006, pp. 137-139.

²⁰ Luca di Samuele Cagnazzi, *Al signor D. Matteo d’Augustinis*, Naples: Societa’ Filomatica, 1839, p. 3. On Odazj see Giovanni Di Leonardo, *L’illuminista abruzzese Don Trojano Odazj: dalle Lezioni di Genovesi all’amicizia con Beccaria dalla Cattedra di Economia alla cospirazione*, Mosciano S. A.: Media, 2003. On the Neapolitan chair, originally awarded Antonio Genovesi, see Sophus A. Reinert, *Translating Empire:*

to the Grand Tour was, after all, pursued for individual as well as societal ends.²¹ And it should not come as a surprise that the even the aesthetic language of Grand Tourists habitually employed for sublime vistas of Roman ruins and bucolic bliss in some cases found economic expression. When the Milanese patrician and scholar Alessandro Verri first visited England, for example, he marveled at the “*bellissima veduta*” not of Dover’s white cliffs but rather of “London along the banks of the Thames,” “covered” with “merchant ships, which form a forest of trees and another city on the sea.”²²

What follows, however, instead turns to the continental experiences of travellers from what by many accounts was the world’s most advanced economy, Britain, as they ventured to Italy, the one-time seat of commercial power in Europe then beset by the specter of relative decline.²³ Stanford University’s *Grand Tour Explorer*, directed by Giovanna Cesarani, is a remarkable tool for the present purposes, which undoubtedly helps visualize and analyze the British Grand Tour to Italy in never before possible ways.²⁴ It also usefully exemplifies some of the possibilities but also the pitfalls of applying digital tools in the humanities, and by highlighting both I in no way intend to diminish the value of such scholarship, but rather to contribute to furthering the ways in which old scholarship and new technologies can interact and such digital projects can truly benefit the humanities.

Indisputably, the *Grand Tour Explorer* retains many of the cornucopian qualities of its source, John Ingamells’ 1997 *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers to Italy, 1701-1800*, itself the work of a large editorial team engaging with the vast personal archive of

Emulations and the Origins of Political Economy, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 194-195.

²¹ See still the selection of writings in Walter Horace Bruford, *The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation: “Bildung” from Humboldt to Thomas Mann*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, particularly, for the case of merchants on the Grand Tour, p. 143.

²² Alessandro Verri to Gabriele Verri, 19 October 1766, in Gianmarco Gaspari (ed.), *Viaggio a Parigi e Londra (1766-1767): Carteggio di Pietro e Alessandro Verri*, Milan: Adelphi, 1980, pp. 462-467.

²³ See, for different perspectives, Paolo Malanima, “The Long Decline of a Leading Economy: GDP in Central and Northern Italy, 1300-1913,” *European Review of Economic History*, vol. 15, 2010, pp. 169-219; Sophus A. Reinert, “Lessons on the Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Conquest, Commerce, and Decline in Enlightenment Italy,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 115, No. 5, 2010, pp. 1395-1425; Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, pp. 269-270; Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England 1450-1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. And, for a more traditional cultural history, Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance*, Milton Park: Routledge, 1998, p xi and *passim*.

²⁴ <http://grandtour.stanford.edu>

the British collector and art historian Sir Brinsley Ford.²⁵ The project of amassing the *Dictionary* was by necessity eclectic, partial, even quixotic, but nonetheless produced a unique treasure trove of information regarding the British Grand Tour to Italy in the age of Enlightenment; or, perhaps more appropriately, of British, Irish, and in some cases American travel to Italy in the age of the Grand Tour. Depending on available and conveniently consultable materials, not to mention personal interest, British visitors to Italy might have made his list or not, be blessed with pages of text or relegated to cursory sentences. And, needless to say, the editorial team only recorded itineraries of which they were certain, leading to a number of records teleporting around Italy following the sometimes fleeting appearances of names and places in archival or published sources; even though, because of the technologies of early modern travel, no Grand Tourist could *only* have visited landlocked Florence in the eighteenth century, no matter how attractive its institutional reforms and relative development were to contemporary travelers.²⁶ It might even be argued that the *Dictionary* could only be so rich and varied because of all it neglected. As Orlando Pescetti put it in his *Proverbi italiani*, rendered famous by Voltaire, “the best is enemy of the good.”²⁷

Regardless, it is evident that Ford, Ingamells, and their collaborators clearly did *not* plan on their work being transformed into an easily accessible database, as they were maddeningly incoherent in their uses of terms and classifications in the basic category that the *Grand Tour Explorer* calls “Employments and Identifiers,” in other words the defining terms with which he often began individual entries. Perhaps only a single British “editor of Shakespeare” and a solitary “bear-leader” really ventured to Italian shores in the eighteenth century—though if one were to substitute “bear-leader” with the synonyms term *Cicerone*, tutor, or tour-guide the number would certainly swell—but it is hard to believe that only one traveler was a “dilettante poet” and only one an “amateur scientist,” not to mention that only one person warranted the qualifier “miscreant.”²⁸ Ingamells cared first

²⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. ix-xi, xiii-xiv.

²⁶ On the unique attractiveness to travellers of Tuscan Enlightened reforms, see Reinert, “Another Grand Tour”; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, Stroud: The History Press, 2003 [1992], p. 246; Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p. 71.

²⁷ Orlando Pescetti, *Proverbi italiani*, Verona: La compagnia degli aspiranti, 1603, p. 30.

²⁸ These were, and Dr. Thomas Bowdler, Dr. James Hay, Robert Merry, George Nassau Clavering Cowper, 3rd Earl Cowper, and Henry Fisher respectively, see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 111-112, 245-247, 357, 476-477, 655-656.

and foremost (one is tempted to say singularly) about what Ford had called “matters connected with the arts, patronage [and] collecting,” yet he called only one lonely voyager an “art critic”; boding poorly for subjects he cared for not at all.²⁹ Similarly, though focusing on British travellers, he listed several as “American” even in wake of the War of Independence, and can we really be certain that William Bosville was the British Grand Tour’s *only* “bon vivant,” and John Hall Stevenson its token “hedonist,” rather than the other way around?³⁰ All this to say that his categories in many cases were literary rather than simply (and usefully coherent) analytical categories, and that any extrapolation from his *Dictionary* per force must be tentative and impressionistic. Ingamells, after all, wished for the book to be “readable” and, somewhat lethally for an analytical database, to embrace “a certain variety of style.”³¹ To a scholar of the Grand Tour, the classification of the physician and tour-guide Dr. James Hay as “bear-leader” is a witty implicit reference to Pier Leone Ghezzi’s c. 1725 caricature “Dr. Hay as Bear-Leader” and the colloquial eighteenth-century nickname for a travelling tutor, but it also risks suggesting Hay was touring actual bears—also an early modern practice—around the ruins of ancient Rome rather than wealthy British youths.³²

²⁹ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. xvi. The “art critic” in question was George Cumberland, on which see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 259-260.

³⁰ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 107, 896.

³¹ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. x.

³² On such actual bear-walkers, see Michel Pastoureau, *L'ours: Histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2007.



Figure 1: Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Dr. Hay as Bear-Leader*, c. 1725, London, British Museum

Even a cursory engagement with the *Dictionary* would reveal, as I hinted at already, that its authors cared little, if at all, about the “economic” Grand Tour. Its only “economist” was the Irish banker and writer Richard Cantillon; its “political economist” was Adam Smith’s nemesis Sir James Steuart; the lone “agricultural writer” Ingamells detected was Jethro Tull; and his “agriculturist” was Arthur Young.³³ John Symonds, Regius Professor of Modern History in Cambridge for nearly four decades, was the only tourist identified as an “agronomist, and miscellaneous writer” in the *Dictionary*, though not a “historian” or, for that matter, “lawyer,” which he also was.³⁴ The Welsh Major-General Henry Lloyd, one of the most Münchhausen-like figures of his century, appears as both “soldier and economist” (which does not come up as “economist” in the search engine) Henry Humfrey [sic] Evans in Parma in 1769, and as the “mercenary, military historian” Gen. Henry Humphrey Evans Lloyd, who traveled widely through Genoa, Leghorn (now known as Livorno even in English), Milan, Rome, Vaprio d’Adda, and Venice.³⁵

Yet, Ford, Ingamells, and their team *did* take note of merchants, to the extent that the second single largest category in “Employments and Identifiers” after “painter” is “merchant.” And if one adds the sundry variations of the term—“textile merchant,” “timber merchant,” “oriental merchant,” and “wine merchant”—as well as other “economic” occupations such as “banker,” “merchant banker,” “financier,” and, of course, “money lender,” in this case the notorious John “Jew” King—one reaches a grand total of 176 such “economic” Grand Tourists reaching Italy from Britain during the period scrutinized by Ingamells; the same number, incidentally, one gets by adding up the categories of “painter” (165), “portrait painter” (8), and “watercolourist” (4), but not including “miniature painter” (3), four categories for which there seems to be no overlap either.³⁶ Both clusters are, in any case, limited compared to the 5293 total entries in the *Dictionary*, some of which were cross-referenced variations of names, but more sizeable in relation to the 2301 travellers for whom Ingamells found “Employments and Identifiers.”

³³ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 179, 894-895, 1036.

³⁴ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 921-922.

³⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 343, 606. On Lloyd, see Sophus A. Reinert, “‘One will make of Political Economy... what the Scholastics did with Philosophy’: Henry Lloyd and the Mathematization of Economics,” *History of Political Economy*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2007, pp. 643-677.

³⁶ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 576-577. On John King, born Jacob Rey and popularly known as “Jew” King, see also Todd M. Edelman, “The Checkered Career of ‘Jew’ King: A Study in Anglo-Jewish Social History,” *AJS Review*, vol. 7—8, 1982-1983, pp. 69-100.

So can anything interesting be said about the “economic” Grand Tourists identified by Ingamells? Adopting a bird’s eye view for the occasion, a map of all places known to have been visited by someone with an “Employment or Identifier” reveals an expected pattern.

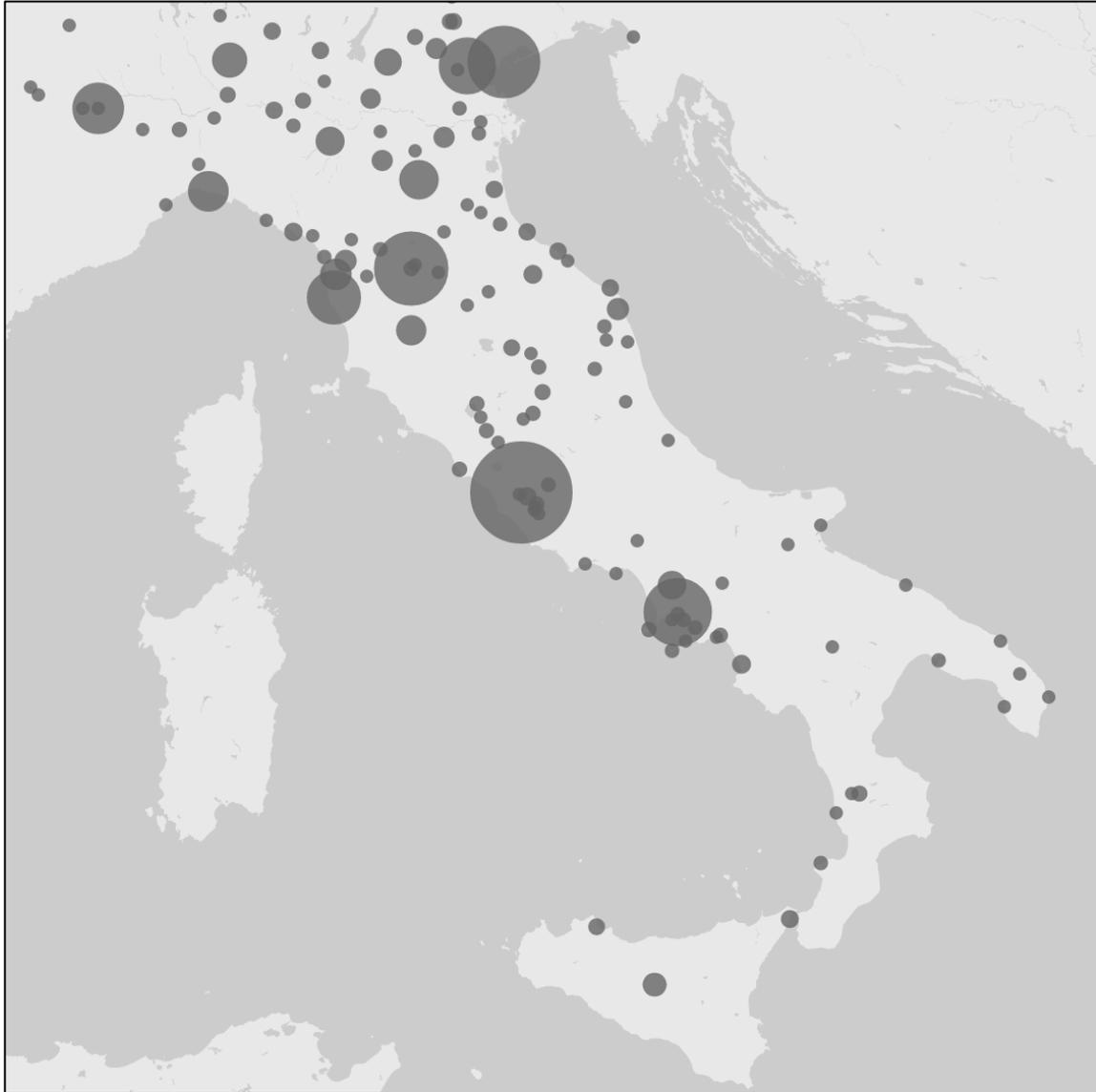


Figure 2: Italian Locations Visited by all Grand Tourists Ingamells gave an "Employment or Identifier"

As a baseline of analysis, most Grand Tourists with an occupation or identifier visited Italian cities in the same order that the raw total did, in other words Rome (2294), distantly trailed by Florence (1374) and Venice (1366), then Naples (1202), Padua (829), Leghorn (641), and Turin (616), followed by a very large number of satellite locations from Trieste to Sicily. The only thing that might be surprising given the historiographical emphasis of English-speaking scholarship is the relative unimportance of Naples in the sheer numerical scale of things. Many travellers reached Italy through France and the Alps, thus landing in Savoy Turin, and Genoa and Leghorn's prominent places as second-tier cities might likewise reflect geographical necessities of travel at the time. One can only assume that Milan similarly would have ranked higher in an aggregate map of Grand Tourists from Northern Europe, and Trieste in the case of travellers from the East.

Focusing on the subset of "painters," "portrait painters," and "watercolourists," a somewhat homogenous cluster of artistic identifiers, changes things somewhat. Entirely unsurprisingly, Rome remains the premier destination on the Grand Tour, followed by Florence. These are, at some distance, followed by Naples and Venice, closely trailed by Bologna and Parma. Very few voyaged south of Rome, and of these even fewer outside of Naples, though it is remarkable that more such painters anyway visited Naples than Venice. Though this would require sustained archival work to ascertain, it is tempting to guess that the large number of minor satellite visits in this subgroup reflected the historical wish to visit specific places of beauty or artworks on display. As William Hazlitt so famously, if wrongheadedly, derided his countrymen, "the English abroad turn out of their way to visit every pettifogging, huckstering object that they can see better at home..."³⁷

³⁷ William Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, London: Hunt and Clark, 1826, p. 390



Figure 3: Italian Locations Visited by Grand Tourists Ingamells Identified as "Painters," "Portrait Painters," or "Watercolourists"

Turning now to travellers on the “economic” Grand Tour, the same number of entries now reveals a rather different set of itineraries. The Eternal City has, for the first time, been supplanted as the premier destination by Leghorn, followed by Venice, then Florence, Naples, and Rome. Southern Italy was generally neglected by the itineraries of such “economic” Grand Tourists, who instead focused squarely on the country’s center and north, with comparably high frequencies of visits to the old economic core of the peninsula

from Turin down to Genoa and through Milan to Venice. And, strikingly, these travellers were far less prone to visiting small satellites on the Grand Tour than were artists. As the Danish Cameralist Peter Christian Schumacher, who explicitly had set out on a Grand Tour to study European practices of political economy, justified his decision not to visit Naples, 'it holds so little influence in the European system that it cannot be of particularly dire importance [*magtpaaliggende*] what system they have'.³⁸



Figure 3: Italian Locations Visited by Ingamells' "Economic" Grand Tourists

³⁸ Peter Christian Schumacher to Ove Høegh-Guldberg, 2 April 1784, in *Ove Høegh Guldbergs og Arveprins Frederiks brevveksling med Peter Christian Schumacher 1778-1807*, ed. J.O. Bro-Jørgensen, Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1972, p. 329. I have discussed Schumacher's travels in my 'Another Grand Tour'.

This might not be particularly surprising once one thinks about it, but this form of aggregate visualization uniquely made possible by digital tools in the humanities, in this case the *Grand Tour Explorer* in conjunction with *Palladio*, amply demonstrates that something like an “economic” Grand Tour indeed existed, and that eighteenth-century Italy continued to have purchase not merely in art and culture but also for reasons of business and political economy.³⁹

Several reasons for this can be hypothesized. First of all, the relative economic decline of early modern Italy by no means removed it from the business map of Europe, and that the former city-states of Northern Italy continued to play a role in the commerce of the continent throughout the eighteenth century. Leghorn, in particular, remained an important *entrepôt* throughout the period here under analysis, and uniquely so for British interests through the prevalence of the Levant Company. Frequently the first port of call after London for ships heading East, and a “great pivot” for British trade in the Mediterranean, Leghorn had long established itself as the main “funnel” for Turkish trade with Britain, France, and the Netherlands.⁴⁰ Leghorn held a unique place among Italian cities in the imaginary of the Grand Tour for being clean, modern, and built for the living rather than the dead, a space of bustling trade rather than towering ruins.⁴¹ Far more British merchants and sailors visited Leghorn than those identified in Ingamells’ *Dictionary*, of course, but it remains interesting that the “Free Port” of Leghorn—recently the subject of long overdue scholarly attention in the English-speaking world—would play such an important role also on the more traditional Grand Tour that was the focus of his attention.⁴²

Henry Lloyd’s version of the Grand Tour was, in many ways, characteristic of this kind of “economic” travel. Very much confined to the upper half of the Italian peninsula,

³⁹ <http://grandtour.herokuapp.com>; <http://palladio.designhumanities.org>

⁴⁰ Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, London: Routledge, 1908, p. 139 and *passim*; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, London: Routledge, 2006 [1935], pp. 64, 139.

⁴¹ Reinert, “Another Grand Tour”; Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 69-73, 269.

⁴² See, for example, Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009; Corey Tazzara, “The Masterpiece of the Medici: Commerce, Politics, and the Making of the Free Port of Livorno,” *PhD Dissertation*, Stanford University, 2011; id., “Managing Free Trade in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Information, and the Free Port of Livorno,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 86, no. 3, 2014, pp. 493-529; Francesca Bregoli, *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Reform*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.

his journeys were dictated by his career as an international spy and economic theorist, as well as by his friendship with members of the Milanese *Accademia dei pugni*, with whom he revolutionized the use of algebra and differential calculus in political economy.⁴³ Lloyd traveled, in short, for reasons of international power politics and to learn about the “science” of it, the discipline of political economy—itsself repeatedly declared emblematic of the Enlightenment as such.⁴⁴

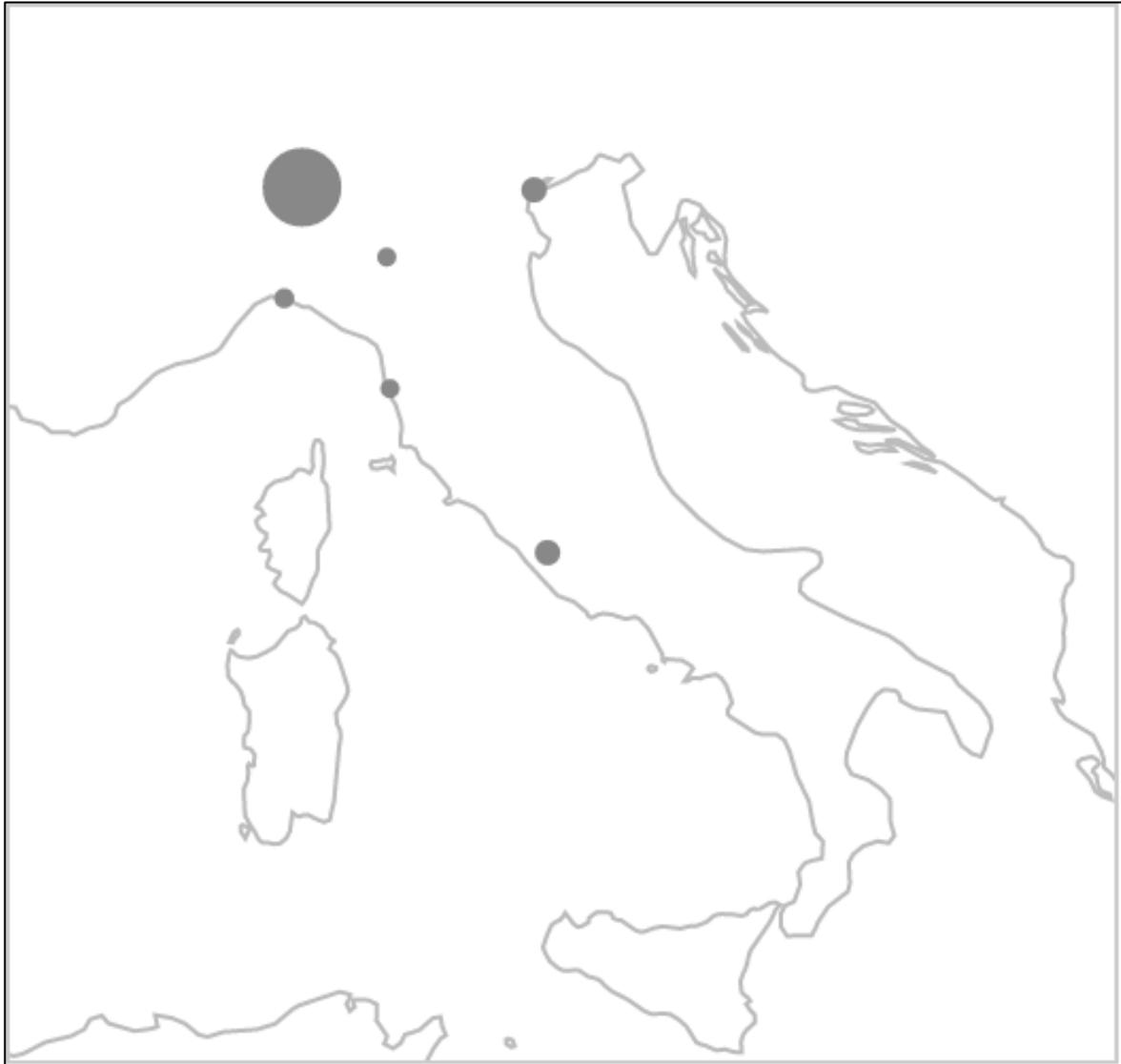


Figure 4: Henry Lloyd's Known Travels in Italy, 1740-1770

⁴³ Reinert, ““One will Make of Political Economy.””

⁴⁴ See particularly Franco Venturi, *Utopia e riforma nell'Illuminismo*, Turin: Einaudi, 1970 and John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680-1760*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

For an example of a more specifically mercantile-political sojourn, that of Sir Lambert Blackwell, “merchant” and Britain’s first consul to Leghorn and later Ambassador to Venice, Florence, and Genoa, not to mention Director of the South Sea Company, is representative, as his political appointments closely mirrored British strategic and commercial interests on the peninsula.



Figure 5: Sir Lambert Blackwell's Known Travels in Italy, 1689-1727

And, though hardly evocative of the Grand Tour as commonly understood, Ingamells' fleeting and melancholy mention of Lewis Blaquiere is probably illustrative of countless other British merchants who escaped mention in the *Dictionary*:

BLAQUIERE, LEWIS (c.1722-54), merchant.

-1744-54 Leghorn

With several other members of the British Factory at Leghorn, he signed a memorial in May 1744. He was presumably the Lewis Blaquiere who died in Leghorn on 3 August 1754, aged 32, and who was buried in the Protestant cemetery.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 98.



Figure 6: Lewis Blaquiere's Known Travels in Italy, 1744-1754

Blaquiere, in other words, came to Leghorn on business and died there a decade later. And, predictably, the map of Blaquiere’s Grand Tour matches perfectly those of a number of alphabetized “merchant” entries in the *Dictionary*, all the way down to Francis Wyatt, and presumably numerous others.⁴⁶ But, to quote U.S. Customs and Border Protection Declaration Form 6059B, “was the primary purpose of this trip business?”⁴⁷ How relevant is Blaquiere’s resounding “yes” to that question to the institution of the Grand Tour? In the

⁴⁶ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 1025.

⁴⁷ U.S. Customs and Border Protection Declaration Form 6059B, verso.

case of a Jefferson, his travels were clearly driven by purposes of both business and pleasure, and the idea of an “Economic Grand Tour” thus makes a certain degree of sense, but Blaquiere? Accepting John Brewer’s basic ideal of the Grand Tour as “an educational rite of passage,” often in preparation of “public duties,” being an employee on the job abroad like Blaquiere might actually have more in common with his contemporary “*milordi Inglesi*” than one might first think.⁴⁸ For there existed a venerable European tradition of merchants and tradesmen undergoing similar “rites of passage” on the road to acquire status in their professions, and the British merchant stationed in Leghorn might ultimately not have been that different from pre-revolutionary French journeymen, the stereotypical Hanseatic apprentice stuck in Bergen for a decade before returning home to a more important desk job, or, for that matter, a noble Christ-Church graduate preparing for a position in British government.⁴⁹ And, again, inflections of this practice continue to characterizes modern business and government institutions alike in large parts of the world.

⁴⁸ Brewer, “Whose Grand Tour?,” p. 50.

⁴⁹ *Journal de ma vie: Jacques-Louis Ménétra, compagnon vitrier au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Daniel Roche, Paris: Montalba, 1982, translated with an introduction by Robert Darnton as *Journal of my Life*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. On such travels see Cynthia Maria Truant, *The Rites of Labor: Brotherhoods of Compagnonnage in Old and New Regime France*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.



Figure 7: Locations of British Visitors to Italy Belonging to the Occupational Category “Finance and Trade”

Cutting the *Dictionary*’s dataset differently, and focusing instead on the subset of 86 Grand Tourists in the occupational category of “Finance and Trade,” presumably the sort of more powerful economic actors contemporaries began to call “capitalists,” the resulting map matches that of the economic Grand Tour closely. Rome, however, reclaims its throne (15), followed by Florence (12), Venice (11), and Leghorn (9), and then at some

distance by Naples (4), Padua (4), Genoa (3), Turin (3), Pisa (2), Milan (2), Bologna (1), Verona (1), Siena (1), and Capua (1). And, not surprisingly, those who *did* venture South of Italy's financial centers did so for the reason one might expect from historiography. David Digues La Touche, for example, the first Governor of the Bank of Ireland, seemingly traveled to Capua and Naples as a "collector," rather than on business.⁵⁰

Turning to the more massive occupational subset of "Statesmen and Political Appointees" (867) on the other hand, the resulting map is in turn more reminiscent of the pattern revealed by the raw data from the *Dictionary*, with travellers to Rome (569), Florence (414), Venice (361), Naples (344), Turin (230), Padua (194), Genoa (148), Milan (130), Bologna (128), Leghorn (118), and so on all the way down to Amalfi (1), Brindisi (1), Capri (1), Pompeii (1), Poggibonsi (1), and Sestri (1). It seems improbable that only *one* of these travellers visited Pompeii, but, generally speaking, these numbers yet again highlight the degree to which recent scholarship has exaggerated the importance of Naples relative to Northern cities as a destination for British travellers, and even more egregiously so the rest of Southern Italy. Doubtlessly, this tension mirrors larger scholarly trends that only obliquely are related to the institution of the Grand Tour, but it remains striking that, at the moment of writing, the search for "eighteenth-century Naples" has 574 hits on Google Scholar, vastly overshadowing the equivalent searches for Florence (149), Genoa (31), Milan (73), Livorno (47; "Leghorn" has 0), and Turin (82), though all are dwarfed by Venice (826) and particularly Rome (1,040). A more specific search for "Grand Tour" in conjunction with the names of various cities is less informative, simply because most works on the Grand Tour mention a host of names somewhere in their texts, but the difference between Naples (8,580) and Livorno (973) still serves to illustrate the divergence between historical travel and historiographical emphasis.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 589.

⁵¹ <https://scholar.google.com>; last accessed 5 March 2016.



Figure 8: Locations of British Visitors to Italy Belonging to the Occupational Category “Statesmen and Political Appointees”

There are many reasons for this discrepancy, but there is reason to believe it quite venerable. Though far from a perfect proxy for general cultural interest, a Google Ngram of the names of Italian cities in English publications of the eighteenth century can throw light on the problem from a complimentary perspective.⁵² Rome naturally remains the far most often mentioned Italian city throughout the century, also because it stood for so much

⁵² <https://books.google.com/ngrams>; last accessed 5 March 2016.

more than simply a city to visit in Central Italy—the seat of the Papacy, capital of the greatest Empire in world history, and, to many, the fountainhead of Western Civilization transcended mere geographical coordinates.⁵³ The other, less myth-spun cities enjoyed shifting fortunes, however, with Naples seeing two peaks of interest around 1730 and 1760, when there was a resurgence of mentions of most other major Italian cities as well. Already in the eighteenth century, in short, English books mentioned Naples relatively more frequently than English travellers actually visited the city, compared to more Northern conurbations where the inverse to a certain extent was true. Leghorn, to take an obvious contrary example, was unsurprisingly more important to English trade and travel than aggregate book history as channeled by a Google Ngram would suggest. If nothing else, these different perspectives on the Grand Tour made possible by digital history suggest the need for multiple approaches and methods of analysis to properly appreciate its richness and complexity.

⁵³ The literature on Rome's many and changing aspects is immense, but see still the epochal Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David P. Womersley, 3 vols., London: Penguin, 1996, on which see J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, 6 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2015; and, for recent scholarship, Peter Bondanella, *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987 as well as Richard J. B. Bosworth, *Whispering City: Rome and Its Histories*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011; Greg Woolf, *Rome: An Empire's Story*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; and, for today's Rome, Isabella Clough Marinaro and Bjørn Thomassen (eds.), *Global Rome: Changing Faces of the Eternal City*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014.

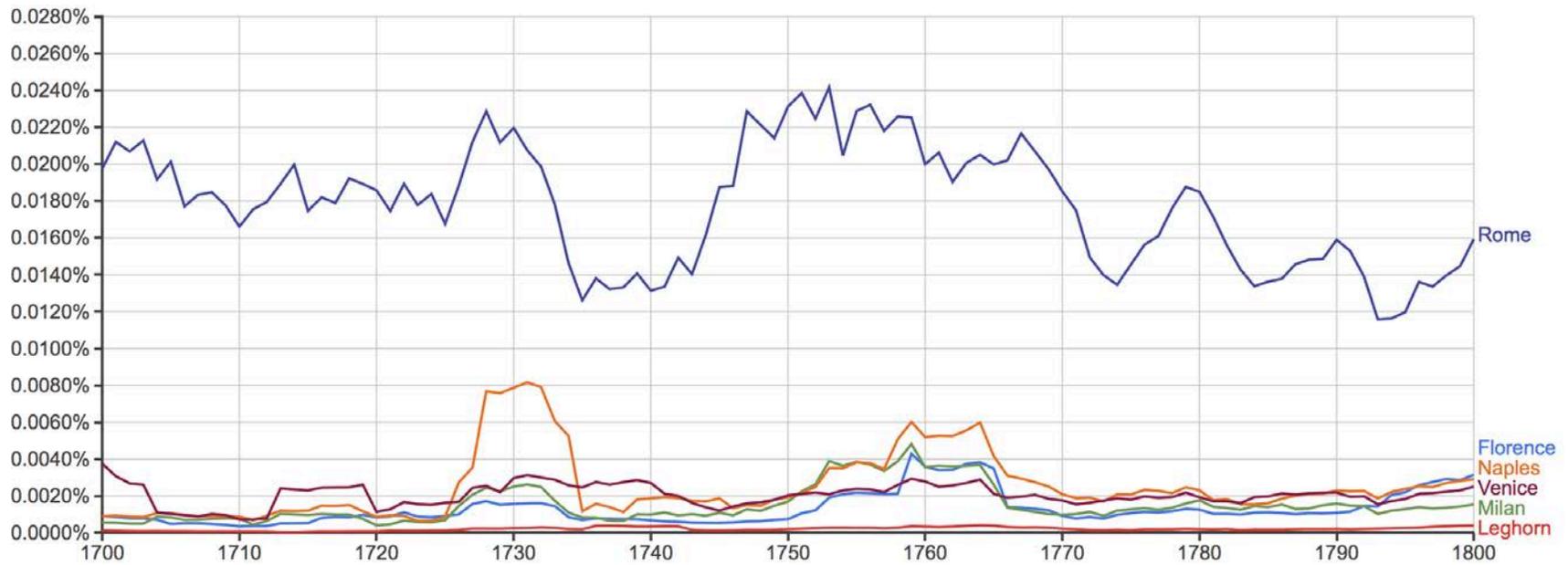


Figure 9: Google Ngram of Mentions of Select Italian Cities in English Publications, 1700-1800

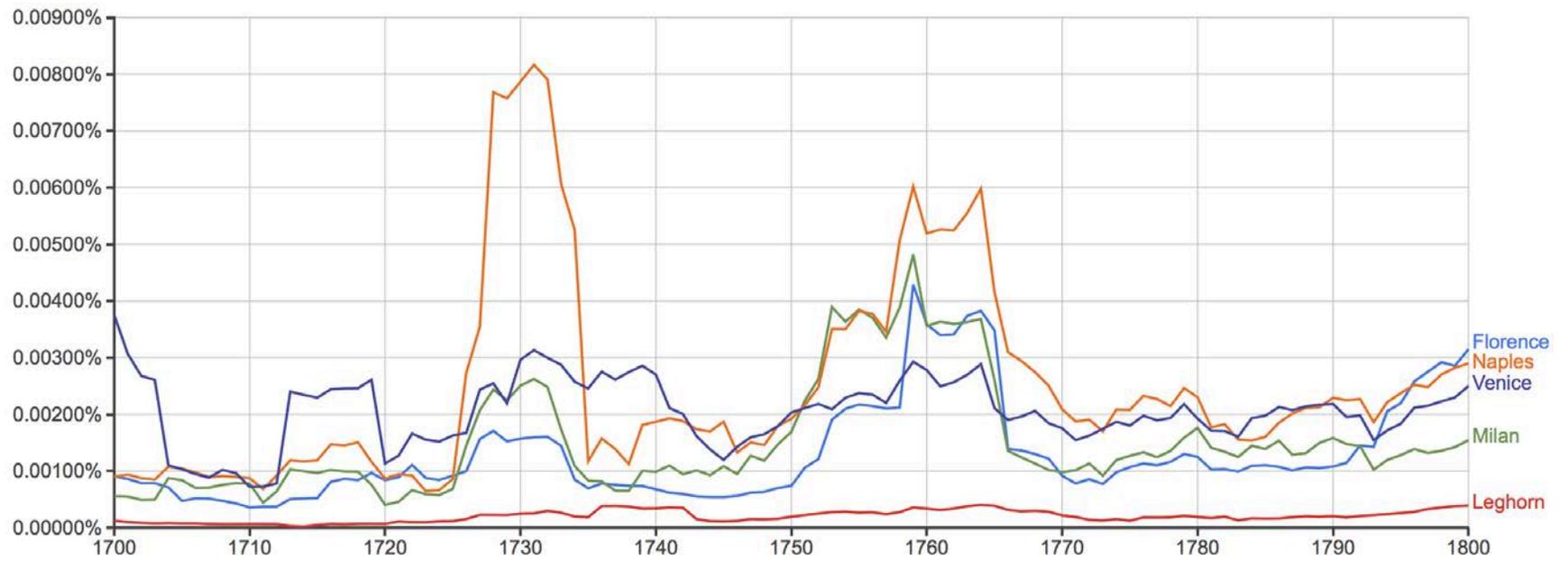


Figure 10: Google Ngram of Mentions of Select Italian Cities in English Publications, 1700-1800

The question of why, exactly, economically interested individual British travellers chose particular destinations would require extensive archival work to answer, but, thanks to the *Grand Tour Explorer*, it is evident that “economic” travellers to Italy as a whole in effect ventured to different places than those habitually emphasized by historians of the Grand Tour, indeed to the extent that it is worth remembering that the *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy* originally surveyed “travellers” rather than “Grand Tourists” per se. In any case, the visualizations made possible by the use of digital tools suggest that significant historiographical revisionism is in order, as the center of gravity for British travellers to Italy matched the economic one of the peninsula far more closely than recent scholarship would suggest, even, as the aggregate data indicates, in the cases of stereotypically aristocratic travellers seeking *Bildung* through exposure to the material remnants of antiquity.⁵⁴ The Grand Tour was a protean institution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the shifting geography of which reflected changing spaces of cultural importance in Europe.⁵⁵ Though the Enlightenment fervor for exoticism, antiquarianism, collecting, and bric-a-brac generally justly has been studied in recent decades, travel was also one of the most important vectors for worldlier processes of international commerce, communication, competition, and emulation at the time. The greatest difference between the Grand Tour and its economic inflection, however, might be that while the former looked to the past, the latter looked resolutely to the future; inventing rather than confirming established tropes.⁵⁶ Journeying for business and political economy remains a vast, trans-historical phenomenon, of which the economic tourism traceable through the *Grand Tour Explorer* must be considered an important subset; the Grand Tour itself a particularly vibrant chapter in the timeless flow of goods, people, and ideas that forms our past and our present.

⁵⁴ On the importance of Southern Italy from this perspective, see among others Giovanna Cesarani, *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

⁵⁵ See, for the change of German emphasis from antique Rome to Renaissance Florence as the premier goal of the Grand Tour, for example, Martin A. Ruehl, *The Italian Renaissance in the German Historical Imagination, 1860-1930*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁶ On the Grand Tour reaffirming tropes, see among others Brewer, “Whose Grand Tour?”, p. 50.